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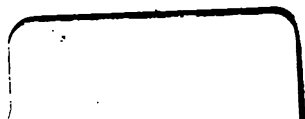
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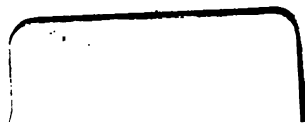


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THE
PRESBYTERIAN
REVIEW.

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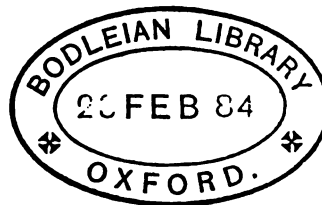
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THE
PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

No. 1.—January, 1880.

I.

THE IDEA AND AIMS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN
REVIEW.

THERE has been for some time a conviction, constantly widening and deepening, that a Review is needed that will adequately represent the theology and life of the Presbyterian Church. This need has been felt all the more that in former years our Church derived so much strength and advantage from the Reviews so ably conducted by Drs. Charles Hodge, Albert Barnes, Henry B. Smith, and others. Two years ago, the *Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review*, which had gathered up into itself the various older Presbyterian Quarterlies, was sold out by the proprietors and editors, and the *Princeton Review* appeared in its place, devoting itself chiefly to Philosophy, Science, and Belles-Lettres, and presenting an array of scholarship and talent unprecedented in the history of periodical literature. Yet this very fact called the more attention to its defects in those very respects that made the older Reviews so important to the Presbyterian Church; consequently the desire for a representative Presbyterian Review grew to be so strong and irrepressible, that several efforts have been made during the past year, in various parts of the land, culminating in the present enterprise, which seeks to combine all the varied interests and sections of our Presbyterian Church in order to secure a Review that will truly represent it by a strong, hearty, steady, and thorough advocacy of Presbyterian principles. The managing and associate editors have been requested by a large number of theologians,

ministers, and elders, in the various sections of the Church, to undertake this work on the following basis:

"The REVIEW is to embrace in its articles the range of the theological sciences and cognate literary and philosophical subjects, with special attention to the leading questions of the day; giving the freshest results of Biblical criticism and historical investigation; full and thorough reviews of the most important theological publications in different countries; and brief summaries of theological intelligence and church statistics. It will be the aim of the REVIEW to treat all these subjects in a broad and catholic spirit, comprehending those historic phases of Calvinism which combined in the Presbyterian Church at the re-union on the basis of the Westminster standards, together with the symbols of the Reformed Churches. The name shall be THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW. No article is to be published without the approval of both of the managing editors. The managing editors shall hold themselves, and be regarded as, responsible for the contents and internal character of the REVIEW, the associate editors aiding them to secure its highest excellence, efficiency, and success. Prof. A. A. Hodge, D.D., of the Princeton Theological Seminary, and Prof. C. A. Briggs, D.D., of the Union Theological Seminary, are to be the managing editors. Prof. Herrick Johnson, D.D., of the Auburn Theological Seminary; Prof. S. J. Wilson, D.D., of the Western Theological Seminary; Prof. James Eells, D.D., of the Lane Theological Seminary; Prof. Francis L. Patton, D.D., of the Seminary of the North-west; and Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., of the Collegiate Reformed Church, New York, are to be the associate editors."

We take our stand, therefore, by the standards of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, which are the Word of God, the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, the Form of Government and Book of Discipline, together with the symbols of the Reformed Churches. We take our position among the Quarterlies as a denominational Review on the basis of the Reunion of 1869; all those historical phases of Calvinism which then combined, being represented in the editorial corps and the stockholders of the REVIEW, securing a fair and equitable representation in its pages. We hope to secure the hearty co-operation of all parts of the Presbyterian Church in our work—not at the sacrifice of any convictions or methods,

but rather by gathering together in unity the historic variety for the common welfare of the whole.

Our spirit is broad and catholic—the spirit of Reunion going forth in sympathy and love to those other branches of the Presbyterian Family which are not in organic union with us. We desire and earnestly seek their co-operation in the REVIEW, and indeed that of all those who adopt the Presbyterian form of government, the Reformed or Calvinistic statements of doctrine, and the Evangelical principles of life and conduct, or who would study with interest our Presbyterianism from the point of view occupied by other Churches of Christ. While Presbyterian, we yet heartily rejoice in every good word and work on the part of other denominations, whom we respect all the more for firm adherence to their own principles. We will join them in the great Christian movements of the age—for the conversion of the nations, the overthrow of infidelity, and the extermination of vice and crime.

Uniting with our Presbyterian brethren throughout the world in the Presbyterian Alliance and with our Evangelical brethren in the Evangelical Alliance, we shall, notwithstanding, give our chief attention to the theology and life of the particular Church in which God has cast our lot, to labor for its progress with love and enthusiasm. We shall not hesitate to maintain and enforce Presbyterian polity over against Episcopacy and Congregationalism; Calvinistic doctrine over against Lutheranism and Arminianism; while we unite with these, our brethren, in presenting a united and aggressive front to Romanism, Socinianism, Rationalism, and Communism.

The REVIEW will be a theological Review, and, as such, comprehensive of the various departments of theological encyclopædia. We shall endeavor to represent adequately all parts of theology, and yet propose to give our chief attention to those parts that seem from time to time to need defence or advocacy. Such departments we conceive to be at present—Biblical Criticism, Historical Investigation, Apologetics, Symbolics, Ethics, and the practical work of the Church. The Sciences, Philosophy, General History, and Belles-Lettres will have but a subordinate place; coming properly into our sphere only so far as they are related to

the various departments of theology. A leading feature of the REVIEW will be the careful examination and criticism of the most important publications in different countries. These will be prepared by a large number of professional scholars, who will each assume the subject most suited to him. There will also be a department for Biblical, Historical, and Bibliographical Notes and Queries, including such theological intelligence and Church statistics as may seem appropriate to the design of the REVIEW, without intruding on the field so well occupied by our numerous Presbyterian newspapers. We also propose from time to time to reprint, with notes, some of the more valuable documents and tracts illustrating the history of Presbyterianism.

The managing editors will be exclusively responsible for the contents and internal character of the REVIEW, but not in such a sense that they are to be regarded as adopting either jointly or individually the views advocated in the various articles, but in the sense that the contents and internal character of the REVIEW will be in accordance with the original basis of agreement, and reflect the various existing and previous characteristics of the Presbyterian Church. Each author will be held responsible for the views expressed in his article; the editors only for the *propriety* of admitting those views into the REVIEW. The editors may not infrequently feel called upon to publish views to which neither of them can subscribe, and will be responsible only for the views expressed in the articles that bear their names.

Being fully persuaded of the infallible truth and divine authority of our whole Bible, we propose not merely to defend it against the assaults of Rationalism, but rather to attack Rationalism itself with the weapons of the most searching Biblical criticism and exact historical investigation, and overcome it by the force of the truth which is divine and consistent wherever found, not fearing lest the foundations should be destroyed, if perchance we may find a few weak points in our extended lines that need strengthening and reinforcement.

Regarding theology as the queen of all the sciences, we do not propose to enter into warfare with any of them, but rather to employ all the results of true science, whatever they may be, for the advantage of theological science. We have no

fear of the truth, or for the truth, but rejoice in it, and are assured that it is mighty and will prevail.

Sincerely receiving and adopting the Westminster Confession of Faith as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures, and approving the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church, and the various symbols of the Reformed Churches, we confidently appeal to our ministry, elders, and people, and all friends of theological learning, to aid us in the advocacy of those principles which have been inherited by us as the most precious legacy of the great struggle for liberty and righteousness in Great Britain in the seventeenth century, and which in our own land have had so much to do with moulding its civil institutions, as well as with building up one of the strongest institutions for good in compact and well-organized Presbyterian churches.

THE EDITORS.

II.

HUME, HUXLEY, AND MIRACLES.

THE publication of Professor Huxley's sketch of the life and philosophical opinions of David Hume, has again called the public attention to a thinker who has done more than any other modern, with the exception of Spinoza, to unsettle the belief of mankind in the principles of morals and religion. As Mr. Huxley is himself strenuously engaged in this same endeavor, it is natural that he should avail himself of the acute and strong understanding of the Scotch sophist, and thereby obtain a force and momentum for his own opinions which they might not otherwise possess. He agrees with Hume in the essentials of his system, though dissenting upon some points, such, for example, as the following :

1. Hume regards instinct as something innate and permanent; this, Huxley believes, and with reason, to be an admission that "might be turned to serious account against Hume's own doctrines;" because, "if the existence of instincts be granted, the possibility of the existence of innate ideas, in the most extended sense ever imagined by Descartes, must also be admitted." (Huxley's Hume, pp. 108, 110).
2. Hume, while denying that the proposition that "every event has a cause" is an axiomatic and necessary truth, concedes that the proposition that "the whole is equal to the sum of the parts" is such. Huxley regards this as a "needless admission" (p. 118), and is undoubtedly correct in thinking that such a discrimination between the two propositions is an inconsistency.
3. Hume tacitly agrees, with Locke, in asserting that knowledge is the perception of the relations of ideas to each other (pp. 70, 71). This makes knowledge to be more than mere physical sensation. Huxley does not like this, because it conflicts with the explanation of all knowledge by the molecular motion of matter.
4. Hume, in the person of Cleanthes (probably), constructs an argument for the being

of a God, from cause and effect, and from order and design in the universe. This argument Huxley regards as a failure (p. 151). These are specimens of some of the points of difference, and show that Huxley goes further than Hume in the direction of materialism. Hume is inclined to linger within the limits, or at least upon the borders, of deism; while Huxley feels little restraint of this sort. In short, this little volume, prepared as one of a series of literary portraits for popular distribution, is less reserved and cautious in its scepticism than the Essays of Hume, and proves clearly that the materialism of the present moment does not retain so many elements of theism, as did that of the eighteenth century, and that the unbelief of the English atheism of this century, is more positive and unguarded than that of the English deism of the last.

With this notice of the general spirit of Huxley's book, we proceed to consider the subject of *miracles, with special reference to Huxley's account of Hume*. This requires us to examine certain positions of both Hume and Huxley, that prepare the way for their view of the miraculous and the supernatural.

1. In the first place, Hume denies that the human mind is an immaterial substance underlying mental phenomena. "What we call a mind," says Hume, "is nothing but a heap or collection of different perceptions."* Huxley affects to be very candid, and says that Hume "may be right or wrong in this, but the most that he, or any one else, can prove is, that we know nothing more of the mind than that it is a series of perceptions" (p. 61). But afterwards Huxley himself asserts that this collection of perceptions not only "constitutes the mind," but is "a system of effects, the causes of which are changes in the matter of the brain, just as the collection of motions which we call flying, is a system of effects, the causes of which are to be sought in the modes of motion of the matter of the muscles of the wings" (p. 76). This is cruder materialism than anything in Hume; for it is equivalent to saying that the mind is only a collection of *physical sensations*. Hume had not learned the secret of the new physics,

* Treatise on the Understanding, Part IV., Sec. vi.

of explaining all phenomena by molecular motion, and would probably have explained his position that the mind is a collection of "perceptions," rather in the sense in which Locke uses the term, than in that of Haeckel, Maudsley, and Huxley. It is true that his positions, if carried out, must have led him to the advanced position of these materialists, but Hume would have hesitated to say so flatly as Huxley does, that the mind is a collection of mere "sensations." He preferred the term "perceptions." This spurious kind of candor shows itself more than once in the book, and makes the impression upon the reader that he has to do with a somewhat trickish intellect.

But that there is no such thing as an immaterial and spiritual substance, Hume and Huxley are agreed. In Hume's words, there is nothing but "a bundle of different perceptions succeeding one another with inconceivable rapidity."* Hume left the matter here. He does not attempt, in detail and by a theory, to account for this series of phenomena. Huxley and those with whom he agrees in opinion attempt this.

2. And this brings us to the second position that prepares the way for the sceptical theory of miracles. In order to account for all phenomena, both material and mental, a postulate is laid down, viz: that there is but one substance, and this is infinite and eternal. This substance is matter, and matter is full of material forces. Given matter and material force, and everything existing in unlimited space, and occurring in everlasting time, can be explained. Matter in motion will account for everything in the universe. "In matter, there is the promise and potency of every form of life," says Tyndall. This doctrine of one substance is the celebrated postulate, not proven, but assumed, of Spinoza, who is the intellectual father of modern materialism and atheism. To this substance, Spinoza attributes two properties that are incompatible with each other, according to the common understanding, and also according to such philosophic reason as that of Plato, Aristotle, and Kant. By the definition of the original inventor, this universal substance is capable of both thought and extension. These are the two modes of the substance.

* *Treatise on the Understanding*, Part IV., Sec. vi.

Here, then, is a substance having two diverse sets of properties: a material-immaterial substance. A substance like this, contradicting the common judgment that all substance is necessarily homogeneous and can have only one class of properties, requires to be demonstrated, before it is laid down as the foundation of a system. No demonstration, however, is attempted, but the position is treated as axiomatic, and the attempt is made to explain the phenomena of the universe by it. But since thought and extension are naturally regarded as contraries, and incompatible with each other, the actual result in the history of speculation is to expel one by the other, and the one substance, in the end, is either wholly material or wholly spiritual. The universe is either all matter or all mind. The latter view was that of Berkeley, who while holding the distinction between the infinite and finite mind, maintained that there is no force but spiritual force, and no reality but spirit. There is only one kind of substance, but this substance is immaterial. This view, however, owing to its hyper-spirituality has had little currency, and is favorable, rather than otherwise, to the doctrine of the supernatural and miraculous. Because, upon this theory, mind and not matter, spiritual and not physical force, is sovereign and controlling in the universe.

On the other hand, the *material* property, in this Spinozistic substance composed of double and confused properties, may expel the spiritual. Instead of thought driving out extension, extension may drive out thought. Instead of explaining matter by mind, mind may be explained by matter. This is probably what Spinoza would have done had he entered into further explanation of his system; and this is what has been done by that class of speculators who have adopted his premise and postulate. Hobbes had already done this before Spinoza's time. He declared "that philosophy has to do only with bodies; and with him whatever is bodily is substantial; the two conceptions are identical; a substance not a body is nothing. All real processes are material motions."*

Cudworth, Henry More, and others combated this theory, affirming the Platonic-Aristotelian distinction between matter

* Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, II. 39.

and mind, and maintaining the reality of unextended incorporeal substance, as well as of extended and corporeal substance. The duality of mind and matter, and the assertion of two substances of diverse properties, incapable of being mixed and confounded in a common base like that of Spinoza's postulate, was a fundamental position in the system of Descartes, from whom Spinoza borrowed his definition of the infinite substance, throwing out Descartes' accompanying definition of a secondary finite substance. Theism, represented by Leibnitz and Kant, has reaffirmed the doctrine of two diverse substances; and pantheism, represented by Schelling in his earlier system, and by Hegel, has followed Spinoza. The new physics, as represented by Haeckel, Huxley, Maudsley, and others, is Spinozistic, and attempts to explain all phenomena by matter and material force. The kingdoms of physical nature and the spheres of intellectual and moral existence are all alike founded in the motion of molecules of matter. The one infinite, extended, material substance, if in motion in one way, will exhibit the phenomena of the mineral kingdom; if in another mode, of vegetation; if in another mode, of animal sensation; if in another way, of human thought and feeling. When, therefore, a man thinks or feels, there is no immaterial substance, no individual spirit distinct and separate from matter, which thinks and feels, but there is only a particular series of movements of certain atoms of the one universal substance. This is all there is when a man loves or hates, blasphemes or prays; when Aristotle reasons or Shakespeare imagines.

We do not intend to examine the arguments that are presented in support of this theory, but to state some objections to it.

1. In the first place, this theory attributes *self-motion* to matter. The theorist postulates an inherent motive force, with his molecule. And he must; because he denies that there is any mental or self-conscious source of motion, any *prime mover*. One molecule must impinge upon another by its *own* motivity. This contradicts the results of scientific observation and mathematical calculation as recorded in the established and accepted physics. If the new physics is correct, the old physics is exploded. Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler,

Newton, Leibnitz, La Place, and Herschel represent the historical physics; and they all held the doctrine of the *vis inertiae*. This scientific dogma Newton enunciates in the beginning of the Principia as follows: "All matter uniformly remains in statu quo, either of motion or of rest, unless it is made to change its state by external causes." Self-motion is impossible to matter. If matter is in rest, it will never move unless something other than itself moves it; and if it has been set in motion, it will never stop unless something other than itself stops it. It has been a received maxim in physics that the distance between rest and motion in matter is as great as between non-existence and existence, and that matter can no more move itself than nonentity can produce entity. The whole fabric of physical science rests upon this view and definition of matter; and when persons who have so little position in the history of physics as have the Maudsleys, the Huxleys and Tyndalls, and even the Spinozas, if compared with the Galileos, the Keplers and Newtons, the Leibnizes, the La Places and Herschels, ask us to accept their unproven postulate that matter is not characterized by the *vis inertiae*, but by self-motion, we cannot help meeting the request with the stare of surprise. Yet this is the demand they make. "We must get rid," says Maudsley, "of the notion of matter as inert. Matter is not inert."*

The fact is, that the materialist asks mankind to accept a new definition of matter, which shall include in it some of the properties of mind. He begs his opponent to concede that matter can set itself in motion, and does not require a prime mover; that it can change the direction of its self-motion, and does not need a director. Of course, if his opponents will grant him what he asks, it will assist him, though it will not help him out of half of the difficulties of his theory. But why, in the face of all the results of scientific observation; in the face of the mathematics of the Principia, and the calculus of the *Mécanique Céleste*; should we grant that matter is possessed of self-motion? What observer has ever seen the process? What microscope has ever detected a molecule in the act of absolutely beginning a movement? Lucretius long

* Physiology of Mind, Ch. III.

ago acknowledged that atoms do not come within the domain of sense. They are invisibles. The only possible method, consequently, of demonstrating the truth of the molecular physics is the mathematical method. Le Verrier proved by the calculus the existence of a planet that had never been seen by a human eye. The general system of the material universe required a mass like that of Neptune to explain particular motions and aberrations. And if the molecular physicist could prove the existence of invisible self-moving atoms by the same method, the human mind would have no option, and must accept the fact. But the existing scheme of the universe, the entire astronomy of Kepler and Newton, refutes the dogma. The new physics and mathematical astronomy not only have no connection with each other, but are in flat contradiction. The doctrine of a self-moving matter is utterly incompatible with that of the attraction of cohesion, as Henry More long ago suggested. If matter were self-moved "nothing would hold together; flints, adamant, iron bars, yea, all matter, would fly apart and be dissipated."* Everything would be subject to the caprice of billions of billions of molecules, each of which is self-motion at a point. The reign of law would be impossible. Chance must be the ruler of the material universe, and chaos would come again.

But the new physics does not stop with postulating self-motion in matter; it also postulates *self-direction* and *choice*. Darwin explains the origin of new species by "natural selection" within the sphere of matter. Selection is a choice between one of two, or more. Matter chooses this and rejects that. One molecule decides to move itself in this way, and another in a different way, and the results of the billions of motions in the millions of manners are the varieties of vegetable, animal, and mental life. Darwin confines "selection" to living matter, but Haeckel extends it to dead matter. He maintains that inorganic matter by selection and implied rejection produces organic matter. The so-called "law of natural selection" is absolutely universal. Not only protoplasm, but molecules of quartz and flint, start and direct their own movements. This same notion of a voluntary kind of mat-

* Immortality of the Soul, I. vii.

ter appears also in the frequent phrase, "accidental varieties." These are the unusual varieties which the theorist cannot account for by the common "natural selection." Ordinarily matter selects in that particular manner which yields a species with its varieties, but sometimes it indulges in caprice, and then there is an accident.

The phraseology by which matter is made to possess one of the properties of mind—a phraseology never found in the historical physics—is the common parlance of the new physics. "Life," says Virchow, "is only a complicated kind of mechanics. A part of the sum-total of matter *emerges* from time to time out of the usual course of its motions into special chemico-organic combinations, and, after having for a time continued therein, *returns* again to general modes of inorganic action."* Here are both self-motion and choice. Certain molecules massed together "emerge" out of one kind of motion into a different kind, and then go back again to the first kind. This physics is as fanciful as anything in the mediæval physics. There is but one step from matter that "emerges" and "returns," that "selects" and "rejects," to matter that is filled with "occult qualities" and "vital spirits," with gnomes in the mineral, and sylphs in the gas. Experiment and observation, either with the naked or the armed eye, furnish not a scintilla of proof that matter is self-moving and voluntary in its rudiments, and yet mankind are asked to believe it upon the mere assertion of a theorist, who wants it as a fulcrum over which to pry up all the historical science and the historical religion of mankind. The materialist, with his new definition of matter, will succeed with the mass of men no better than Molière's pretended doctor did with his patron. "There is one thing," said Géronte, "which strikes me as not quite clear: it is the places you give to the liver and the heart. It seems to me that you place them differently from what they are; that the heart is on the left side and the liver on the right side. Yes," says Sganarelle, "it was so formerly, but *we have altered all that*, and we now practise medicine in quite a new way."† Mr. Huxley, when he is reminded that the historical physics

* Quoted by Haeckel, *Creation* I., 18.

† *Le Médecin malgré lui*, II., vi.

teaches the *vis inertiae*, tells us that he has altered all that; but whether he will succeed in persuading the common-sense of man to believe that matter has some of the properties of mind, remains to be seen.

The theory of molecular motion is the same thing essentially with the "fortuitous concourse of atoms", by which the ancient atheists, Leucippus and Democritus, explained all phenomena; and the modern materialist must expect to be asked the same kind of questions by which his predecessors were pestered. We will not renew the old inquiry as to the shape of these molecules—whether spherical, square, or triangular; how many of them, and of what figure, go to produce a sensation, and how many a thought; at what velocity they must move to produce vegetable tissue, and at what velocity to produce animal tissue. There is one feature of the theory, however, that we do not remember to have seen alluded to. It is suggested by the fact that these molecules are related to *space*. Their motions must be in some direction. The points of the compass, consequently, will have to be introduced into the new psychology. Everything depends upon the direction of the molecules, and considering the immense variety of sensations and perceptions that are to be accounted for by molecular motion, it must be that all, and vastly more than all, of the thirty-two points of the mariner's compass will come into use. The students of psychology by the new method will have to learn to "box the compass." Possibly this explains what is meant when we say of a sulky man, that "the wind is east with him." This hitherto has been regarded as metaphorical language, but in the new physics it is strictly scientific.

2. A second objection to the molecular physics is, that, according to it, *matter moves mind* instead of mind moving matter, as is commonly supposed. Professor Huxley states the theory in the following words: "All mental states are effects of physical causes, and, what are called mental faculties and operations, are (properly speaking) cerebral functions allotted to definite, though not yet precisely assignable, parts of the brain." Thought is cerebration. Similarly, Maudsley asserts that "feelings, ideas, and volitions are changes in the nervous system, and instruments may yet be

invented by which such ideas or nerve-changes may be measured."* The genesis of a thought or a feeling, then, is this : an external object impresses the senses, these irritate the nerves, the nerves affect the substance of the brain and set its molecules in motion; and this last affection of the brain-substance is thought, or feeling, or conception, or intuition, etc. Mr. Huxley explains clearly by a bell-wire—so clearly, that a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err. "The effect of the irritation of a nerve-fibre on the cerebral substance with which it is connected may be compared to the pulling of a long bell-wire. The impulse takes a little time to reach the bell; the bell rings, and then becomes quiescent until another pull is given. So, in the brain, every sensation is the ring of a cerebral particle; the effect of a momentary impulse sent along a nerve-fibre" (p. 87). According to this, when a man has the feeling of shame, for example, the beginning of the process is on the outside of him, and not on the inside. He does not first have the feeling of shame in a certain centre or subject which we call his mind, and which is of an entirely different substance from his nerves and brain, and then this feeling passes from the mind to the body, becoming sensuous after having first been mental, showing itself in nervous and brain affection, and, finally, in that rush of blood to the face which is the corporeal and visible token of shame. This is all wrong, says Mr. Huxley. The first thing in the process is an external impression upon the sense, then an irritation of the nerves, then a stimulation of the brain-fibre, then the flush in the face, and then the feeling of shame. The common opinion is, that the feeling of shame causes the blush. This is an entire mistake, says the materialist; it is the blush that causes the feeling of shame.

It is difficult to believe that such physics and psychology as this could be seriously defended and taught by a person of reputation in scientific circles. But Mr. Huxley leaves his readers no alternative. In his lecture at Belfast, he proclaims that "the brain is the organ of sensation, thought, and emotion; that is to say, some change in the condition of the matter of this organ is the invariable *antecedent* of the state of

* *Physiology of Mind*, p. 61.

consciousness to which each of these terms is applied." This settles the matter. The antecedence in time may be infinitesimal, but it is antecedence. Matter moves of itself, and moves before mind. The physical precedes the mental. The former is the cause, and the latter is the effect.

This is an old doctrine, and it has never been more effectually refuted than in the delicate yet biting irony of Socrates, in the *Phædo*. "When I was young, Cebes, I had a prodigious desire to know that department of philosophy which is called Natural Science; this appeared to me to have lofty aims, as being the science which has to do with the causes of things, and which teaches why a thing is, and is created and destroyed; and I was always agitating myself with the consideration of such questions as these: Is the growth of animals the result of some decay which the hot and cold principles contract, as some have said? Is the blood the element with which we think, or the air, or the fire? or perhaps nothing of this sort—but the brain may be the originating cause of the perceptions of hearing and sight and smell, and memory and opinion may come from them."

Socrates betakes himself to the philosophy of Anaxagoras for light upon these points; but is grievously disappointed. "As I proceeded, I found my philosopher altogether forsaking *mind* or any other principle of order, and having recourse to air and ether and water, and other eccentricities. I might compare him to a person who began by maintaining, generally, that mind is the cause of the actions of Socrates, but who, when he endeavored to explain the causes of my several actions in detail, went on to show that I sit here because my body is made up of bones and muscles; and the bones, as he would say, are hard, and have ligaments which unite them; and the muscles are elastic, and they cover the bones, which have also a covering or environment of flesh and skin which contains them; and as the bones are lifted at their joints by the contraction or relaxation of the muscles, I am able to bend my limbs, and this is why I am sitting here in a curved position—that is what he would say; and he would have a similar explanation of my talking to you, which he would attribute to sound and air and hearing, and he would assign ten thousand other causes of the same sort, forgetting to mention the true

cause, which is, that the Athenians have thought fit to condemn me, and accordingly I have thought it better and more right to remain here and undergo my sentence: for I am inclined to think that these muscles and bones of mine would have gone off to Megara or Bœotia—by the dog of Egypt they would—if they had been guided only by their own idea of what was best, and if I had not chosen as the better and nobler part, instead of playing truant and running away, to undergo any punishment which the State inflicts. There is surely a strange confusion of causes and conditions in all this. It may be said, indeed, that without bones and muscles, and the other parts of the body, I cannot execute my purposes. But to say that I do as I do, because of them, and that this is the way in which mind acts, and not from the choice of the best, is a very careless and idle mode of speaking. I wonder that they cannot distinguish the cause from the condition, which the many, feeling about in the dark, are always mistaking and misnaming.”*

Professor Huxley applies this doctrine that matter moves mind, to the will. Hume had done it before him. Says Hume: “No animal can put external bodies in motion without the sentiment of a *nîsus*, or endeavor. This sensation is merely animal.”† Says Huxley, in his comment upon this: “To the argument that we have a right to suppose the relation of cause and effect to contain something more than invariable succession, because when we ourselves act as causes, in volition, we are conscious of exciting power; Hume replies that we know nothing of the feeling we call power, except as effort or resistance; and that we have not the slightest means of knowing whether it has anything to do with the production of bodily motion or mental changes” (p. 125). Hume illustrates this last statement in the following words, which are not quoted by Mr. Huxley: “A man struck suddenly with a palsy in the leg or arm, frequently endeavors, at first, to move them, and employ them in their usual offices. Here he is as

* Phædo, 96-99. Jowett, I. 425-428.

† Hume's Inquiry, Section vii. “The will,” says Haeckel (Creation, I. 237), “is the *habit* of molecular motion. It depends upon the material processes in the nervous system. The will is never free. The will, as well as the other mental activities, in higher animals, differs from that of men, only in quantity, not in quality.”

much conscious of power to command such limbs, as a man in perfect health is conscious of power to actuate any member which remains in its natural state and condition. But consciousness never deceives. Consequently, neither in the one case nor in the other, are we ever conscious of any power."* According to this, a palsied man "is as much conscious of power" to move his limbs, as a well man is; or, in other words, is conscious of something which he does not possess. The puzzled reader will find, when he examines the context of this singular statement, that Hume only means that the palsied man *understands* as much as the well man, respecting the connection between voluntary action and the movement of the muscles and limbs. "There is no principle [fact] in all nature more mysterious than the union of soul with body. If by consciousness we perceived any power or energy in the will, we must know this power; we must know its connection with the effect; we must know the secret union of soul and body, and the nature of both of these substances." That is to say, in order to be conscious of a fact, we must comprehend the fact. "Consciousness" is employed loosely in the above statement, to denote any and all forms of mental experience; and under cover of this paltering with words in a double sense, Hume denies that man is conscious of a power to move his limbs. This rather staggers Mr. Huxley, who does not commit himself quite so strongly to this affirmation, but cautiously adds, "that we do not *know*, and cannot know, that volition does cause corporeal motion; while there is a great deal to be said in favor of the view that it is no cause, but merely a concomitant of that motion" (p. 125).

The reply to this assertion is, that the proof that it is the man's will that moves the man's arm, is identically the same as that the man exists. The man is immediately conscious that he exists; and he is also immediately conscious that he moves his arm, and that his arm is not moved for him. The evidence is precisely the same in the one instance as in the other; and if the materialist is content with self-consciousness as a proof of personal existence, he ought to be content with it as a proof that the soul moves the body. Neither of these truths can be demonstrated either by a syllogism or by the

* Inquiry, Section vii.

microscope. The only proof of such propositions as that a man is a real person, and that he moves his limbs by his will, is in the self-consciousness. And if such testimony is valid in reference to a man's existence, it is also valid in reference to his agency. A mind as ingenious as that of Hume, were there a sufficient motive for so doing, could fabricate an argument against the reality of personal existence, as well as against the reality of voluntary action. In fact, this has been done in the pantheistic psychology of India and Germany. Hegel, by a ratiocination as subtile as that of Hume, and wire-drawn into a vast scheme compared with which that of Hume is a mere fragment, endeavors to disprove the metaphysical reality of the individual *ego*.

We pass, now, to the materialistic theory of miracles, for which these views of the relation of matter to mind, so carefully thought out by Hume, and reproduced by Huxley and others, are intended to prepare the way.

Of course, if there is no such substance as mind, and the only substance is matter and material force, there can be no personal deity, different from matter and above it. And if there is no such deity, there can be no miracle; because a miracle implies an absolute control over matter, and a suspension of its laws. The doctrine of a miracle stands or falls with that of a personal God. That Hume held on somewhat feebly upon the deistical idea of a First Cause, and even attempted an argument for the divine existence, does not conflict with this assertion. The deist's idea of God contains very few personal elements at the best. Bolingbroke would concede but two attributes to the Supreme Being: adaptive intelligence, and physical omnipotence. The moral attributes have little room or play in deistical theories of the universe. Deism, though nominally asserting the existence of a deity, has little to do with Him, and nothing to say to Him. Bolingbroke and Hume never prayed. And, considering the tenor of Professor Tyndall's speculations respecting the "prayer test," one would be led to query whether he ever ventures upon the experiment.

The first step in the construction of Hume's argument against miracles, is to invalidate the proposition that "every

event has a cause ; " and the second is, to invalidate the testimony upon which miracles are believed. If there be, in reality, no such thing as an efficient cause, then there can be no designing agent ; and if no such agent, then no miracle. And if no testimony whatever is sufficient to prove that the common course of nature has ever been interrupted, the miracle must take its place with the fable and legend.

The connection between cause and effect, Hume thus explains : " When one particular species of events has always, in all instances, been conjoined with another, we call the one object *cause*, the other *effect*. We suppose that there is some necessary connection between them ; some power in the one by which it infallibly produces the other, and operates with the greatest certainty and strongest necessity." This is an error, says Hume. There is no such necessary connection between the two events. We have only formed the *habit* of putting the two events together, after having seen them occur together many times in succession. " The first time," says Hume, " a man saw the communication of motion by impulse, as by the shock of two billiard balls, he could not pronounce that the one event was *connected*, but only that it was *conjoined* with the other. After he has observed several instances of this nature, he then pronounces them to be *connected*."* " The knowledge of the relation between cause and effect is not, in any instance, attained by reasonings *a priori*, but arises entirely from experience, when we find that any particular objects are constantly conjoined with each other. Adam, though his rational faculties be supposed at the very first entirely perfect, could not have inferred from the fluidity and transparency of water, that it would suffocate him, or from the light and warmth of fire, that it would consume him."† Here, one kind of knowledge is substituted for another. Experience shows, in a given instance, what particular object is the effect of another particular object ; in other words, *which* is the effect and *which* is the cause. But this is very different from showing that the effect is *necessarily connected* with its cause. Wider experience increases man's knowledge as to which phenomena are effects, and which are

* Inquiry, Section vii.

† Inquiry, Section iv.

causes; but does not increase his knowledge that effects are necessarily connected with their causes. This latter knowledge is a fixed quantity, and is no more capable of increase or diminution, than is the knowledge that the sum of the parts is equal to the whole. Adam, to use Hume's illustration, having once found by experience that fire produces a painful sensation; having once discovered which is cause and which is effect; was as certain of the necessary connection between the two things, in the first instance of his experience, as in the tenth, or ten-thousandth. Custom makes no difference in the degree of certainty respecting the connection between cause and effect. The habit of seeing gunpowder explode when a match is applied, does not make us *more* and *more* certain that the cause produces the effect. It should, upon Hume's theory. According to him, we ought not to be so certain that the effect follows its cause, in the first instance that we perceive the two related phenomena, as in the last instance that we perceive them. But the fact is, that we are just as certain: no more, and no less.

The reasoning of Hume respecting causation has been replied to so often, and the nature of the reply is so well-known, that we dwell upon it no longer, and dismiss it with a brief reference to the inconsistency with which it is associated in his general scheme of philosophy. We have already noticed that Hume concedes that mathematical propositions are intuitive and necessary truths. "The sciences of geometry, algebra, and arithmetic contain affirmations that are intuitively certain."* Man's assent to the proposition that "the sum of the parts is equal to the whole," Hume did not venture to assert is the result of custom and habit. It would be too much for human credulity to say that we believe that the sum of the parts is equal to the whole, merely because we have in several instances tried the experiment of cutting an apple into pieces, and found upon joining the parts together again that they make up the whole apple. We are as certain of the truth of this proposition, apart from any actual trial and experience, the first time that we hear the terms of it, as we are the thousandth time. Custom does not add a whit to the strength of our conviction. Mathematical axioms, Hume concedes to

* Inquiry, Section iv.

merit that appellation. And as an uniform experience amounts to a proof, there is here a direct and full *proof*, from the nature of the fact, against the existence of the miracle."*

There are two fallacies in this *quasi* argument. The first is contained in the unproved assertion, that the reanimation of a dead man has "*never* been observed in any age or country," or, that a miracle is contrary to uniform in the sense of *invariable* experience. For, by uniformity, here, must be meant an experience without a single exception. A single instance to the contrary would be fatal to Hume's theory. One miracle would be as good as a hundred, in logical respects. Mill so understands Hume's use of the term "uniform," when he explains it by the term "universal," and defines the universal as that which results from a "complete induction of all the particulars." Now, merely to assume, as is done in this pretended argument introduced by the word "because," that a miracle is contrary to universal experience, is to beg the question. The question in dispute is: *Does* the miracle contradict the experience of every individual without exception that ever lived upon this earth? That it contradicts the experience of Mr. Hume, does not prove that it contradicts the experience of Saul of Tarsus. That no miracles have been witnessed in Scotland, and in the nineteenth century, does not prove that they were not witnessed in Palestine, and in the first century. In order to be warranted in the sweeping assertion that a miracle "*never* has been observed in any age or country," a man must either demonstrate by the *a priori* method that the miracle is not possible, or by an *a posteriori* method that includes the entire history of man from its beginning up to the present moment, that the miracle is not actual. Hume has done neither.

The second fallacy in this semblance of an argument, consists in defining the miracle in such a manner as to include the point to be proved. A miracle, says Hume, is "an event that has never been observed in any age or country." Indeed! One would think that this is the very point in dispute between the parties. To take it out of the dispute, in this cool manner, and put it into the definition of a miracle which is to be accepted by both parties alike, is perhaps ingenious, but hardly

* Inquiry, Section x.

according to the rules of discussion. Mr. Hume certainly presumed very much, either upon the simplicity or the good-nature of his Christian opponents. This circular mode of reasoning, by surreptitiously putting the thing to be proved into a preliminary definition, has recently been repeated by Mr. Spencer in his definition of evolution, as "the development of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous." The question between the creationist and the evolutionist is, whether the homogeneous mineral ever does develop into the heterogeneous vegetable, or the homogeneous vegetable into the heterogeneous animal; and if this definition is accepted, Mr. Spencer may spare himself any further reasoning; and so might Mr. Hume, if his definition of a miracle be allowed.

The question whether a miracle has ever occurred, cannot be decided by definition, and in an *a priori* manner. It is a proposition in history, not in geometry. It is a question of fact, and must be decided by the examination of testimony. The thing itself is possible, as Hume, in words at least, concedes; whether, then, it be actual, depends upon witnesses. Strictly universal experience would involve an experience embracing all the physical phenomena upon earth, from the beginning of human history. It must be wider than the experience of the great majority of men. It must include that of the minority also. The minority, here as in politics, have some rights which the majority are bound to respect. The question of the miracle cannot be decided by a majority vote. The induction of particulars must be exhaustive, in order to demonstrate the incredibility of a miracle. It is not sufficient to cite the experience of the disbeliever and his contemporaries.

When, however, it comes to the subject of testimony for the miracle, Hume retreats to the *a priori* method. He did not, like Baur and Strauss, enter into an acute and learned investigation of the historical data furnished by the New Testament and the literature of the first two centuries, and endeavor to invalidate the testimony. Hume never examined the witnesses themselves. He took the shorter method of *postulating* that "a miracle has never been observed," and of retracting his previous concession that a miracle is possible. When he comes to speak of the subject of testimony for a miracle, he falls back upon the notion of impossibility. "No testi-

mony," he says, "is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavors to establish."* This rules out testimony altogether. The real meaning is, that there can be no testimony at all for a miracle. For, there can be no testimony "more miraculous than a miracle." And, if there were, the scepticism that had demanded a yet more miraculous testimony for the miraculous event would require a yet stronger kind of proof for the miraculous testimony itself, and so on indefinitely. In the extract which we have already given upon page 25, Hume frames his statements so as to establish the intrinsic impossibility of a miracle. In the first place, he defines the miracle as an event that never has been observed, and then adds to this the assertion, that any event that has actually been observed evinces *by this very fact* of sensuous observation that it is *not* a miracle. The miracle, consequently, cannot be established by the testimony of the senses. It never has been seen; and, if it could be seen, this would prove that it is not a miracle. Such reasoning is like that of the advocate in defence of his client: first, the defendant never borrowed the kettle; secondly, if he did borrow it, he returned it.

The *a priori* impossibility of the miracle lies under all the ancient and all the modern scepticism. This is the axiom to which all classes of unbelievers, in one form or another, really come back. This is the position of Huxley, as may be seen from his remarks upon Hume's views. The lurking assumption, notwithstanding the verbal concession of the possibility of the miracle, really is that the miracle is impossible. There is no testimony sufficiently strong to justify human belief in the miraculous. Huxley writes as follows: "If a man tells me that he saw a piebald horse in Piccadilly, I believe him without hesitation. If the same person tells me that he observed a zebra there, I might hesitate a little about accepting his testimony. If, however, my informant assured me that he beheld a centaur trotting down that famous thoroughfare, I should emphatically decline to credit his statement; and this even if he were the most saintly of men and ready to suffer martyr-

* Inquiry, Section x.

dom in support of his belief. Indeed, I hardly know what testimony would satisfy me of the existence of a live centaur" (p. 132). He thinks, however, that the testimony of Johannes Müller, the great German anatomist, would stagger him, and "lead to suspension of judgment." And if some competent investigator should write a "careful monograph," giving measurements and diagrams, he might possibly believe in the existence of a centaur.

A man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still, and a sceptic will hold out a long time against very respectable witnesses and testimony. But we think that if five hundred Englishmen at once—a number equal to the "five hundred brethren at once" alluded to by St. Paul—should see a centaur trotting down Piccadilly, and should testify that they did, and their testimony *should go unchallenged by the remainder of the English nation*, as that of the five hundred brethren was by the Jewish people, and Mr. Huxley should refuse to credit them, the common judgment would be that he was not so much a philosopher as he was an obstinate simpleton.* This "scientist," to employ the bad English that now designates a certain class of investigators, thinks that it is a very difficult thing to credit the existence of such a combination of man with brute as the centaur is. But he finds no difficulty in tracing the origin of man back to a brute, and believing that he can be developed from a jelly-fish. If he can swallow this camel, one would think that he need not strain at that gnat.

Indeed, if evolution, in Spencer's definition of it, is the truth, there is no knowing what may happen in the universe, and the materialist must be ready for anything. For, if the homogeneous can be transmuted by a merely *natural* process into the heterogeneous, then evolution may as easily descend as ascend. The animal may return to the vegetable, and the vegetable to the mineral. Man may develop into an ape, and the ape into

* It is not always remembered that the number of witnesses for the reality of miracles is not composed merely of those disciples of Christ who testified formally, but also of that much greater number of Jews who did not dispute this testimony. Silence gives consent. The Jewish nation as a whole, in permitting the oral narratives of the first preachers of the Gospel, and the written narratives of the evangelists, to go uncontradicted, at a time when contradiction would have been fatal to the spread and reception of these narratives, virtually become witnesses to the truth of the Gospel.

amorphous protoplasm, and protoplasm into inorganic matter. This would still be the homogeneous becoming the heterogeneous. It is impossible, upon this theory, to calculate upon fixed and uniform action in the physical world; and Mr. Huxley, if he lives long enough, may see stranger phenomena than a centaur, or even the Gospel miracles. Lucretius objects to the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* that it introduces confusion into nature. He erroneously supposed the doctrine of creation to be incompatible with the old accepted dictum, "omne animal ex ovo." If fishes and men, he says, are created from nothing, and do not spring from living germs or eggs, then fishes may start out of the ground and men may originate in the sea. Everything might originate out of everything.

Si de nihilo fierent, ex omnibus rebus
Omne genus nasci posset; nil semine egeret:
E mare primum homines, e terra posset oriri
Squamigerum genus, et volucres.*

Now this is exactly what may happen, if the different kingdoms of nature are related to each other in the manner asserted by the new physics. If there are no fixed limits to them, as the historical physics maintains, but all are merged and blended in the manner claimed by evolutionists, then the grain of sand may develop into a sperm cell, and the Nilotic slime into Plato's brain, and back again, with procession and retrocession forevermore. If this is so, the evolutionist ought not to find the biblical miracles so difficult to credit. If this is scientific truth, there are stranger things ahead, in infinite space and everlasting time, than have yet been seen, even in Palestine and by the Jewish people; and there are more things in heaven and earth than have been dreamed of in the materialist's philosophy. Extremes meet. "Nothing," says Pascal, "is more credulous than infidelity." The intellect of Kepler would find it more difficult to accept the physics of Haeckel, than the Gospel narratives.

And this brings us to the true reply to Hume's assertion that the miracle contradicts universal experience: viz, that there is valid testimony that it does not contradict it. Christendom, for eighteen centuries, has had in its possession a mass

* De rerum natura, i, 160-163.

of historical documents and data, which ninety-nine-hundredths of Christendom in all these centuries have regarded as proving that miracles have been wrought in this world, and have been seen by some of its inhabitants. The nature of this evidence is not mathematical, but like that for ordinary events in human history. It is possible to dispute and disbelieve it ; as it is possible to dispute and disbelieve the evidence for the assassination of Julius Cæsar. Assent to the testimony for the miracle, like assent to the testimony for events in ancient history generally, cannot be necessitated like assent to a geometrical axiom. The contrary of all historical events, be they ordinary or extraordinary, is possible. But the preponderance of evidence, and the probability, is so great, that the mass of mankind believe the events of both sacred and profane history ; both the miracle and the ordinary historical fact.

This reply brings the sceptic out of the province of sophistry, into the province of history, and invites him to examine the witnesses for the miracle, and to prove them to be false witnesses, if he can. This is a different kind of work from specious and artful ratiocination. It prohibits the use of the *a priori* method in the province of history, where it does not belong, and compels the objector to employ the *a posteriori* method, or the induction of facts, in a case where the only question is one of facts. That Hume knew little of such investigation is notorious. Johnson says that Hume acknowledged to a clergyman in the bishopric of Durham that he had never read the New Testament with attention. And what did Hume know of the nature and force of the testimony for the credibility of the New Testament, that comes from a score of writers, Christian, heretical, and sceptical, of the first three centuries, to say nothing of the monumental and other evidence that enters into Christian apologetics ?

In proportion as the history and literature contemporaneous with, and immediately succeeding, the advent of Christ is studied, does a man's belief in the credibility of the New Testament increase. But if he neglects this kind of study altogether, and bends his mind to the invention of *a priori* reasons against miracles, he will be able to make an infidel of himself, if not of others. If the witnesses to a fact are not listened to, and their testimony is not examined, of course the fact to which they

testify is liable to be denied, especially if there be any motive for so doing.

And this is the course which infidelity generally has pursued. Hume and Voltaire are examples. Neither of them was a student of Biblical and patristic literature. Both passed a judgment, without an examination of the testimony. We could not say this of the recent German infidelity, as represented by Baur and Strausz. Here, there is scholarship in this direction, unquestionably—a scholarship which has elicited a scholarship in reply, that has strengthened the old defences, and established Christian apologetics upon a yet stronger position. But it is not at all extreme to say, that in respect to apologetic learning, the English deism and the French atheism of the eighteenth century, were characterized by downright ignorance. The biblical and theological articles in Diderot's *Encyclopædia*, and Voltaire's *Dictionary*, are notorious for their superficiality and incorrectness. The blunders of Collins were exposed by Bentley; those of Toland, by Clark and Lardner; and those of Bolingbroke by Bishop Newton.

The same remark is true of the current materialism. Such exclusive attention as Huxley, Maudsley, and Tyndall are bestowing upon matter, leaves them no time, and no inclination, to contemplate mind. "If the soul, my dear Alcibiades, is ever to know herself, must she not look at the soul; and especially at that part of the soul in which her virtue, namely, wisdom, resides, and which is like herself?"* A man who holds one eye to the orifice of a microscope, and keeps the other closely shut, cannot see anything beyond his nose, and his knowledge must be confined to a very small circumference. He may be able to tell us how many scales there are in an inch of a fish's skin, and how many fibres there are in a spot on a butterfly's wing. But such minute physical inquiries as these leave him no time or taste for higher and grander matters. This very book of Huxley, on almost every page, displays ignorance in the nobler departments of human knowledge. His judgments respecting the deeper problems of philosophy and theology are crude and worthless. He misconceives Descartes, and does not understand Kant. He knows absolutely nothing of metaphysics, in

* Plato, *Alcibiades I.* 132.

the sense in which Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, and Kant employed the term. He knows physics, and supposes that this is metaphysics.

The "spurt," to use a boating phrase, which physical science, for the last decade, has taken in the direction of materialism, will come to an end, as in previous instances, because of this ignorance of higher themes. The human mind cannot long be content with the minute observation of the five senses helped by instruments. It will reassert its origin and its dignity, and leaving the things that are seen and temporal, begin again to contemplate the things that are unseen and eternal.

WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD.

III.

JUVENAL'S HISTORICAL JUDGMENTS.

THE general view taken of the Roman satirist Juvenal by earlier scholars was to regard him as a moralist of high convictions, of clear and comprehensive insight into the moral conditions of his time, with bold denunciation of them, his one motive being to portray what he saw under the Empire as it was, and to condemn it as it deserved, with the hope of touching the conscience of his age and of recalling it, if possible, to the simpler and purer life of earlier time. More recent French critics and historical writers, however, have analyzed with much cool acuteness his character and works, and have questioned, especially, his sweeping judgments of his age, uttered as they are without material exception or qualification. This literary and personal criticism may be found in the *Essays and Lectures* of Nisard, Patin, and Martha; while Boissier's close historical studies of the literature of the Flavian and Antonine periods, and particularly of the epigraphic remains of the time, present, with his peculiar vividness, valuable and suggestive results. These, chiefly, with additions to them and with a view of some of their general bearings, form the basis of the present paper. Here are two questions: first, as to Juvenal's personal life and character, and his aims and power as a satirist; and, second, as to the historical justness of his picture of the time. The importance of the latter question is evident when we consider that the society of this period was that in which Christianity was planted; and to obtain the most complete insight possible, not so much into its extreme, as into its really average moral condition, is, therefore, of exceptional interest and value.

A brief statement regarding Juvenal's personal life bears upon the question of his historical authority. Our knowledge of any details of the poet's life is, and must remain, very slight. Only probabilities and inferences drawn from his *Satires*,

which are peculiarly meagre in notices of the poet himself, suggest an approximate date of his birth, the probable circumstances of his social position, and the general character of his later life and pursuits. He doubtless, however, lived, during his maturer years, through the reign of Domitian, and passed his later life, which reached, perhaps, to eighty years, under Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian. He was, for the most part, after his training as a youth in the best schools of Rome, an amateur rhetorician in the capital at that period in which such multitudes were reciting and debating and haranguing in the apartments of private houses, in public halls, and even in the gymnasia and baths. He had reached middle age before he gave up that unreal and factitious literary life and devoted himself to real satire. There are no evidences that he gained high contemporary reputation at Rome, or won personal familiarity with noble families or high officials; but rather the contrary. He seems to have looked upon them from a position among the people of the middle and lower class, and he gives the facts and feelings of the time current among them regarding the great. This he does, perhaps, under the influence of social rebuffs and disappointed jealousy; but at any rate from the point of view quite certainly of a native of one of the smaller cities of Latium, who still retained in Rome the love of the simpler and purer life apart from the metropolis, and who held to the traditions of a better past, jealous of metropolitan life, and of all irruptions of foreign elements and ways, seeing in them only evil and corruption. He was, in short, the "native" Italian, giving utterance to Roman antipathy to the Greek and the Asiatic; and, in his literary and social connections at Rome, one of that rather "Bohemian" set of which Martial is a good representative.

Juvenal's satire touches the reigns of Tiberius and Nero at some points, but mainly covers that of Domitian, of which he was an eye-witness, and that during middle life. If written during the life of Domitian, no publication of any portion was ventured by him until the succeeding reign of Trajan had begun, when he, as did Tacitus, found that the time had come when men were free at Rome "to think what they pleased, and to utter what they thought." He then singles out the most notorious personages, and crimes, and social conditions

of the period just closed with Domitian's death, and paints them in the strongest colors—Nero, Domitian, and their freedmen favorites, and all the luxury and iniquity of the imperial palace, the imitation of it by the nobility, and the unnatural and enormous vices of both men and women in high society at large. He pictures, too, the next lower stratum—the mass of dependents and retainers and hungry poets and rhetoricians crowding the thresholds and ante-rooms of the wealthy; and then, far down, lowest of all, the vast populace, servile, idle, and vicious, whose only cry was for “bread and the games;” together with the motley foreign elements poured into Rome, to use the poet's figure, as into a vast sewer—the Greeklings, subtile, versatile, intriguing parasites, and Asiatics and Egyptians with their voluptuous habits and personal vices and orgiastic worships. We need not quote from that well-known series of word-pictures of the social condition of Rome, more comprehensive and complete than we have from any other source, many of them found only in Juvenal, and all so wonderfully compact and graphic; but all, without material exception, sketched in the darkest colors, and abounding in those terse and epigrammatic and stinging comments and epithets and judgments of which Juvenal is the acknowledged master. It was, indeed, a most shameful and abominable age of Rome which he portrayed; and, as we are carried along by the torrent of his vivid description and powerful invective, we are well-nigh borne on also to the comprehensive and uncompromising historical judgments in which he occasionally sums up his conclusions; as, for example, “There will be nothing hereafter more excessive in iniquity which posterity can add to our morals. Every vice has reached its climax.” Or again, “Rare indeed are the good; their number is scarcely more than that of the gates of Thebes or the mouths of the Nile. The ninth age is passing, and a generation worse than that in the age of iron, for whose reckless crime nature herself has found no name, nor hath a metal base enough to yield one.” But the possible ten that are good in this Sodom are not portrayed in Juvenal's pages. The picture is black without relief. The age, as he paints it, is all tyranny and servility, extravagance and cupidity, ambition, falseness, and sensuality. Juvenal is the most thorough pes-

simist of antiquity, and his Satires have made their full impression upon history. Christian writers, especially, have been sometimes inclined to accept with little or no question his picture of the Roman world as no unlikely or unreal contrast to the prevailing sentiments and habits of Christian times, and as manifesting the great source and reason for the early Christian successes, which are, in their view, to be regarded as chiefly the reaction from this pagan world of iniquity—prodigal man coming to a sense of his foul degradation, and seeking deliverance from his corruption. Juvenal's picture has been taken as hardly more than the actual Roman illustration of that well-known judgment of heathenism which St. Paul sketches in his epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians. St. Paul was an eye-witness, too, in the same city, and at nearly the same time, with Juvenal; and the two pictures wonderfully match. It is worth noting specially, however, that the apostle's picture of heathenism was not actually drawn from Rome. It was written before he had visited Rome, and is a picture rather of Asiatic and Grecian life at the time. And, though true, indeed, of like scenes and conditions at Rome, it is not to be pressed, and was not intended, as a comprehensive and exact historical sketch of Roman character and life.

But we take up only the question of the historical justness of Juvenal's comprehensive and sweeping judgments, such as we have quoted, and we ask: What considerations and facts are there which have a qualifying bearing upon them, and which may aid in gaining a just estimate of the more average pagan character and life at this period?

We should, first, notice the bearing of Juvenal's literary training upon his choice and treatment of his subjects. A literary excess and vice of the time was declamation. Those public and private halls, gymnasia, and baths at Rome, filled with poets and haranguers, turning over again and again their hackneyed topics and phrases, discussing subtleties, revamping oft-used legends and myths, picturing anew in glaring colors the scenes of history most fitted to rouse the strong emotions of horror and fear—all this was a poor school for rhetorical, and certainly for historical training. The tendency of it all is declamatory; is to a choice of topics and a style of treating

them too monotonously impassioned and strained ; to a " factitious indignation of the head," to a vicious striving for effect. Now Juvenal was thus trained. " He declaimed," says the old biography of him, " till middle life," and *animi causa*, not for a livelihood, nor as a preparation for the *cathedra* or the forum, but just for favorite declamatory practise. Not till middle life, it seems, did he turn from those amateur performances, and from all that unreal and vapid rhetoric, and begin to write satires in earnest. However far it is true that he was moved to these by genuine indignation, yet personal and professional motive may easily have largely mingled with it. He would be an original among these many jejune imitators. He disdains now their hackneyed themes and phrases, and takes up real and recent persons and crimes, proudly aware now, as Martha says, of " the horrible originality of the pictures he will draw of Roman degradation." He is genuinely moved to indignation by what he sees in that world of Domitian, but, after all, he is the declaimer turned satirist and moralist, and he has no medium colors and tones for his canvas. He has not enough of the historian's feeling and motive to lead him to relieve the picture by any side-lights, even from the age of Nerva and Trajan, which has come in while he is publishing his portrayals of Domitian's time.

We are, again, justly to put ourselves on guard in relation to a professed moralist and satirist as Juvenal was. One who proposes to adjudge his time in that character, and who shows a strong pessimist leaning, is likely to have observed the notorious examples of what he is seeking, and less the average men and women and conditions about him. He is inclined to estimate his time according to the evil rather than the good there is in it. It is all in keeping for him to be rigorous and severe ; and, if he takes in hand the scourge of satire, to show how vigorously he can wield it. Satire is nothing if it is not telling. Average character is not suited to its purposes. It seeks extreme examples. " A single scandal much talked of," remarks Boissier, " easily destroys the effect of a hundred average and honorable families of whom nothing has been reported." Juvenal may have been, in part, thus deceived. He starts from some single notorious example, and he draws too large inferences from it for the

sake of a sweeping generalization that shall surcharge his period with satiric power.

A moralist, too, of that time, it is well to add, was a pessimist in accordance with the general conviction of the heathen world that the world looked backward, not forward, to a better age—that the world was bad and could only become worse. This belief, intensified by the manifest and enormous corruptions and distresses of that age, naturally dulled the perception of better elements and hopes. Juvenal also seems, if we may judge from his Satires, to have been a man of naturally strong, impassioned, if not austere nature, possessed of none of that natural buoyancy and easy good-humor so characteristic of the epicurean and eclectic Horace, who could laugh at faults and ridicule vices. Juvenal never laughs. He seems almost always, and quite indiscriminately, wrathful. The fop, the gourmand, the *parvenu*, and the assassin, indecorums and immoralities, are treated in nearly equal terms. He rarely approaches the humorous or the playfully sarcastic. He is the stoic satirist, and he seems to judge by the extreme maxims of the school which taught *omnia peccata æqualia*.

Whether Juvenal's own personal life and associations were altogether such as to have justified or to accredit to us, throughout, his austere judgments of others, is also a question. Some doubt of their full sincerity may be raised when we recall the fact that he was so intimate with the free-mouthed Martial; that the epigrams of this poet, addressed to Juvenal, all contain some obscenity; that several of the persons to whom his Satires seem addressed as to real persons and intimates were either of very indifferent or of positively bad character; and that he portrays with such apparent familiarity the scenes of low life in the streets and taverns. All these seem associations somewhat singular for this austere preacher of virtue; and while they are not to be pressed too far as evidence concerning the personal life and character of our Hogarthian satirist, yet they may shake the confidence we might have in his judgments if we were entirely sure he was not, in Pliny's phrase, "most severe towards those he resembled," or if we knew him to be, also in Pliny's phrase, "as ready to pardon the errors of mankind as if he were guilty of some himself, and at the same time as cautious of committing a fault as if he never forgave one."

Does Juvenal, then, intentionally or really deceive in his *Satires*? Not so, we believe. These subtle suggestions to his possible discredit need not assume too much weight. His pictures are individually true, and he paints scenes he saw in open day, blazoned forth in palaces and streets; they are photographs from the time, and give us, with those of Tacitus, our best insight into that side of it. These were both, we believe, men of high moral and patriotic convictions, "strong haters," as Merivale calls them, Roman prophets. Juvenal did not invent his criminals or their crimes. They are historical facts. But his declamatory passion, his satirical aim, his indiscriminating indignation, his pessimist point of view, all led him to select the darkest pictures from the scenes around him, and, certainly, to draw conclusions and judgments from them too broad and sweeping. There were other facts and another side which he did not see, and which we must study elsewhere, in order to get a view of the more average social condition of the time, and thus qualify and tone down and supplement the pictures of this rhetorical and sombre and wrathful satirist.

We may, first, compare Juvenal's judgments with those of his contemporaries. None of them have judged this epoch so severely as he. Tacitus, with all his sententious and bitter estimates of events and men, yet intermingles some eulogy of his time. "All was not better in an earlier age. Our age has produced also virtues and talents worthy of being set forth as examples." Even in describing the very age of Domitian, he says: "Yet an age not so barren of virtues as not to have furnished good examples." And at the accession of Nerva and Trajan, just the time when Juvenal was first publishing his *Satires*, Tacitus hails the incoming period as "the aurora of a most happy age." Tacitus, indeed, is the historian of emperors and generals; portrays rather the political side of the Empire, and traces all evils to the existing tyranny. That removed, he expects the fountain of evil to cease. Juvenal looks more deeply and widely, portrays the private and social corruption which, indeed, the incoming of a new dynasty could not so completely and speedily transform. He knows the people more thoroughly than does Tacitus. But he gives no hint of a better hope, and makes

no allusion to the better side, which, surely, if it was before so hidden as he leaves it in Domitian's reign, was now rapidly coming to view, and claimed some better recognition than that negative admission that the good might be as many as the mouths of the Nile or the gates of Thebes.

It is especially, however, the letters of Pliny the younger which present a striking contradiction to Juvenal's Satires, and justly modify their impression. These letters make up a full and varied correspondence of that intimate friend of Trajan with the most eminent of his time in social and official position, and cover the same period with Juvenal's life as an author. The two men were almost exactly, it is probable, of the same age. And these are letters, free correspondence; and though composed with much of the self-conscious literary spirit of the professional letter-writer, who wrote them for the public as well as to his friends, after the fashion of the time, were yet written with no designedly apologetic bearing upon the times, and no historical motive indeed. They are, therefore, a source of just historical impressions concerning the average personal life and character of the period, contemporary and ingenuous pictures as they are of social and private life. Pliny's easy disposition, his life of wealth and preferment, and his personal vanity and complacency, all disposed him to a somewhat excessive kindliness of judgment. We learn from one of his own letters that he was criticised as being "too lavish in commendation of his friends." He, too, saw little or nothing, intimately, of those lower strata of life which Juvenal knew so well. But Boissier's conclusion, that the average character of the Romans of the better classes is more justly presented to us in his Letters than in Juvenal's Satires, has much to support it.

Pliny's Letters show, first, that the age was one of a reviving and generally active religious sentiment, often superstitious, of course, with much admixture of credulity, divination, and magical arts from the East, much resembling mediæval periods in this respect. But a general belief in religion and discharge of duties to the gods has displaced the pervading scepticism and indifference of the better classes so marked at the close of the Republic and the opening of the imperial period. The naturally grave and earnest character of the

Roman, in which stoicism took root so readily and so deeply, though conquest and wealth and lawlessness and profligacy had, for a time, overrun the soil, was reasserting itself and craving moral discipline. Philosophy at Rome was all ethical, and its moral truths could not be so universally discussed, and so impressively enforced in the lectures and the lives of those stoic philosophers who were the monks of ancient Rome, without great practical influence upon all better natures. Lübbert, in his *Epochs of Roman Religion*, has graphically said: "Audiences hung with the profoundest reverence upon these men, marked by their bristly beard, their simple overgarment, their solemn eye, their calm bearing, and that marble and unchanging countenance, which never seemed to feel or reflect what elsewhere moved or stormed the human breast. . . . In those times of the crash and dissolution of the old faith, this was a saving force. It gathered around its standard again the noblest minds to contend for the spiritual significance and ideals of life. By the purity of its endeavors and the nobleness even of its errors, it was a real crusade to save holy places and truths from utter extinction and defilement."

We fully recognize the value of this religious paganism in its real influence upon the intelligent and cultivated class, at least, and in the preparation it was giving for the apprehension of Christian truth and life. And, besides this sterner stoicism, the incoming of Oriental elements at this period was beginning to add forces from the more emotional and mystical side of man's higher nature—forces always tending to extravagance and evil, but yet a quickening element of spiritual life in that world-kingdom which was preparing the way for the wider assimilation of peoples and the spread of Christianity.

As Capes has said in his "Age of the Antonines": "There were being naturalized on Italian soil new thoughts and feelings, religious moods that passed from mysterious gloom to enthusiastic fervor, the idea of penitence and ascetic self-devotion, as the conditions of a higher life and of closer union with the divine, answering to some deep-seated craving that had not been satisfied elsewhere, and the belief in a world unseen grows in intensity and earnestness."

But, confining our view to Juvenal's period, and at present

to the more specific evidence in Pliny's letters regarding personal character in the Roman world, we are heartily attracted, first, to the rhetoricians and professors of literature and philosophers as he depicts them, with excessive numbers, indeed, and including many pedants, poetasters, and declaimers, but yet a class than which, as he testifies, "none could be more characterized by merit, simplicity, and integrity." "Many and bright examples" of these men he says he could give. "Let one suffice: Euphrates, the philosopher, of noble and venerable aspect; with no moroseness, but much earnestness; whom you could not but revere if you met him, yet not fear him; of the greatest sanctity of life, but of equal kindliness; who pursues vices, not men; nor chastises, but corrects and emends evil-doers;" a careful father of well-trained sons, and an earnest adviser in public affairs.

The nobility, next, as they appear in Pliny's letters, though politically enervated since the time when Rome fell under emperors who, as Tacitus styles them, were "masters of citizens, and slaves of freedmen," and who, when Pliny attended in his youth their sessions, formed, he says, a Senate "trembling and mute, where it was dangerous to utter one's thoughts, and infamous to keep silent;" which "never deliberated upon serious, but often upon sad topics"—this nobility were now beginning again to "enjoy in some degree the knowledge and exercise of their prerogative," and were exhibiting in private relations a far higher character and mode of life than had for a long time been true of the Roman aristocracy. Tacitus states and accounts for the same fact when he says: "Once the families which united wealth to high birth abandoned themselves to the enjoyment of their magnificence. But when blood flowed freely, and a brilliant position was a mark for death, danger rendered men more wise." "Besides," he adds, "the new Senators who were brought into Rome day by day from the municipal towns, the colonial towns, and even from the provinces, brought to Rome the economy of their countries, and, even when grown rich, yet preserved their former habits." Pliny confirms this: "This new nobility has lost in great part those habits of prodigality which wrought the ruin of the old." The imperial example of Trajan, who lived like a private man in his villas, with his simple entertainments, chiefly

of a literary and conversational kind, and with his citizen court, helped to strengthen these simpler fashions, and to revive and manifest also, in social life, the genuine excellencies and virtues of personal character.

Pliny's correspondence with this nobility and with this literary and professional class contains a long series of noble portraits of high-toned people of the Roman world, kind to their slaves, models in the conjugal and parental relation, faithful to friends, true to their convictions, earnest in moral studies, and, with the utmost honor and dignity and simplicity and purity, meeting the various obligations of private and public life. He gives us pictures of calm and cheerful and religious old age, like that of Spurrina, general and poet, retired from his campaigns, and at seventy-seven spending placid and studious days, reading and conversing and counselling with refined and cheery hospitality; of Bassus, "after devoting youth and manhood to country, giving, as was due, his declining age to himself;" of Verginius, who had twice declined the empire when urged upon him by his legions, and who indignantly repelled the tribune who bade him "receive it or the drawn sword he held;" reaching his "eighty-third year in the profoundest tranquillity, and with an equal measure of veneration;" of Erucius Clarus, "irreproachable man, and worthy of the ancients;" of his uncle Septicius, "the most sincere, upright, pure, and faithful of men;" of Claudius Pollio, as a specimen of Roman officers, "who preserved, in all the variety of posts through which he passed, his honor and his humanity unimpeached;" of Terentius Junior, a specimen of those "studious country gentlemen who, away from the city, cultivate letters in a contemplative life," and who so surprised Pliny with his wide reading and well-stored memory, and elegant command of both Greek and Latin; of Aristo, the advocate, so learned, able, and ready to aid a just cause by plea or advice, and who "regulated his life by the precepts of philosophy, and in temperance and piety, justice and fortitude, has no superior even among the philosophers." To this list of refined, scholarly, assiduous, true, and cordial men who are portrayed in Pliny's letters, we should not fail to add Pliny himself as also genuinely distinguished by these professional and personal virtues and graces. Among the young

men of the time, too, as well as the older and the aged, these letters give evidence of many who pursued their professional career earnestly at Rome, and plead before the tribunals, and served their country on the Dacian frontier, not revelling in the camp, but employing the leisure of their campaigns in the pursuit of Greek and Latin letters.

The most assiduous literary industry of the men of Pliny's wide circle, of which we get so strong an impression from his letters, was itself inconsistent with self-indulgent and sensual living. The portraits also that Pliny draws of the women of his circle are to be placed side by side with those of these heroic and excellent and attractive men. He has pictured to us *Arria* in the sick-room of her husband *Paetus*, keeping a cheerful face though at the same time caring for their son during his mortal illness in another apartment of the house, and then keeping the son's death and funeral wholly concealed from the sick father's knowledge, foiling his anxious questions with the reply, "He has rested well," and then escaping from the room to indulge her grief, and returning again, as Pliny says, "with calm countenance as though she had left her childlessness outside the door." "A no less heroic affection," he adds, "than when she afterward took the dagger with which her husband's honor required him to take his life, and first pierced her own breast with no sign of pain, and then handed him the poniard, saying, '*Paetus*, it gives no pang.'" After his death she baffled all the watchfulness of her friends to prevent her suicide, declaring that she would "find some harsh way to death if they would not permit her an easy one." He gives us also the picture of *Fannia*, who contracted a fatal disease in watching over a vestal virgin in her sickness; who had previously followed her husband twice into exile, and was at last banished for his sake—a woman not only thus heroic and constant, but "of what vivacity and humor and attractiveness, and yet of what immaculate purity and sanctity!" and she the daughter of a like mother. To the list of refined, pure, and attractive matrons should be added the young daughter of *Fundanus*, who died at fourteen, possessed of so much sweetness and dignity of character, so devoted to study and reading, as he says, and displaying so much cheerfulness and fortitude in her last illness. And we

may close the number with Pliny's wife Calpurnia, with whom his relations were always those of a tender and faithful affection, and who showed the heartiest sympathy with his literary pursuits and his public life and reputation. Pliny's general testimony, too, to the "simplicity and purity and strictness of ancient manners" still preserved among the ladies of Spain and upper Italy, should not be overlooked.

Such are specimens of Pliny's male and female portraits. It is surely well to set them by the side of Juvenal's, and strike our balance for a just estimate of the higher society of the time. Do we not seem to be in a circle adorned by such men and women as grace the best society of our own or any period? We get insight into a family life too, greatly softened and enriched since earlier times at Rome, when stern rule and harsh discipline chiefly characterized it. We find now a chaste and tender rearing of children, and an enlarging sphere of culture and social life for Roman matrons and daughters who had earlier been so rigidly confined simply to the narrow and petty cares of the household.

Juvenal himself, even, furnishes, in his later Satires, views of these relations adapted to qualify greatly the picture he draws in the earlier. No one has set forth a purer ideal than he has done of the family, of the obligation due to the innocence of childhood and the rearing of youth. "Let nothing foul in word or look touch the thresholds within which the boy is reared. . . . The greatest reverence is due to thy boy. If thou art meditating any base deed, despise not the youth of thy son, but let the thought of him prevent thy purpose of wrong." This sedulous care of childhood which Juvenal enforces, and which finds a place in the discussions of Seneca and Tacitus upon education, is also brought home later in this period with very practical injunctions and results. The philosopher Favorinus, as Aulus Gellius tells us, in an earnest discourse urged upon mothers to nurse and train their children themselves. Sepulchral inscriptions of the time show that this subject had taken a hold upon society. A son records upon the tomb of his mother, in praise of her, that she had suckled her sons herself. Some letters in the correspondence of Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius with Fronto the tutor of the imperial family, read like family epistles of to-day

in the tender concern expressed regarding childish maladies, and in the messages and caresses for the children. Views and manners seem indeed to have greatly softened since the time when Cicero wrote: "When a child dies one is easily consoled; if it dies in the cradle one hardly takes notice of it."

Pliny's letters abound in illustrations of the importance coming to be attached to school training and studies. He writes to Tacitus to engage for a friend the best possible tutor. His own recommendations of one for this office dwell upon his "grave behavior" and "irreproachable morals" and the "qualities of heart," as of equal weight with professional qualifications. The strict training of Quadratilla's grandson, and the almost prudish anxiety with which his eyes were turned away by her scrupulous care from all the vanities, even pantomime and dancing, give us a picture which might answer in these respects for an old-time New England home. Juvenal, even, utters his indignation at a father "who has nothing which costs him less than does his son." It was at this period that provision was first made for education at public expense, when Vespasian first gave salaries from the Treasury to rhetoricians and teachers at Rome; and where, soon after, Hadrian established, in the Capitol itself, a sort of University, the Athenæum, where one could hear orators and poets of renown. Antoninus Pius gave distinctions and emoluments to rhetoricians and philosophers throughout the provinces; and M. Aurelius endowed four chairs of philosophy at Athens.

"Is it not curious," adds Boissier to the above general picture, "to see this movement, begun in the writings of sages, in the lessons of philosophers, in the verses of the poets, communicate itself in that way to the people of society and bring its results to pass in private life, and then influence the legislation of the Empire, so that what was at first only a tenderer care for the happiness and education of infancy, ended by becoming a system of public instruction which extended to the entire world."

We may, however, look beyond the bounds of the family life, and of personal friendships, and see how the theories and maxims of the philosophers are becoming applied more

widely, and are bringing in humane views regarding the relations of man to his fellow-man.

In the thirteenth Satire Juvenal condemns revenge with great earnestness. "It is always," he says, "the satisfaction of a weak and narrow mind." In the fourteenth he condemns cruelty to slaves, and that as a duty to humanity, "because their souls and ours consist of the same materials and of equal elements;" and in the fifteenth, in a fine and extended passage, he enlarges upon pity and charity and sympathy as "the best part of our sensibilities, and that which specially distinguishes us from the brutes, and is an endowment sent down to us men from the heavenly seats;" and then the poet draws a fine picture of the inconsistency and brutality and inhumanity of war.

It would be interesting to show by extended quotations how rife these moral and humane ideas were in the utterances of the philosophers of the time. Their appearance in the poets shows how these philosophical views were insinuating their way and getting possession of men's minds at large, and forming their common opinions, as Christianity does to-day. Such views and feelings had been not losing, but gaining ground. They were becoming more than philosophical apothegm or rhetorical ornament. They were getting a practical place in life. To Juvenal's utterance of these humane maxims there is a practical commentary furnished by the letters of Pliny, and also, as we shall see, by inscriptions of the period.

The amelioration in the condition of slaves, and that because of the view that they possessed the same human nature with their owners, is illustrated in a striking letter of Pliny, full of hearty and natural expression of feeling at the illness and death of some of them. He says that he gratifies his feeling of humanity and obligation by manumitting them before death, and permitting them to dispose of their effects by will, and that he conscientiously administers their bequests himself afterward. Yet this does not prevent, he adds, his sincere grief and sense of bereavement, springing from those very humane impulses which induce him to grant to slaves these privileges. Cicero's well-known correspondence with his freedman Tiro is always that of friend with friend.

Absolute ownership of slaves is naturally accompanied by a code of absolute laws concerning them, and such were those of Rome. Yet the natural generosity of many masters like Cicero and Pliny, as well as the many counteracting conditions that spring naturally from life, and from personal relations, exceedingly modified the real condition of their slaves, while the increasing prevalence of the humane maxims of the philosophers, and the growth of gentler manners as a recognized mark of gentle birth and good breeding, had more and more influence, till at last they together made a place for humane laws concerning slavery in the legislation of the Empire. The code came to declare the principle that "all are born free by natural right, though afterward slavery invaded society by the law of nations." Statutes were introduced guarding the slaves, defending them from wanton abuse, and giving them rights of legal complaint for inhuman treatment before the highest authority, the Prefect of the city. And penalties were inflicted upon inhuman owners. Hadrian exiled for six years a matron who cruelly maltreated her slaves without cause. Sepulchral inscriptions of the time show how intimate and tender the relation of owner and slave was in many instances. Their faithful services and affection are commemorated in epitaphs. They are declared to be lamented "as children of the household." In one case, a mother who had lost a son and a slave of the same age had them buried side by side, with tombs alike, and with inscriptions in almost the same terms for each.

Yet more interesting evidence is gathered of the existence in pagan Rome of this period, of virtues which have been thought to belong quite exclusively to Christianity. Besides the existence of a sense of human brotherhood, and of the duty of a broad equity and clemency and kindness toward the unfortunate, and even to slaves, pagan antiquity came to know and to practise benevolence and charity in striking and even organized forms. Cicero had pronounced it "the virtue which best becomes human nature," and said, "the man truly liberal uses his fortune to ransom captives, to pay the debts of friends, and aid them in giving dowries to their daughters, and in gaining and increasing property," the motive being, however, largely a personal or political one—for he treats of

these duties under the head of the useful, the self-advantageous, and adds that the discharge of them is "to serve the State." Under the Republic largess and beneficence had been chiefly, in fact, the discharge of friendly or of civil and political duty. The prodigality of the republican nobility, with their halls crowded with clients and freedmen, like mediæval households filled with their retainers, had been a kind of return and security for the nobles' prescriptive right to office. With the Empire, however, charity became more connected with humane sentiment and principle, and private and disinterested acts of charity, besides those which were a sort of pay for honors received or desired, gained more appreciation. Philosophy was more and more warmly counselling such acts of private beneficence, and teaching the universal brotherhood of men, "that before being members of the same city, they were inhabitants of the same world." Seneca's phrase, somewhat sentimental, perhaps, in his mouth, is yet a good illustration of the ideas that were entering society. "Nature directs that we assist men. Be they slaves or free, free-born or freedmen, enjoying liberty as a right or as a friendly gift, what matters it? Wherever a man is, there is room for doing good."

Now these sentiments were not shut up, inoperative, in the books of sages; their practical results may be pointed to in the State and in private life. Previously existing channels of benevolence were widened and extended, and new ones opened; and a manifestly new and heartier character was impressed upon public and private charities. Largesses to the Roman plebs and systematic methods of cheapening the price of food for them were no new thing indeed. Julius Cæsar gave on one occasion to each poor citizen ten pounds of oil (used at Rome for food), ten measures of grain, and one hundred denarii; and at his time the number of dependents upon public aid had reached, it is estimated, three hundred thousand. Augustus had extended to infants the claim upon largesses of grain. Enormous sums were thus expended by his successors, the imperial charities being sometimes carried to most sentimental and absurd excess, as by Aurelian, who proposed to give not only oil and grain, but a measure of wine also; which provoked the ironical suggestion of his

Prefect: "if we are to give the people wine also, there is nothing left for us but to add chickens and geese withal." But the great system of legal charities in money, called the "alimentary institution," worked out by Nerva and Trajan, and extended by the latter from Rome to Italy at large, is evidence of a truer and wiser sentiment. It consisted of monthly distributions of aid to the children of poor families of Rome and Italy, from a fund carefully provided by the loan of money from the imperial treasury to proprietors and capitalists, and secured by mortgage at low interest on their lands. It was partly designed to aid agriculture by furnishing it capital, but its chief aim was to distribute the interest on the loan among the children of the poor, bestowed in small sums, but regularly given and long continued, till the boys should be fit for drill as soldiers, and the girls for marriage. Here was manifestly in view a political interest, the anxiety to increase the genuine Italian population, and to raise citizens and soldiers for the depleted Roman State, and perhaps, also, a method of taxing the provinces for the good of Italy. But there was also a humane beneficence involved in it; and these imperial foundations came to be more definitely connected also with personal and charitable sentiment, and began to be increased by further personal contributions and private foundations of the Emperors. Antoninus, for example, perpetuated the memory of his wife, Faustina, by a charitable foundation to aid poor girls, besides those already aided, and wished them to be called *puellæ Faustinianæ*.

But it is more to our present purpose to note the fact that the imperial example was followed by persons in private life, and that there was really a "gush of benevolence," as Boissier says, in the higher ranks, of which both Pliny and the inscriptions of the time give us most interesting proof. From various letters of Pliny we might make a long list of wise and munificent charities and benefactions. He buys a farm for the permanent support of his old nurse; he presents large sums to friends for their various needs; to cities with which he has some bond of interest, for the purpose of founding libraries and schools; and in one case he gives twenty-five thousand dollars "for the maintenance of free-born boys and girls." To secure the perpetuity of this fund, he conveys to

the State landed property of considerably greater value, and has it conveyed back to himself mortgaged with a yearly interest of six per cent. of the principal sum, "thus securing," as he says, "the principal to the community and making the interest certain; for the estate, being of so much greater value than the rent charged upon it, will be always sure of finding a tenant." And very widely through the Empire, cities and individuals seem to have worked together to relieve the poor. A citizen of Atina bequeathes his town sixteen thousand dollars. A lady, "in memory of a son," as she writes it, gives Tarracina forty thousand dollars to aid in extending the alimentary institution there. An humble vender of herbs, even, bequeathes a little village of Italy three hundred pots of drugs and two hundred and fifty dollars, "that medicines may be gratuitously furnished to the poor of the town." The following inscription on a tomb of this period seems really to give utterance to a prevalent spirit of the time: "Be benevolent: that is something you can carry with you."

Besides these facts gathered from the letters of Pliny and from other sources and inscriptions of the same period, we may cite here an interesting inscription upon a tomb near Rome, probably not later than the opening of the imperial, and possibly belonging to the republican period; thus carrying back to a yet earlier time than we are now considering, the evidence of the practise of a simple and practical charity at Rome: "Hospes, resiste, et hoc ad grumum ad lævam aspice, ubi continentur ossa hominis boni, misericordis, amantis pauperis. Rogo te, viator, monumento huic nil male feceris. G. Ateilius, Serrani L. Euhodus, margaritarius de Sacra Via in hoc monumento conditus est. Viator vale." The epithets here applied to Euhodus the freedman, the jeweller of the Sacra Via, are remarkable—"good, pitiful, one who loved the poor." M. Egger, in commenting upon them, sets them in contrast with contemporary philosophical utterances. Cicero discountenances pity (*miser cordia*) as enervating to the soul, and as disturbing that calmness of spirit which should constitute the supreme condition of the wise man. Virgil thus describes the perfect condition of the sage: "Nec doluit miserans inopem aut invidit habenti."

Seneca, even, condemns *miser cordia* (emotional sympathy with the distressed), while commending acts of clemency and mildness (*clementia* and *mansuetudo*) toward such. The sage's firmness and serenity need not exclude beneficence, but sympathetic pity is not well. "Succurret alienis lacrimis, non accedet." But here, in the epitaph on this freedman-jeweller of the Sacra Via, we have the praise bestowed that he was *amans pauperis*. On later Christian monuments the title is frequent; but here is a purely pagan type of it, perhaps the earliest extant record of pagan private charity, and one in contrast with the philosophical teaching of the time, certainly not springing from it—just the play of the native kindly impulses of the heart in one of the plebeians of Rome. We may also cite here Acts X. as giving us a noteworthy portrait from the period, that of the Italian centurion, Cornelius, a pagan before his baptism by St. Paul, and at the time covered by the description of him as "devout and one who gave much alms to the people."

The facts and views presented above cover indeed a period to a portion of which only, Domitian's reign, Juvenal's specific judgments were affixed, while the portion of it just subsequent to Domitian's death has been styled the golden age of Rome. It may be asked: Is not Juvenal's judgment nevertheless true of his time, and this other view true only of the time that immediately followed? But we cannot so sharply separate periods when we are seeking an estimate of average social and moral conditions. It was, in the general condition of society, substantially one period, and the one which presents to us the last result of cultivated pagan life before Christianity entered it as a pervading and transforming force. The average of society was not all debased under Nero and Domitian, when we see it presenting so different an aspect as soon as these Emperors are gone. Exceptionally bad rulers give indeed exceptional strength and prominence and increase to the bad elements of society, especially in a government and a metropolis like that of imperial Rome; and Juvenal's unique picture of this is most exact and valuable. But to see below the exceptional, and to get a just historical view of the period in that part of it even, and yet more, to justly survey it as a whole; and to get also a just appreciation of human

nature—of what is has from its Creator, and can become under nothing more than the ordinary aid and guidance of His providence, we need to appreciate fully these scattered inscriptions and these other evidences from pagan antiquity of humanity and charity, and of gracious and virtuous character ; we need to acquaint ourselves with these exhibitions in Pliny's letters of pagan loveliness and virtue in private life, of gentle heroism in suffering, of devotedness and constancy unto death in the conjugal relation, of stern integrity in public duties, of thoughtful calmness and preparedness and self-surrender in view of death, of benevolent and wise charity. There is surely vastly more of all this excellence in Christian times, springing from a more profound and true and authoritative principle—love to God. Religions, indeed, differ less in their precepts than in their principles. But the purity and abundance of their fruits will correspond to the depth and controlling power of the principle. And in Christian times there is far more and higher illustration of what Christian truth and life can effect, when there is the requirement of a divine command, and the effulgence of a divine example, and the power of a new life implanted and nourished by divine grace, and the great organization of a Christian Church, and all the manifold incentives of a Christian civilization ; just as there is a richer growth under a bright sunshine from heaven, with gentle and unfailing dews and rains, than can flourish in the twilight of a dawn. So charity, for example, appears both more pure and more abundant when Christianity becomes established at Rome. Every Christian Church was a charitable association of the highest kind, whose treasury held sums contributed only with the purest motives, and employed only for the purest ends, justifying Tertullian's celebrated contrast of the Christian societies with the pagan Sodalities, and leading the great opponent of Christianity, the Emperor Julian, to attribute the success of the new religion to the care its disciples took of strangers and of the poor, and to commend their example to the pagan priesthood as essential to their own continued existence and influence. It was first in connection with Christian churches that there were established hospitals for the deformed and crippled, who could not become soldiers or laborers ; refuge-houses for strangers and for the sick, whose

wants were served by deaconesses; orphan asylums to receive outcast children marked by disease or congenital deformity, and exposed in the public squares of Rome. Infanticide in such cases as these did not disappear from Rome till the time of Christian emperors. All these most truly and purely charitable institutions arose first as the fruits of a charity which gave where it did not hope to receive anything again, acting in loving obedience to the Master's command.

But in that previous age of a religion that was hardly more than a system of unintelligible ritual, with many gods, but with a deity present to the best minds as hardly more than an indefinite abstraction and a philosophical unity and moral order of things; when law and social usage did little to protect, and less to enforce, personal purity and morality; when incitements to a reckless and passionate life abounded on every hand; when there was no marriage bond made strong and permanent by law or custom; when slaves were numbered in the proportion of two to every freeman; when wars abroad and civil strife at home were more the rule than the exception—even then multitudes kept themselves pure, led peaceable and orderly lives, followed the inward light, feeble as it was comparatively, with a steady course, and worked with all fidelity to attain a high ideal of intellectual and moral excellence. Character stood a test then such as it hardly encounters now. Virtues struggled upward through all their adverse surroundings and grew fair and strong in many lives. We rejoice to recognize the fact, to the honor of those philosophers and sages, and of those many men and women in ordinary life who kept themselves unspotted from that world, and to the honor, too, of the Creator of men, who, as St. Paul declared, has written His moral law upon the hearts of all, to which these facts bear full testimony. They help to justify also as well that view of pagan responsibility which St. Paul declares, and the sufficiency to that end of the moral endowments and opportunities bestowed upon the heathen world.

This, then, was the society in which Christianity was planted. The new faith did not come only as the forlorn hope of a prodigal and corrupt society. Its early converts were not from the mass of the vicious pagans. It was not those imbruted by lust and vice, dulled and deadened in their finer

spiritual nature, to whom its spiritual truths came with power. But its appeal was welcomed by multitudes of better souls, true to the light of nature, and aspiring after a higher life. It was those who were watching the dawn who welcomed the sun when it rose upon them with healing in its beams.

But yet we recognize the fact that there was no sufficient spiritual power in pagan Rome to make these better sentiments and convictions, comparatively self-cherished and irresponsible as they were, become a supreme duty and a fully-settled principle of life, and to make them pervade the masses of her capital city or of her extended and manifold empire. The best pagan philosophy and thinking was the privilege of the few, comparatively—not of the mass of men in cities and countries. It had no one living and true God to hold forth with unshaken and authoritative conviction before those mighty and mingled populations; no one inspired and authoritative Book, revealing a divine law in all the fulness of its principles and precepts, and presenting a divine Redeemer and Lord to win the personal faith and allegiance of mankind. And had not Christianity not merely sent forth a light as of the coming dawn, which we see reflected in the moralists and philosophers of that age, who possessed what Tertullian called “the mind naturally Christian,” had not Christianity also fully risen on a world prepared for it by the plowshare of providential history, and sown with the seeds of divine truth, and cultivated by the patience and energy of divine grace, the world would have perished under the power of such sins and enormities as spring from unregenerate human nature and overpower the great mass of men, such sins as Juvenal portrays, and such as were then bringing a tide of corruption and death into the Roman metropolis and empire.

WILLIAM A. PACKARD.

IV.

THE APOLOGETICAL VALUE OF THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII PATRIARCHS.

THEY tell a story of a botanical enthusiast, who left his English home and travelled the world over in search of a mistletoe upon an oak. Returning after his long, but unsuccessful quest, he incidentally mentioned to his agent the cause of his long absence. "Why," cried the astonished man, "*there* is the very thing you have sought—at your own door!" This incident will illustrate much that occurs in far more serious researches. How often we fail to see and make use of the facts that lie at hand, in our eager search for the same facts through more difficult mediums, or in more recondite quarters. Every branch of human inquiry will furnish examples, patristic criticism no less than the rest. Thus, while eyes were worn out deciphering the "one only extant copy" of the Epistle of Clement of Rome, and conjecture balked in the effort to elucidate its errors or lacunæ, two frequented European libraries each held an additional authority for the text. Again, while men were striving over certain readings of the Epistle of Barnabas until the world was tired of their wrangling, all the time at least two Greek manuscripts of that book, a simple glance at either of which would have forever settled all dispute, were lying hid in Eastern monasteries awaiting discovery. Even more strangely has the world dealt with the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. It has not been hidden away in the East or in private libraries. It has been before the critical world for now near two centuries. Yet, though containing within itself no doubtful answers to several important questions, it has not been allowed to speak upon them. Its fortunes have been of the strangest. From the time of Jerome to the time of Robert Grosseteste no Western eye seems to have looked upon it. And though each of the great English universities possessed a good copy, its Greek text was not printed until 1698. Even

after printing, its perverse fate followed it; for nearly a century and three-quarters men were content to read what was virtually the inaccurate *editio princeps*. No real effort to correct Grabe's text seems to have been made until Mr. Sinker gave us in 1869 an accurate transcript of the Cambridge manuscript carefully collated with the Oxford.

The strange indifference with which the book has been regarded is evinced in more than one direction. Perhaps we have no better witness than it to the Nazarene doctrine of the person and work of Christ. And yet, while men have been twisting and trimming down and fitting together the scanty and generally second-hand fragments to be gleaned on this subject from much later church-writers, in the vain hope that the mosaic thus formed would present the lineaments of a recognizable picture; it seems to have occurred to no one simply to let an early Nazarene writer speak for himself. When the book has been appealed to, it has been approached with preconceived opinions of what its Christology should be; and although it presents a pure Nicene doctrine, some writers by the application of a sweeping theory of interpolations, have attempted to prove it Ebionitish, and others, by an unprecedented pressure of phrases, which any Trinitarian would (and properly) use, have been able to find it Patripassian. Again, there are few writings of equal value for the early history of the New Testament canon; but here also we must say that there are few early writings whose testimony on this subject has been so strangely neglected. Dr. Lightfoot almost alone seems to have recognized its importance, and treated it with its deserved respect.

Our present purpose is, confining ourselves to this one subject, to enquire into the value of this writing for the early history of the canon of the New Testament. Setting aside, then, all other questions connected with the book, whether of general or special importance, we purpose to dispose very briefly of the few preliminary questions which must be settled before the worth of a witness to the canon can be estimated, and then address ourselves to the main point: "What witness does the book bear to the canon of the New Testament?"

As its name suggests, the book is a Christian pseudepigraph purporting to give an account of the last utterances of the

twelve sons of Jacob, warning their children to avoid the sins into which they themselves had fallen, and laying bare to them the things which should come in the after-time. There is no dispute as to the object of the work: it is evidently addressed to Jews and Jewish Christians to attract them to or confirm them in Christianity, as a development of antique Judaism known, foretold, and prepared for from the beginning. Nor should there be any dispute as to the nationality or ecclesiastical connection of its author. Ritschl, indeed, formerly contended, and Vorstman and Hilgenfeld still contend, that its author was a Pauline Christian: but Ritschl,* led by the reasonings of Kayser, frankly retracted that view, and nearly all critics now agree that the author was a Judæo-Christian. There is no room for doubt, indeed, that he was a Jew by birth: the evidences of Jewish feeling and thought overspread the pages. The special character of his Christianity presents a nicer question; but here also the evidence is decidedly preponderant in favor of the view of Ritschl that the author was a Nazarene. He evidently lives in an atmosphere in which Christianity is viewed not as a superseding of, but a superinducement on, the Mosaic law; the Levitical priesthood has been, indeed, superseded, but by one who as descendant of Levi is to be eternal priest; and in doctrine, ethics, attitude towards asceticism, etc., the author evinces that he has felt no contrast between the Old and New Testaments. The integrity of the book is also unquestionable: Vorstman has set that question finally at rest. The book is all of a piece; and it is capable of detailed proof that the asserted interpolations are in the same style, and present all the same peculiarities as the body of the book. We can afford to overlook all charges of interpolation when the passage is contained in both MSS.

Setting these points thus aside we turn to the important question of the date of the writing. The first rough outlines of its determination may be obtained by observing the facts: first, that the book of Enoch is several times quoted in it, and secondly, that Origen quotes it by name, and Tertullian has

* See Ritschl's *Entstehung*, etc., p. 172, note 1: and on this whole section Sinker's *Testamenta xii Patr.*, pp. 188 sq., to which book the present article is greatly indebted.

twice used its thoughts and wording.* More narrow limits are, however, attainable. Thus, on the one side it is certain that the book was written after the taking of Jerusalem by Titus (A.D. 70); and on the other, before the harrowing of the land during the revolt of Barkokaba (c. A.D. 135). We shall see subsequently that it bears evident traces of a knowledge of John's Gospel. If we assign the composition of that gospel to 98-100, then this work was not written before 100; if we hold the date of John in uncertainty, then the limit for the composition of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs is left on this side at A.D. 70. How much before 135 it was written, it is impossible to say; but it is certain that the book shows no trace of the troublous times that preceded the insurrection, and which may be said to have begun as early as 117. Taking other circumstances into consideration, it can with some confidence be affirmed that it cannot have been composed much, if any, later than 120. With these limits agree the opinions of the most considerable critics; thus Ewald dates the book 90-110, Vorstman soon after 70, Langen and De Groot at the end of the first or beginning of the second century, Wieseler 100-120, Dorner and Sinkler 100-135. We shall assume, then, that the most probable date is 100-120 A.D.

Consider now what this means. We have here a Christian writing coming from the Jewish Church, and dating from the first two decades of the second century. It belongs, then, to the same period from which we have received the Epistles of Clement of Rome (97), Barnabas (106), Ignatius (115), and Polycarp (116), together with, in all probability, that to Diognetus (117). That is, it comes to us with tidings of what was thought and what was held in the very earliest period of post-apostolic Christian history: and its testimony to our Canon is, therefore, the testimony of a time when the disciples of the Apostles were bearing personal witness to the writings of their masters. Its testimony, then, is of supreme importance: the New Testament books which were in existence when it was written and were accepted as authoritative by its author, beyond all doubt sprang from the very bosom

* See *Test.*: Sim. v.; Levi x. xiv. xvi.; Jud. xviii.; Naph. iv.; Dan. v.; Zeb. iii.; Benj. ix. *Orig.*: Hom. in Jos. XV., c. 6. *Tertullian*: Adv. Marc. V. 1; Scorp. c. 13. Hilgenfeld expressly admits these references (*Einleitung*, p. 71).

of the Apostolic circle. Again, not only does this book bear contemporary witness with the Apostolical Fathers, but it strengthens their testimony by the addition of its own in a very much greater than an arithmetical proportion. It not only adds another witness, but it adds a witness from an entirely different source; and by exhibiting the fact of the exceedingly wide-spread acceptance of the New Testament books at so early a date, evinces either that they had already been in existence a considerable time, or that they had come to the Church as authoritative documents from authoritative sources, and that this authority had winged their rapid flight to every corner of the world. In either case, the Apostolical origin of the books is established. The other writers of the age represent to us the Churches of Rome, Alexandria, Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs complete the circle by bringing us tidings from the Jewish Church at Pella, and declaring to us that the books to which it witnesses were the common heritage of all of the Christian name throughout the world. Here, too, there was no difference between Greek or Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free.

The importance of the subject and the inadequacy of its treatment heretofore warrant us in going somewhat dryly into details. We shall, therefore, in a somewhat full manner, but as briefly as possible, attempt to answer the question: What does this book know of our New Testament?

At the outset we must note that the form of the book forbids any very full witness to the New Testament. It purports to be spoken by the twelve sons of Jacob long before even the Old Testament was written; direct reference to either Testament was alike out of the question. The Apocalyptic form of the book, as in the case of the Shepherd of Hermas, also militated against free use of the New Testament. And the fact that it is largely composed of a detailed account of the more obscure portions of the history of the patriarchs themselves, presents still another reason why we cannot expect to glean very full witness from it to our books. We can in the nature of the case hope only for obscure and unconscious allusions, except in the case of such evangelical facts as could be readily worked into the brief Messianic passages.

It may serve to impress us with some idea of the authority ascribed to every word of Scripture in those days, and of the constant use made of it, to find, as we shall, that in the face of all these considerations we can discover sure traces of nearly all of our New Testament books in the pages of this one not voluminous writing.

The evidence by which this is evinced, is briefly as follows :

I. The character of the book is just such as we should expect from an author deeply imbued with the doctrines, ethical teaching, and even diction of the New Testament. It is catholic in its doctrine,—liberally catholic like the New Testament itself. The Gentiles are to be fellow-heirs of salvation with the Jews ; salvation is by grace through faith, and yet not divorced from works. Christ is God and man in one,—it was the Most High who died on the cross ; and yet He is distinguished from God by being His Son. The mild teaching of the New Testament has largely leavened the stern Jewish morality which the writer inherited. It is precisely the homely Christian virtues of lowliness and simplicity of heart that are most dwelt upon. Sin is represented as an inward thing—of the mind, and as existing in all its vileness and deserving harshest condemnation even when no outward action has given it expression. And love is distinctly made the fulfilling of the law. All this distinctively New Testament teaching is clothed in New Testament forms. It is not too much to say with Bishop Lightfoot that “ the language in the moral and didactic portions takes its color from the Epistle of James, and in the prophetic and apocalyptic portions from the Revelation of St. John.” We think no one can read the book simply and unsophisticatedly without feeling that its author had these writings in his mind as models. On this general point, however, we need not dwell.

II. Descending to specific details we must note, secondly, that the language of the writer is the language of the New Testament. This arises from two causes : First, like the New Testament authors, our author writes Hellenistic Greek ; but, secondly, we must add, his vocabulary has been largely affected from New Testament sources. To the first of these should be attributed the presence of the usual grammatical and syntactic peculiarities of Hellenistic Greek as well

as the general peculiarities of vocabulary. There are, however, not doubtful testimonies to the action of the second cause also. The book is remarkable both for the number of unusual non-New Testament words it contains, and for the presence in it of numerous peculiar words seemingly borrowed from New Testament sources. Of the first of these characteristics we give some sort of an example in a note :* of the second, the following lists will furnish a sufficient exemplification.

The following rare words found in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs are in the New Testament peculiar to St. Paul, viz : (ἀγαθωσύνη), ἀγιωσύνη, (ἀγνεία), (ἀδιδλείπτως), αἰσχροκερδία (in Paul—θης), ἀμετανόητος, ἀνανεοῦσθαι, (ἀπλότης), ἀποδείξις, ἀρέσκεια, ἀρμόζειν, (ἀρράβων), βασιλεὺς αἰώνων, διαίρεσις, δικαιοκρισία, δυναμοῦν, ἐγκανχάομαι, ἐνδρχεσθαι, ἐνδοξάζεσθαι, (ἐνότης), ἐρεθίζω, θέλω ἐν—, ἰκανόω, ἰλαρότης, (κανών), μετασχηματίζειν, μολυσμός, [μόρφωσις], (μυκτηρίζω), (νουθεσία), οἰκτεῖρειν, ὀλιγοψυχία (Paul—ος) ὁφρῆσις, παραθήκη, [παρακαταθήκη], (παρεδρένειν), παροργίζειν, περιεργάζεσθαι, πιδότης, πλεονεκτεῖν, πορισμός, (πραότης) προκοπή, στερέωμα, σύζυγος, ὑπανθρος, ὑποτιθέναι, ὕστεροι καιροί, φνσιώω, φωτισμός, ψωμίζειν. In other words, of the words peculiar to Paul in the New Testament, this writer uses no less than fifty-one ; of which thirty-nine occur in no other Christian writer of his age. The force of this as an argument that our writer had Paul's Epistles and gained this vocabulary from them can be estimated by remembering two facts : First, that this similarity does not at all concern *general* similarity of vocabularies, but only the *peculiar* words common to the two writers. When two writers are very similar in the peculiarities of their diction, certainly some kind of connection exists between them. And, secondly, as against the thirty-nine words found only in Paul in his age, and only in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs in its, Canon Westcott cata-

* In these lists words in parentheses are also found in Christian writings contemporary with the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. Words enclosed in square brackets are found only in the Oxford Manuscript. The following unusual words (gleaned wholly under the letter A) are found in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and not at all in the New Testament, viz : ἀβλαβής, ἀγαθότης, ἀγαθύνω, ἀγίασμα, ἄδοξέω, ἄδρύνω, αἰκίζω, αἰσχροκερδία, αἰσχρορρημεῖν, ἀκάλυφος, ἀκαταμάχατος, ἀκολασία, ἀλγῆμα, ἀλεῖμμα, ἄλλοιόω, ἄμυνρώ, ἀμνησικακος, ἀναιδής, ἀναίμακτος, ἀναιοθῆτέω, ἀναισχυντιά, ἀνακαινοποιέω, ἀναμάρτητος (found however in Jno. 8 : 7), [ἀνασκοιοπίζω], ἀνάστημα, ἀνθρόω, ἀνίατος, ἀντίζηλος, ἀντιποιέω, ἀνυμνέω, ἀνοικητός, ἀπαγορεύω, ἀπαρτίζω, ἀπληστία, ἀπλωμα, ἀποπλάνησις, [ἐποσκενή], ἀποσκοιοπίζω, ἀπόφασις, ἀποφυγή, ἀπροσέγγιστος, ἀρμενίζω, ἀρχιμάγειρος, ἀσέβημα, ἀσῆχρος, ἀσπασθής, ἀσχολέω, ἄσωτος, ἀχένες, ἀφραστος, ἠωρία.

logues only eleven, as in like manner peculiar to Paul and Clement of Rome, and only six as peculiar to Paul and Polycarp. These writers, we know, had Paul's Epistles; Polycarp alone quotes eleven of them. The greater length of the Testaments, as compared with Polycarp's letter, will hardly account for the difference between six and thirty-nine. The conclusion seems irresistible that the author of the Testaments borrowed this vocabulary from St. Paul.

The same phenomenon meets us when we compare other New Testament books. Thus, of the words peculiar in the New Testament to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Testaments contain the following: αἷμα διαθήκης, ἀπειρος, ἀρμός, γνόθος, εὐφρότης, (ἱεροσύνη), καφαρότης, καταγωνίζεσθαι, κατασκόπος, ὁλοθρεύειν, προσαγορεύειν, προσοχθίζω, (συνπαθεῖν), (χαρακτήρ), φαντάζω. Fifteen in all, of which twelve occur in no other writer of this age.*

The following Lucan peculiarities occur: 1. Peculiar to Luke's Gospel ἀηδία, ἀναιδής (Luke, εια), ἀνάληψις, ἀνδομολογεῖσθαι, ἀτεκνός, τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἐξαίτεῖσθαι, (ἱερατεύω), κατασύρω, κόρος, ὄνειδος, ὀρθρίζειν, παράλως, (παρθενία), προσποιεῖν, σίκερα, συκοφαντέω, συμπίπτω, (σωτήριον as personal designation), ὑποκρίνεσθαι, φάρανξ, φιλονεικία. Twenty-two, of which nineteen are found in no contemporary. Then, 2. Peculiar to Acts: (ἀλλόφυλος), ἄσιτος, δεσμοφίλαξ, δημόσιος, διαδέχομαι, διανέμειν, ἔδαφος, ἐλαίων (as proper name), ἐναπίζεσθαι, ἐξολοθρεύειν, ἐξυπνος, ἐπακροῦσθαι, κατασχέσις, κοιτών, (μεταβάλλειν), ὁδόνη, σκληροτραχάλια (Acts, ος) στρήνος, ὑποβάλλειν, φαντασία, φυγαδεύειν, φυλακίζειν, (χειμάζεσθαι) (χλευάζειν). Twenty-four, of which twenty are found in no contemporary. Add ἐνισχύειν, and συγγένεια, which are common to Luke and Acts, and we count forty-eight Lucan peculiarities in the Testaments, of which forty-one are found in no Christian contemporary.

The following words peculiar in the New Testament to John's Gospel are found in the Testaments, viz: (αἵματα, plural), ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναμάρτητος John viii. 7, βαῖα, ἐξυπνίζειν, θεοσεβής, θήκη, θρέμμα, λίτρα, μονογένης (of Christ), πενθερός. Eleven, ten of which are found in no contemporary.

Of the words peculiar to Revelation we have: ἄρκος,

* Eight more are peculiar in the New Testament to Paul and Hebrews, of which six are found in this age only in the Testaments. If Hebrews is Paul's, then we have seventy-four Pauline words in the Testaments, of which fifty-seven are peculiar to it in this age.

βύσσινος, (διάδημα), κρύσταλος, μουσικός, δπώρα, ποδίρης. Seven, six of which are found in no contemporary.

Of Matthew's peculiarities again we can detect in the Testaments just seven, six of which are found in this age only in the Testaments. Of Mark's, only four; of James', only two; of Peter's, there are more. Thus, of 1 Peter's we find: (ἀγαθοποιία) ἀμνός ἀμωμος, ἀρχιποίμην, γυναικεῖος, πότος, σπορά, six, of which five are peculiar to the Testaments in this age. Then, of 2d Peter's peculiarities we find the following, peculiar in this age to the Testaments, viz: βλέμμα, βόρβορος, ἐξακολουθεῖν, μιασμός [μιασμά] παρανομία, στηρίγμα (μοσ in 2d Peter), seven. Add μῶμος, which is found also in Clement. Then note that the Testaments contain other rare words found in 2d Peter, but not absolutely peculiar to it, such as ἀπόφασις, εἰλικρινής, φυσικός, etc., none of which are found in the other writers of the age, and the argument that the author had 2d Peter and borrowed a vocabulary from it, seems to grow somewhat strong.

These lists may not be of very great value, but in the face of them it seems difficult to doubt that the author of the Testaments knew the writings of Paul and Luke, as well as the Epistle to the Hebrews; and some probability is raised that he knew Matthew, John, Revelation, and 1st and 2d Peter.

III. We shall find these conclusions strengthened if we will turn to the consideration of the New Testament *facts* reflected in his pages. We will throw a statement of the most prominent of them into the briefest possible form:

It was in the last days,¹ in the fulness of time² Heb. 1:2; 9:26.
and according to prophecy,³ that the Christ⁴ was Mt. 1:22; Lk. 2:26.
to come.⁵ He was to be born of a virgin⁶ of the Lk. 1:27; Mt. 1:25;
tribe of Judah,⁷ and yet was to spring also from Lk. 1:32; 3:23; Lk.
the tribe of Levi.⁸ His name should be Saviour.⁹ Mt. 1:21.
A star, shining in the daytime should announce Mt. 2:2, 9.
His coming¹⁰ as a King.¹¹ While in the waters Mt. 3:16.
the heavens should be opened to Him, and from Lk. 3:21.
them accompanied with the Fatherly voice, Mk. 1:10.

¹Z. 8. ²Levi 10. ³R. 6, B. 3. ⁴R. 6. ⁵S. 6, Jud. 22. ⁶Jos. 19. ⁷Jos. 19, Jud. 24.
⁸R. 6. ⁹D. 6. ¹⁰L. 18. ¹¹L. 18. cf., S. 7, L. 8, etc.

should come forth upon Him the spirit of knowledge and sanctification." He comes to be the Saviour of the world," both of Israel " and of the Gentiles ; " the salvation being graciously " bestowed on those who believe." He comes also to bruise the Dragon's head : " which he will perform not in bruit and uproar, but in utter quietness." His life is to be one of poverty.²⁰ In character, He shall be wholly sinless ; ²¹ true, " long-suffering, " meek, " lowly, " simple " of heart, and righteous." His life shall be such that by His very actions He shall teach God's law.²² He shall know all God's will and purposes ; ²³ and shall execute judgment in truth." He will not only found a kingdom of which He shall be eternally king, " but establish a new priesthood " after an universal type, " extending in its reference to all the Gentiles : " in which He as high-priest " shall have no successor." As a result of His coming, heaven and earth and the angels of God shall rejoice ; " the kingdom of evil will be conquered, " and men shall rule over evil spirits." He shall put an end to the priesthood of Levi,²⁴ and renew the law." He shall open the doors of paradise " and remove the sword that threatens mankind, " giving men to eat of the tree of life, " and by His priesthood (or sacrifice) putting an end to sin." He will be the very fountain of life to all flesh, " the mediator of God and men, " pouring forth the spirit of grace upon men, " and rescuing the saints from Beliar, even the captivity of the sons of men." Though in appearance a man, " walking among men, " eating and drinking with men, " though really a man, " He is God as well, " ²⁵

Jno. 4 : 42.
Lk. 2 : 11, 39.
Acts 18 : 27.
Ro. 3 : 24.
Mk. 16 : 16.
Ro. 16 : 20.

Mt. 12 : 15, 21.

Mt. 8 : 20.
Jno. 8 : 46.
Mt. 22 : 16.
Jno. 5 : 14.
Mt. 11 : 29.
2 Pet. 3 : 15.

2 Cor. 11 : 3.

Lk. 23 : 47.

Jno. 4 : 34 ; 5 : 30 ;

6 : 38.

Mt. 11 : 27.

Jno. 5 : 22.

Mt. 5 ; 13 ; 3 : 2.

Lk. 1 : 33.

Ep. to Heb.

Heb. 5 : 10 ; 8 : 1 ; 7 : 24.

Lk. 2 : 13.

Lk. 11 : 21.

Lk. 9 : 1.

Heb. 7 : 15, 18.

Mt. 5 : 17.

Rev. 4 : 1.

Rev. 2 : 7.

Jno. 1 : 29.

Rev. 21 : 6.

1 Tim. 2 : 5.

Acts 2 : 17.

Heb. 10 : 29.

Acts 26 : 18.

Eph. 4 : 8.

Phil. 2 : 8.

Mt. 11 : 19.

1 Tim. 2 : 5.

Jno. 1 : 30.

Jno. 1 : 18.

²⁰ L. 18, Jud. 24. ²¹ L. 14, S. 6, B. 3, L. 10. ²² S. 7, L. 2, N. 3, B. 3. ²³ S. 7, L. 2, 4, A. 7, B. 3. ²⁴ Jos. 19. ²⁵ A. 7, D. 6. ²⁶ A. 7, B. 3. ²⁷ A. 7. ²⁸ Dan. 5. ²⁹ Jud. 24. ³⁰ Dan. 6. ³¹ Dan. 6, Jud. 24. ³² Is. 7. ³³ Jud. 24. ³⁴ D. 6. ³⁵ L. 18. ³⁶ Jos. 19, R. 6, Jud. 22. ³⁷ L. 8, 18. ³⁸ L. 8. ³⁹ R. 6, S. 7. ⁴⁰ L. 18. ⁴¹ L. 18. ⁴² S. 6, L. 18. ⁴³ R. 6, L. 4. ⁴⁴ L. 16. ⁴⁵ L. 18. ⁴⁶ L. 18. ⁴⁷ Jud. 24. ⁴⁸ D. 6. ⁴⁹ Z. 9, D. 5. ⁵⁰ A. 7, B. 10, [S. 6, Z. 9]. ⁵¹ Is. 7. ⁵² S. 6. ⁵³ L. 16, Jud. 24. ⁵⁴ L. 5, 8, Jud. 22.

God and man in one." But although the great God of Israel, "He shall be counted a deceiver" and slain by Israel. "He shall enter the Temple," and there be outraged: "the sons of Levi shall lay hands upon Him" and crucify* Him, "taking His blood on their heads." Though God, "He shall die: "and that, in behalf of men." Though innocent, His blood shall be poured out; "spotless, He shall die in behalf of the impious; "and sinless, for the wicked; "His blood being the blood of the covenant," and the end of His death being the salvation of the world." At His death the sun shall be quenched, "rocks split," the grave despoiled, "and the veil of the Temple rent" as a symbol of the passage of the Spirit of God to the Gentiles." As punishment for this great wickedness, great evils shall come upon Israel, "among which is specially named, a new dispora of contempt." But the crucified One shall rise again from the grave "and ascend into heaven," His glory there being proportionate to His humility here." Israel, also, shall not always rest under her punishment; "the Lord comes a second time in pity," and will redeem her through faith "and water" (*i. e.*, baptism). At that time comes the general resurrection, "—some rising to glory," some to dishonor; "and the judgment,"—of some to eternal life, "of some to eternal punishment." Eternal peace "shall be given to all them that called upon the Lord; "the saints shall rest in Eden, and the just shall rejoice over the New Jerusalem," which shall be for the glory of God forever. "

The Spirit shall be poured out as fire; " and

Heb. 1: 8.
Jno. 8: 58.
Mt. 27: 63.
Acts 2: 23.
Mt. 21.
Mt. 26: 50.
Mt. 26, sq.
Mt. 27: 25.
Acts 20: 28.
Lk. 22: 20.
Jno. 6: 51.
Jno. 10: 15, 51, 52.
Mt. 27: 4.
Ro. 5: 6, 7.
1 Pet. 1: 19.
Heb. 13: 20.
Jno. 3: 17.
Mt. 27: 51.
Mt. 24.
Lk. 21.
Lk. 21: 20.
Mt. 28.
Acts 1: 9.
Phil. 2: 9.
Ro. 11.
Mt. 24: 27.
Mt. 24: 31.
Jno. 5: 29.
Mt. 11: 22.
Mt. 13: 49.
Ro. 2: 10.
Rev. 3: 12.
Rev. 21: 2.
Acts 2: 3.

* ἀποσκολοπίσαι [Ox., ἀνασ.] Levi 4. cf. Lucian's contemptuous calling of Christ: τὸν ἐν τῇ παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα. Hesychius and Phavorinus explain ἀνασκολ, as being equivalent to ἀνασταυρίζω.

⁶S. 7. ⁶S. 6. ⁶L. 16. ⁶L. 16, etc. ⁶B. 9. ⁶L. 4, 14. ⁶L. 4. ⁶L. 16. ⁶L. 4. ⁶R. 6. ⁶L. 16. ⁶B. 3. ⁶B. 3. ⁶L. 4. ⁶L. 10, B. 9. ⁶B. 9. ⁶L. 4, 10, 16. ⁶L. 10, 16. ⁶L. 16, B. 9. ⁶L. 18, B. 9. ⁶B. 9. ⁶L. 16. ⁶L. 16, A. 7. ⁶B. 10, Jud. 24. ⁶B. 10. ⁶A. 5. ⁶Z. 10, Gad. 7. ⁶Dan. 5. ⁶Dan. 5. ⁶B. 9.

a son of Benjamin in the later times is to arise, beloved of the Lord, hearing His voice and enlightening both Jews and Gentiles with new knowledge; snatching salvation from the Jews and giving it to the Gentiles." Acts 13: 21.
Acts 9: 4.
Acts 9: 29.
Acts 22: 21.
Acts 13: 46.

This cento does not profess to contain every fact which the Testaments have gained from the New Testament; but it does profess to contain nothing which is not in the Testaments, and which cannot be fairly supposed to have been taken from the New Testament. Such as it is, it will give no very inadequate notion of the acquaintance of our author with the New Testament.* We are at least prepared by such a collection of facts to estimate correctly the value of other traces of knowledge of the Christian books. The argument is cumulative, and each point made, depending, as it does, on no other for its force, adds a new probability of its own. This cento alone raises a probability that the author of the Testaments had a good part of our New Testament. The strength of that probability will increase to a certainty as our exhibition of evidence proceeds.

IV. For, we are now prepared to advance a step further. Carrying with us a sense of the results already attained, we are better fitted to judge of more direct traces of knowledge of the New Testament books. Direct citations from the New

"B. II.

* We add in a note a collection of the titles given to Christ in the course of the book. It will be of interest, both as showing the character of the Christology of the book and as exhibiting acquaintance with the New-Testament teaching on the subject. The titles in brackets are not found in the Oxford MS. Christ is called: God (S. 6, N. 8), The God of Righteousness (Jud. 22), The God of Heaven (Is. 7), [God playing the part of man], (As. 7), God and man (S. 7), [God in the form of man], (Z. 9), The Lord, the great God of Israel (S. 6), The Lord (L. 2, D. 5, etc.), The Lord himself (Z. 9), The Lord to come (L. 8), The Most High (L. 4, 5, A. 7), The Son of the Lord (L. 4), The offspring of God (Jud. 24), The angel that intercedeth for you (D. 6), The Mediator of God and men (D. 6), Man (*ἄνθρωπος* L. 16, *ἄνθρωπος* Jud. 24), The seed of Levi (R. 6), of Abraham (L. 8), and of Judah; King (L. 8, 18), King Eternal (R. 6), King of Heaven (B. 10), Prophet of the Most High (L. 8), The only begotten [Prophet] of the Most High (B. 9), The anointed (*χριστός*) high-priest (R. 6), A new priest (L. 18), He who shall redeem Israel (L. 2), Spotless Lamb (Jas. 19), The Lamb of God (Jas. 19), The Lamb of God and Saviour of the World (B. 9), The Saviour of the World (L. 10, 14), Saviour (D. 6, Gad. 8), The Salvation (*τὸ σωτήριον*) of the Lord (B. 10, D. 5)—of God (S. 7)—of the Most High (B. 9)—of Israel (Jud. 22), The compassion of God (Z. 8), [—of the Lord], (N. 4), The very Fountain unto life (Jud. 24), A Star out of Jacob (Jud. 24), The Light of Righteousness (Z. 9), [The Sceptre of the Kingdom], (Jud. 24); [The Rod of Righteousness] (Jud. 24), [Jerusalem], (Z. 9), etc., etc.

Testament being out of the question, owing to the character of the book, we have now to ask : "Does the writer betray indirectly, by the adoption of phrases and by similar collocation of words—in other words, by silent and even unconscious quotation—any acquaintance with our New Testament books?" The evidence here is the most convincing of all; and we must present the strongest part of it in detail.*

In the midst of an account of the hard straits into which he was brought by the allurements of "the Egyptian woman," Joseph evidently quotes a passage from our Matthew. We will compare the passages :

Jos. 3.

Ἐγὼ σὺν ἐμνησκόμεν λόγους πατέρων
[πατρός] μου [Ἰακώβ], καὶ εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸ
ταμεῖον προσηχόμεν κυρίῳ.

Matt. 6:6.

σὺ δὲ ὅταν προσεύχῃ, εἰσελθε εἰς τὸ
ταμεῖόν σου καὶ πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρὶ
. . . .

That this is a quotation from that is evident, for (as Lardner long since saw and noted) the author betrays his consciousness that the phrase is a borrowed one, as well as his fear that it would be recognized as taken from a book much later than the assumed date of his own writing—by inventing an earlier book to which to assign it. The sentence, then, is undoubtedly a quotation. If a quotation, it cannot be seriously contended that it has come from other source than the corresponding sentence in our Matthew.

Take another case. Levi (14) is represented as saying to his children : "What shall all the Gentiles do if ye be darkened through impiety and bring a curse upon our race : in behalf of whom [which], τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, τὸ δοθὲν ἐν ὑμῖν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου. As parallel to this John viii. 12 is usually quoted ; but it would seem to be rather probable that the writer had in his mind, Matt. v. 14 sq. "Ἔμεῖς ἐστέ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου . . . (v. 16), Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father in heaven."

In the preceding chapter we find another exceedingly probable quotation from Matt. v. as follows :

L. 13.

Ἐάν [Ox. δς ἐάν] διδάχῃ ταῦτα καὶ πράττῃ,
σύνθρονος ἐσται βασιλείας.

Matt. 5:19.

δς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάχῃ οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν.

* Words omitted in Ox. are bracketed in the citations under this head.

In Aser 7, again we meet with the following words: *καὶ αὐτός* [sc. ὕψιστος] *ἐλθὼν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ συντρίβων τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δράκοντος δι´δατος. Οὗτος σώσει τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ παντὰ τὰ ἔθνη.* These may be compared with Matt. xi. 19; xii. 15, 21, (cf. also Rom. xvi. 21.) The whole first section of Joseph's Testament is evidently modelled on Matt. xxv. 35 sq.; a passage in Levi 4 is founded on Matt. xxvii. 51, sq.; and Benj. 7, ("Abel the just") seems taken from Matt. xxiii. 35. To these we may add Dan. 6, where it is declared that He whose name in every place of Israel, and among all the Gentiles is Saviour, is *ἄληθης, καὶ μακρόθυμος, πρᾶος καὶ ταπεινός, καὶ ἐκδιδάσκων διὰ τῶν ἔργων νόμον Θεοῦ*, which seems connected with Matt. 11: 29; and Reub. 2, which reflects Matt. 15: 14, (note that here D. 1 read *βέθρον*.) When we add the slighter references—those to facts, such as Levi 18 to Matt. 2: 2 (*ἄστρον*), Levi 18, Jud. 24 to Matt. 3: 16, 17 (*ἀνοίγω*), Levi 4, 14 to Matt. 26: 50, Z. 6 to Matt. 27: 4 (*τιμὴ αἵματος*), Levi 16 to Matt. 27: 25, Levi 10, B. 9 to Matt. 27: 51, and Levi 16 to Matt. 27: 63,—as well as those found in slighter word collocations such as Is. 3 (walking *ἐν ἀπλότῃ ὁφθαλμῶν*) to Matt. 6: 22; Z. 10 (and the Lord shall bring upon the impious *πῦρ αἰώνιον* and destroy them forever) to Matt. 25: 41; Reub. 5 (*εἰς κόλασιν τοῦ αἰῶνος*) to Matt. 25: 46, and Levi 16 (*αἶμα ἀθῶν*) to Matt. 27: 4, etc., we think no room is left for a single doubt but that the author of the Testaments had our Gospel of Matthew before him.

On the other hand, there is no evidence of this kind that our author had our Gospel of Mark.

He certainly had, however, our Luke. In Judah (c. 25) we read *καὶ οἱ ἐν πτωχείᾳ διὰ κύριον [τελευτήσαντες] πλουτισθήσονται, καὶ οἱ ἐν πενίᾳ χορτασθήσονται . . . καὶ οἱ διὰ κύριον ἀποθανόντες ἐξυπνισθήσονται ἐν ζωῇ*, which certainly seems a reminiscence of Luke vi: 20 sq. (cf. Matt. v. 6). In the phrase: *καὶ συνετήρουν τοὺς λόγους τουτοὺς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου* we meet with the rare word *συντηρέω* which is used in the New Testament (and that in the same phrase) only in Luke ii. 19. The following parallels are also noteworthy:

L. 2.

καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κηρύξεις.

Lk. 24: 21.

ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ.

L. 18.

καὶ δώσει [sc. the Messiah] ἐξουσίαν τοῖς
τίκτοις αὐτῶν [τοῦ] πατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα

Lk. 10:18 and 19 (cf. 17).

ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν
. . . ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, etc.

Gad. 6.

Love one another from the heart.

καὶ ἐὰν ἀμάρτη εἰς σὲ εἰπὲς αὐτῷ ἐν εἰρήνῃ . .
. . καὶ ἐὰν ὁμολογήσας μετανοήσῃ ἄφες αὐτῷ.

Lk. 17:3.

ἐὰν ἀμάρτη ὁ ἀδελφός σου, ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ,
καὶ ἐὰν μετανοήσῃ, ἄφες αὐτῷ.

To these we must add the frequently repeated (S. 7, D. 5, B. 9, etc.) τὸ σωτήριον used as a personal designation of the Messiah; an usage which, in the New Testament, is peculiar to Luke (ii. 19). We must also add the slighter references, such as Z. 7 and 8 (σπλάγχνα ἐλέους), to Luke i. 78 (here only in New Testament); Jud. 9 (τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην) to Luke xiv. 32 (peculiar to Luke in the New Testament and to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in this age). We should also remark that Lardner is probably right in assuming that Jos. 17 has its root in the scene and discourse recorded in Luke xxii. 24 sq.

From what has been said already, it will have been gathered that the author of the Testaments probably knew John's Gospel: corroborative evidence is by no means wanting. Thus, in Benj. 3, we read: "The prophecy of heaven shall be fulfilled περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος τοῦ κόσμου," which is an evident echo of John i. 19, as is plain from the fact that a prophecy is professedly quoted, and a prophecy which could have been gotten from no other quarter than John i. 19. Compare also, here, Jos. 19. Again in Jud. 24, we read: "He is the offspring of the Most High God, καὶ αὕτη ἡ πηγὴ εἰς ζωὴν πάσης σαρκός," which takes our mind back immediately to John iv. 4 (cf. also chs. vi. and vii., and Rev. xxi. 6). Still again in Benj. 9, we read, with plain reference to John 3:14, "καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλον ὑψωθήσεται [sc. κύριος]." And there may be, also, a reference to John in [Jud. 20].

Of our four Gospels, then, it seems evident that the author of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs had three; Matthew, Luke, and John.

He also knew the Acts of the Apostles. In the ninth chapter of Benj. we read: "καὶ καταβήσεται [Ox. μεταβ.] τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη, ὡς πῦρ ἐκχυνόμενον, καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἁδου [Ox. χάου.] ἔσται ἀναβαίνων [Ox. μεταβ.] ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν. Ἐγνώ [Ox. ὦν] δὲ οἷός ἐστι ταπεινός ἐπὶ γῆς, καὶ οἷός

ἐνδοξὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ." The first sentence here seems certainly to refer to the fact recorded, Acts 2: 1 sq., while in the subsequent one, there seems a reference to Peter's speech, Acts ii. 31 sq. Their collocation here is significant; as, also, the conjoined references to Christ's burial, resurrection, and ascension, in connection with the pouring out of the Spirit on the Gentiles. In Benj. 11 we have a reference to the Acts which is beyond all doubt: there the writer speaks of the "works" of Paul as to be written "in the Holy Books," by which confessedly he can mean nothing else than our book of Acts; an understanding more than justified by the fact that he has evidently Acts 9: 15 in mind in that passage.

When we turn to Paul's epistles, we are confronted, first of all, with this same statement, for not only Paul's "works," but also his "words," are said to be written "in the Holy Books." This reference is confessedly plain, as we shall see later. Taking the epistles one by one, we note, first, that Romans was certainly known to our author. In Benj. 3 we read of *ἀνθρώπου*, ... *ὅτι ἀμωμος ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων παραδοθήσεται καὶ ἀναυάρτητος ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀποθανεῖται*, κ. τ. λ. which seems certainly to be based on Ro. 5:6 and 7 (cf. 1 Pet. 1: 19). This combination of passages is a familiar occurrence in all early (and late) quotations. In Benj. 4 we read: "The good man has not a dark eye: for he has pity on all, even though they be sinners, even though they wish evil concerning him: οὕτως ὁ ἀγαθοποιῶν νικά τὸ κακόν," with which we may compare Ro. xii. 21: "Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. . . . Be not overcome with evil ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν." The similarity of the context here increases the weight of the verbal resemblance. Again, the use of *συντριβῶν* in the passage from As. 7, given on a preceding page, echoes not doubtfully the passage from Romans there cited. We need not dwell on the list of slighter coincidences, such as L. 18 (*πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης*) and Ro. 1: 4 (here only in N. T.) As. 4 and Ro. 2: 13 (cf. 2 Thess. 1: 6), L. 4 (unbelieving men, *ἐπιμενοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀδικλαῖς*) and Ro. 6: 1, Benj. 3 and Ro. 8: 28., Naph. 2 (God compared in making man to a potter) and Ro. 9: 21 (but cf. Is. 45: 9), As. 4 (*ἡλὸς θεοῦ*) and Ro. 10: 2 (cf. 2 Cor. 11: 2), Dan. 6 (*πατήρ ἐξόνων*) which Lardner compares with Ro. 3: 29, and Levi 3 which Canon Westcott com-

pares with Ro. 12:1. It is enough that the evidence is abundant that Romans was used by the author of this book.

We cannot speak so confidently of 1 Cor. Canon Westcott relies on the phrase *φεύγετε πορνείαν* in R. 5 and 1 Cor. 6:18. We may also compare Jud. 21: "The Lord chose Levi *ἐσθίειν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ* and 1 Cor. x. 21; B. 3 and 1 Cor. xv. 24, use *καταργέω* alike; and Benj. 11 would be esteemed a certain quotation of 1 Cor. 16:17, were not the same phrase common elsewhere in the New Testament, e. g. 2 Cor. ix. 12, xi. 9; Phil ii. 30; Col. i. 24.

2d Cor. was, however, certainly known to our author. We may compare, for instance, a passage in Dan 5: "*Ἦ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθῆς μετάνοια ἀναιρεῖ τὴν ἀπειθειαν. . . . καὶ ὁδηρεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον πρὸς σωτηρίαν*, etc., with 2 Cor. vii. 10; a striking parallel in itself, but immensely strengthened by the similarity of the subsequent contexts. The peculiar phrase "to know sin" (*καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἁμαρτίαν*) of Is. 7, also strongly suggests the similar phrase of 2 Cor. 5:21.

We may make the same claim also for Ephesians. Thus (Dan. 5) we read: "Depart (*ἀπόστητε*), however, from anger and hate lying, that the Lord may dwell in you and Beliar flee from you, *ἀλήθειαν φθέγγεσθε* [Ox. *λαλεῖτε*] *ἵνα στος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ*." (cf. R. 6, and B. 10: "Do truth, each one *μετὰ τ. π.*") This is almost certainly founded on Eph. iv. 25. Again, in Naph. 3 "*Μὴ οὖν σπουδάξετε . . . ἐν λόγοις κενοῖς ἀπατῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν*, because, being silent, you will be able in purity of heart to hold fast the will of God and to cast off the will of the devil;" the similarity of both phraseology and context evinces a dependence on Eph. v. 6. Again, unless Naph. 4 is taken from the lxx (Is. 57:19), it certainly rests on Eph. ii. 17. We may compare, further, Benj. 3 (*τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος τοῦ βελίαρ*) with the unique New Testament passage Eph. ii. 2; and also, perhaps, Jud. 14 with Eph. v. 18.

With Philippians we adduce the following parallels. Levi 4: "Until the Lord visit all the Gentiles *ἐν σπλάγχνοις υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*" with Phil. i. 8; Benj. 10: "Worshipping the king of the heavens appearing on earth *μέρφη ἀνθρώπου [ταπεινώσεως]*" in connection with Zach. 9: [*καὶ ὄρεσθε θεὸν ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου*] with Phil. ii. 6-8 (cf. also S. 6, N. 8, A. 7, etc.); and Levi 14: "And ye are *οἱ φωστῆρες* of heaven" with Phil. ii. 15, where

only (except Rev. 21:11) this rare word occurs in the New Testament. These will suffice to prove that the author had Philippians.

For Colossians we adduce the following: In Levi 3 we find: "Ἐν δὲ τῷ [Heaven] μετ' αὐτὸν εἰσὶ θρόνοι καὶ ἐξουσίαι" which can be compared only with Col. i. 16. The use of ἀπλότης in R. 4, S. 4, L. 13, I. 3, etc., may possibly be compared also with Col. iii. 22, and certainly reflects a Pauline usage.

The following parallel alone is enough to prove the use of 1 Thessalonians:

L. 6. Ἐφθάσε δὲ ἡ ὁργὴ κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος. [Order in Ox: E. δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὁρ, etc.]	1 Thess. ii:16. Ἐφθάσεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὁργὴ [τῶν θεῶν] εἰς τέλος.
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Compare also D. 6.

We find no trace of 2 Thessalonians, but pretty sure ones of 1 Tim. Not only do we read of βασιλεὺς αἰώνιων in R. 6, which strongly suggests 1 Tim. i. 17, but in Dan. 6 we read: "Draw near to God, and the angel that intercedeth for you ὅτι οὗτος ἐστὶ μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων for the peace of Israel"—a passage which irresistibly impresses one as having been drawn from 1 Tim. ii. 5.*

To 2 Tim. we have only one possible reference, Levi 8, where the phrase ὁ στέφανος τῆς δικαιοσύνης is found; a phrase peculiar in the New Testament to 2 Tim. 4:8. To Titus and Philemon there are probably no references; cf., however, Jud. 24 and Titus 3:6, the striking phrase in which is found also, however, both in Acts and LXX.

For Hebrews, on the other hand, we have ample testimony. Not only is ἀρχιερεὺς, which, in the New Testament as a designation of the Messiah, is peculiar to Hebrews, one of the most common of all his titles in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, but we meet also with some quotations from Hebrews. Thus, in Gad 8 we read that the Lord is to spring from Judah and Levi, expressed in this peculiar language: "ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνατελεῖ κύριος"—which is duplicated in Heb. vii. 14. Compare Matt.

* Hilgenfeld (*Einleitung*, p. 764) expressly admits this quotation: "Traces of the Pastoral Epistles are found . . . in the . . . Testaments of the XII Patriarchs Dan. 6,—cf. 1. Tim. ii. 5)."

4: 16 from Is. 9: 1, but note that the LXX reads λάμψει. Again, in Benj. 3 we read: "The prophecy shall be fulfilled concerning the Lamb of God, . . . because . . . he shall die ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης," etc., which peculiar phrase again is found in the New Testament only in Heb. 13: 20. Another point of contact is found in the use of the phrase, ἐπὶ συντελείῃ τῶν αἰώνων in Levi 10, and of a similar phrase in Heb. ix. 26. Canon Westcott compares also Levi 18 and Heb. vii. 22, but we cannot feel that the reference is indubitable.

In the opinion of Canon Westcott there has been no reference established to the Epistle of James. The judgment of such a scholar carries great weight, but the following parallels seem at least to render the use of that epistle by our author very probable:

B. 6.

Ἡ ἀγαθὴ δῖαναια οὐκ ἔχει δύο γλώσσας, ἐν-
λογίας καὶ κατάρας.

Jas. 3: 9 and 10.

ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ στόματος ἐξέρχεται εὐλογία καὶ
κατάρα. Οὐ χρὴ . . . ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι.

and Is. 7, τὸν κύριον ἠγάπησα [ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ μου] . . . ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε, τέκνα μου, καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα τοῦ βείλαρ φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν, as compared with Jas. iv. 7. We also meet in Dan. 6, with the phrase, Ἐγγίζετε δὲ τῷ θεῷ, which parallels with the immediately following verse (Jas. iv. 8).

Perhaps somewhat less evidence exists for a dependence on 1 Peter. We compare especially 1 Peter i. 19 with Jos. 19 (ἀμνὸς ἁμώμος) and Benj. 3, as already quoted at Romans v. 6, 7. Naph. 4: "κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος" is *verbatim* the same as in 1 Pet. i. 3. Benj. 8 seems also to depend on 1 Pet. iv. 14, but this presumption is much weakened by the fact that the most characteristic part of the phrase is also found in Numbers xi. 25 and 2 Kings 2: 15.

We have shown already that there is some evidence that our author had 2 Peter before him, and we are to adduce now at least one very probable allusion to that book. In Benj. 8 we read: καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς νοῦς ἐν τοῖς μiasμοῖς [Οκ. μιάσμασι] τῆς γῆς συνεχόμενος κ. τ. λ., and, when we consider that not only is this phrase found in 2 Peter ii. 20, but that μιάσμα is found there only in the whole New Testament, it is hard to believe that the two passages are wholly independent of one another. In Reub. 5 τήρειν is used as in 2 Pet. 4: 9 for "to keep for judgment," and we may compare also Reub. 3, τοῦ πλάττειν

λόγους with 2 Pet. 2, 3, πλαστοῦς λόγους. Even though, taken alone, these allusions may not seem very conclusive, yet, when taken in connection with the evidence already adduced, the use of 2 Peter by the author of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs is raised to a somewhat high degree of probability.

The following parallels with 1 John are worth noticing. In Jud. 20, we read: [Ἐπίγνωτε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ὅτι δύο πνεύματα σχολάζουσιν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης].* Although this whole section (Jud. 20) is wanting in the Oxford manuscript, yet the proneness of that manuscript to omission leads us to judge the passage genuine. It is to be noted also that this style of phraseology is very common in the Testaments, and even if this passage were not genuine we should lose only the *collocation* here; cf. Is. 4, D. 5, etc. If genuine, it is an unmistakable echo of 1 John iv. 6. The whole pneumatology of the book, indeed, obscure as it is, is evidently borrowed from John and finds its roots in such passages as 1 John iv. 6. We may further compare R. 6 (ποιῆσιν ἀλήθειαν) and 1 John i. 6 (here and John 3 : 21 only); Gad 2 (ὁμολογεῖν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν) and 1 John 1 : 9 (here only); Gad 3 (ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην) and 1 John 2 : 29 (peculiar to 1 John); and Is. 7 (sin unto death) and 1 John v. 16 (this last reference is, however, more doubtful, although Canon Westcott relies upon it; cf. Ro. 6 : 16, where as well as in the Testaments *eis* is used, while John uses *pros*.)

We have met with no references to 2 and 3 John and Jude.

The following, however, certainly point to Revelation. In L. 18 there stands written: καί γε αὐτὸς (sc. the Messiah) ἀνοίξε τὰς θύρας τοῦ παραδείσου . . . καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἁγίοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ἔϋλου τῆς ζωῆς, etc., which will inevitably point us to Rev. 2 : 7, taken in connection with Rev. 22 : 2, 14. Another passage in the same chapter (L. 18) seems also based on Revelation: the καὶ ὁ βελλίαρ δεδῆγεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ recalling strongly the καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτόν of Rev. 20 : 2, especially when it is further noted that all three of the names of Satan found in this passage of Revelation are found also in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs: Satan, Dan 3; Devil, N. 3; A. 3, Dragon, As. 7, and that, al-

* As the brackets are meant to show, this passage is not found in the Oxford MS., but as *omissions* are characteristic of that MS., its omissions are not of much authority.

though this last is peculiar in the New Testament to Revelation. Another designatory title peculiar in the New Testament to Revelation is repeated in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, that peculiar designation of Christ in Rev. v. 5, as the Lion of the Tribe of Judah; compare Jos. 9. We may further compare the account given in Levi 5, of the opening of the *πύλας* of heaven and the sight of the Most High on His throne of glory, and of the holy *ναός* with Rev. iv. 1, and xi. 19. And once more we have the high authority of Canon Westcott for looking for the original of Dan. 5 ("The New Jerusalem") in Rev. 21: 2, even though different adjectives are used (*νέας*, Testaments; *καινήν*, Rev.)

We conclude that the evidence is ample and most conclusive from this source, that our author knew the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, the Acts of the Apostles, Ro., 2 Cor., Eph., Phil., Col., 1 Thess., 1 Tim., Heb., 1 Jno., and Rev., while an exceedingly high degree of probability exists that he knew also 1 Pet. and Jas. and some probability that he knew 2 Pet. and 1 Cor. A possible reference exists to 2 Tim., but no recognizable ones to Mark, Gal., 2 Thess., Titus, Philemon, 2 and 3 John, and Jude.

Taking all the evidence presented under the four foregoing heads together, this list must be somewhat altered. The complete evidence warrants us in saying that the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs evinces almost indubitable dependence on, and hence the prior existence of the following New Testament books: Matt., Luke, Jno., Acts, Ro., 1 Cor., Eph., Phil., Col., 1 Thess., 1 Tim., Heb., Jas., 1 Pet., 1 Jno., and Rev. Little room for doubt is left in regard to 1 Cor. and perhaps even 2 Peter. The most of the other books are witnessed to as existing, by contemporary authors: Mark, by Clement of Rome; Galatians by Polycarp and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus; 2 Thess. and 2 Tim. by Polycarp; Titus by the epistle to Diognetus, and possibly also by Clement. These, then, the author of the Testaments might have had. Who will say, not also the four remaining *mites*, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Philemon? But here, Tuebingen-like, we are building on "may-be's;" we are content to take the facts and let the "may-be's" go. The facts are, that our author witnesses to the existence before the time of his writing, that is

before the period 100-120 A.D., of by far the larger part of our New Testament.

V. We are told, however, that at this early day the New Testament books—such of them as existed at all—existed separately, and were not yet gathered into a collection or “canon.” And we are told, moreover, that they were received by their readers merely as ordinary books, and had no sort of unusual authority attributed to them. Perhaps our author has some witness to bear on this point also. If we were guessing, however, we would not make this guess. These New Testament books bear a somewhat common stamp—uncommon in that age; they would tend to “collect,” if for no other reason than just because everywhere “birds of a feather flock together.” Certainly, even though they had come to him one by one, they would not leave our author uncollected. Again, the very fact that so many allusions to them are discoverable in his writings shows that they had a peculiar power over him; he certainly valued their way of expressing thought very highly. It would even seem that they had an unique authority over him; in making his prophecies, he prophesies only what they tell him has occurred; in teaching his ethics, he cannot free himself from their phraseology; when he assigns one of their sayings, which he cannot persuade himself to forego using, even at the risk of undoing all his toil, to a fictitious source, he invents a source such as he knows will command the respect and reverence of his readers. Strange, this invincible proneness to use, this constant reverence for, books which he deems to have no authority for him. So that, we repeat, if we were guessing we would not make quite the guess that would seem to be expected of us. But we are not left to guessing. At the end of his book, this early author has left us one sentence to show us in what form he had these books, and how he esteemed them. It was difficult to work into a writing, professing to have been written so many years before, a direct statement of this kind; yet our author did work it in. And this is the way in which he did it. It is Benjamin who is speaking to his children, and revealing to them what shall be when the Lord shall reveal His salvation to all the Gentiles: “And no longer shall I be called a ravening wolf,” he says, “on account of your

plunder, but the Lord's worker, distributing food to those who work the good. And there shall arise from my seed in the latter times one called of the Lord, hearing [in the earth] His voice, [Ox. adds, 'and doing the good pleasure of His will'] enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, affording the light of knowledge to Israel in salvation,* and snatching it like a wolf from them and giving it in the synagogue of the Gentiles. [And] until the consummation of the ages [Ox., 'of the age'] He shall be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their rulers as a strain of music in the mouth of all. And in the Holy Books shall He be written, both His work and word; and He shall be the chosen of God forever." The important words here are: *καὶ ἐν βίβλοις ἀγίαις ἔσται ἀναγραφόμενος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.*

There is no possibility of denying that the great Benjamite here described is Paul; hence no one has ever denied it.* It is Paul's work and word, then, that shall be written *ἐν βίβλοις ἀγίαις*. We have already seen that this writer possessed the Acts and most of Paul's Epistles. Can it be doubted that he means these by the writing of Paul's work and word? Now what does he mean by their being written "in the Holy Books?" There is small room for difference of opinion as to what a Jewish Christian writing for the benefit of Jews, and putting his words in the mouth of a Jewish father, could mean by *βίβλοι ἀγίαι*. Note that, although anarthrous, the expression is definite; it has the value of a proper name in the eyes of this writer—an old, familiar phrase representing an object of which there was but one of the kind. The Jews had a "collection" of books with which every Jew was familiar from boyhood; and this was the well-known name of it. Into this collection the Acts and Pauline Epistles are admitted. The testimony amounts to no less, then, than that at the opening of the second century the Acts and Epistles of Paul were, in Christian estimation, a part of a holy collection of which the Old Testament also was a part;—that the same divine character and authority were attributed to them as to the Old

* Ox. reads, "Shining with the light of knowledge in salvation to Israel."

* Hilgenfeld, for instance (*Einleitung*, p. 71; *Der Kanon*, p. 30), expressly admits both the fact and the inference irresistibly flowing from it. "This book," he says, "reckons already the Pauline Epistles, together with the Acts, as part of the Holy Scriptures."

Testament;—in a word, that an old and a new collection stood together as part of one book, equally divine and equally authoritative throughout. The testimony of our author here, then, is: 1. That he possessed not scattered New Testament books, but a collected body of New Testament books; and 2. That they were esteemed by him as equally authoritative with the Old Testament—were, indeed, but part with it of one collection of *βιβλοι ἀγίαι*. He testifies, then, that there was a New Testament “canon” at the opening of the second century. Exactly what and how many books were contained in that “canon” perhaps we cannot venture to confidently declare. Certainly it would be preposterous to claim that only the Acts and Pauline Epistles were contained in it. In all probability all of the New Testament books which the author knew found a place in it. And as it is ridiculous to say, he probably knew no more books than in such a work he has betrayed knowledge of, it would seem safe to contend that this collection in all probability contained all those New Testament books, evidence for whose existence we can find in his contemporaries. Who will venture to declare that 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Philemon—briefest of brief writings—could not also have already gained a footing in it? The facts warrant us in stating that the major part of the New Testament was in it; the probability is certainly not against the further statement that the whole New Testament was in it.

Swayed by the peculiar character of much modern writing on the history of the New Testament canon, many readers may find this result somewhat startling: that the New Testament canon had been already practically formed at the outset of the second century. It should not, however, be startling to any one. On *a priori* grounds we should expect it; inspired or not, these books came upon the world possessing a common peculiar character—they would naturally gravitate together as such. Historically, aside from the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, it is evinced. There is not a writer of this subapostolic age who does not treat the New Testament with marked reverence; there is not one of them who can be even plausibly claimed to make any distinction between it and the Old Testament. On the other hand, they do make a distinction between the New Testament writers and them-

selves. They were writing as simple Christian men; the others with authority. Bishop Ignatius, filled with Episcopal pride, can yet see that his Episcopal* authority is infinitely lower than that with which the apostles spoke. "Not as Peter and Paul do I command you," he writes to the Romans, "they were apostles, I one condemned." "I do not write these things," says Polycarp to the Philippians, "because I take anything on myself, but because ye have invited me to do so. For neither I nor any one like me can attain to the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul." So Clement wishes only to remind the Corinthians, not enjoin, as did "the blessed apostle Paul." And Barnabas reiterates that he speaks "not as a teacher, but as one of themselves." In direct accordance with this reverence the New Testament books are recognized as Scripture: Barnabas quotes Matthew with the significant formula *ὡς γέγραπται*, and Hilgenfeld admits that this implies that the author of this epistle esteemed Matthew part of Holy Scripture.† Polycarp, in like manner, calls the Epistle to the Ephesians "Scripture." It is valid to cite 1 Tim. v. 5 here also; quoted by Polycarp, Clement, and Barnabas, as well as by the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, it is certainly an older witness than this age, and yet it quotes Luke as Scripture. If the traces of the prior existence of 2 Peter in the Testaments be deemed valid, the well-known passage concerning Paul's Epistles in it may also be quoted here corroboratively. We certainly ought not to be startled at finding the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs witnessing to our New Testament books as Scripture; and if Scripture, why not (as the Testaments witness) added to the Old Scriptures?

Nor are we left without direct testimony to their collection. Not only are the Synoptic Gospels quoted by Clement and Polycarp in such a manner as to prove that they had long been together, and had affected the text one of another in parallel

* Of course these epithets are to be understood of a *pastoral*, not *diocesan* episcopacy. The passage quoted is found in the Curetonian version as well as in the Vossian Epistles; but after the investigations of Petermann and Zahn, few will care to deny the genuineness of the seven short Greek Epistles. Harnack's brilliant essay ("Die Zeit des Ignatius") has not unsettled the received date.

† *Einleitung*, p. 38 and p. 70. He himself dates Barnabas as early as 97.

passages, but we have direct testimony from Ignatius to the fact that a Christian canon already existed for him—testimony, again, convincing even to critics like Hilgenfeld, who writes: “Here we find already the two component parts of the New Testament represented as the *εὐαγγέλιον* and the *ἀπόστολοι*.”* To feel the force of this, we must remember that even as “the Law and the Prophets” was at that time the current designation of what we call the Old Testament, so “the Gospel and the Apostles” was of what we call the New Testament. This usage lasted long in the Church; the only designation of the New Testament used by Clement of Alexandria, is τὸ τε εὐαγγέλιον ὃ τε ἀπόστολος (Strom. vii. 3, 14, varied in the last clause to ὁ ἀπόστολοι as in Strom. vi. 11). And even Tertullian, in the midst of a strife to substitute “Novum Instrumentum” for “Novum Testamentum” still knows this synonym: “If I shall not clear up this point,” he writes, “by investigations of the Old Scripture, I will take the proof of our interpretation from the New Testament . . . for, lo! both in the Gospels and in the Apostles, I notice, etc.” Marcion witnesses to the same title, though in the variation which substitutes “Apostolicon” for the last member. It is just so that Ignatius uses the phrase. He asks for the prayers of the Philadelphians that he may be made perfect and attain to that portion which has been allotted to him, “fleeing to the *Gospel* as to the flesh of Christ, and to the *Apostles* as to the presbytery of the Church,”—“but let us also love the *Prophets*,” he adds, “because they have preached in reference to the Gospel, and placed their hope in Him . . . in whom believing they were saved.” The juxtaposition here of the Gospel, Apostles, and Prophets is very noteworthy. In the same way the *Gospel* and *Prophets* are conjoined, Smyr. vii. And again in Phil. viii. Ignatius plainly contrasts the Old with the New Testament: “When I heard some saying,” he writes, “‘If I find it not in the *ancient** writings, I will not believe the Gospel’—on my saying to them, ‘It is written!’ they answered me, ‘That remains to be proved.’ But to me Christ

* *Einleitung*, p. 72. He erroneously assigns, however, to Magnesians the passage found in Philadelphians, 5.

* We read here *ἀρχαίους* with Cod. Med., Usher's Latin *vs.* and the Armenian. The corrupt longer recension reads *ἀρχαίους*.

Jesus *is* the ancient writings." Here there is evidently a dispute with adherents of the Old Testament; Ignatius appeals to the New Testament as Scripture, but his opponents refuse to recognize the appeal. The three passages together prove, beyond question, that Ignatius knew of a collection of books consisting of "The Gospel and the Apostles," and distinguished from the Old Testament books not as less sacred, but in that they were new while the others were old.

The testimony of Ignatius and that of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, illustrate, explain, and confirm each other; and, taken together, the inference seems irresistible that already at the opening of the second century, the mass, at least, of the New Testament books were in the hands of the Church in the form of a supplementary collection of authoritative books attached to the Old Testament, and with it constituting *βιβλοι ἀγίαι*; but distinguished from it as being made up of the New, while it was constituted of the Old books (*τὰ ἀρχαία [βίβλια]*). In other words, the "canon" of the New Testament was formed already at the close of the first century.*

Large corroborative evidence might be brought forward—such as would put this conclusion beyond the shadow of a doubt. Dr. Lumby, for instance, has unearthed a passage from the Talmud, dating from a generation which had seen the destruction of the temple, wherein the "book" is so spoken of by the Christian speaker as to evince the fact that it contained both Old and New Testaments (*i. e.*, the books of Numbers and Matthew), and was considered equally authoritative in all its parts.† We might appeal again to the fact that one who, there is good ground to believe, was a pupil of apostles—Papias, could write an "exegesis" *λογίων κυριακῶν*. And what that means, Dr. Lightfoot has forever put in a clear light (*Contemporary Review*, 1875). And with it again we might appeal to that other fact, that on the verge of, or within, this same period of the first two decades of the second century, Basilides wrote twenty-four books on "the Gospel," which Clement of Alexandria calls *τὰ ἐξεγέτικα*. When commentaries begin, the books are not lightly esteemed. Still

* Of course this statement is meant to be taken in accordance with the limitations as to the contents of the "canon," made under V. above.

† The passage is to be found, Talm. Babl. *Shabbath* 116a 116b. See "*Expositor*," April, 1879, p. 318.

further, we might appeal to Eusebius' statement, that the missionaries of Trajan's reign not only preached zealously to, but handed down to their hearers *τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων γράφην*; and to Justin's natural collocation of "the memoirs of the Apostles and the books of the Prophets" as the staple of Christian public reading, which evidently, for aught he knew (in A.D. 145), had been together read in the churches from the beginning; and to Marcion's retention, at a period earlier than Justin, of a "canon" for his own use, which absolutely proves that the Church had one previous to his, and containing more than his. Or laying aside the mass of similar notices which confront us, we might find a convincing argument upon the position which the New Testament held in the last quarter of the second century which would prove its existence as Scripture at the very opening of the first quarter.

But we may safely leave the facts, as already brought out, to fight their own battle. They alone make it abundantly plain, that they have too lightly esteemed the Apostolical Church, who have imagined that the infinite beauty of the Christian Scriptures and their convincing internal evidence that God was speaking through their human words (to say now nothing of the external circumstances under which it received them), were lost upon it. The men who constituted even that Church were sinners needing salvation. They found it in a divinely-taught doctrine which they saw written, in a more than human way, in books claiming to speak with all the authority of inspiration. How could they, being like us, help esteeming them? How help framing them into a canon? Add—what is no more than the evidence warrants—that they received these books authoritatively out of the very bosom of the apostolic circle. Which is the more surprising?—that the New Testament canon was formed on the very first knowledge of its parts?—or that men nowadays are found to doubt that this was done?

BEN. B. WARFIELD.

V.

NOTES ON THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES OF FRANCE AND FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

FROM the very first the founders of the Reformed Churches of France and Switzerland recognized the necessity of a thorough training for the Gospel ministry. The reformation which they preached was an orderly and intelligent system, a reformation based upon a clear and correct understanding of the Holy Scriptures in their natural sense, as gained by the ordinary rules of interpretation,—a reformation to which all disorder and fantastic innovation were as repugnant as were the unscriptural inventions and additions of the Church of Rome. Against the extravagance to which there was in that age an unmistakable tendency, the only sufficient safeguard was seen to lie in the creation of an educated ministry. The most proper instruments to be employed in the renovation of the Church were men of piety, who, to the indispensable interior call of the Holy Spirit, added an accurate knowledge of the history of Christian doctrine, a good measure of familiarity with the original languages of the Bible, or, at least, with the Greek of the New Testament, and some training in the duties of the pastoral office.

Accordingly, scarce had William Farel laid the foundations of the reformation in Geneva, when he began to look about him for a competent person to confirm and perfect his work by placing it on the basis of a sound biblical theology. He felt confident that God had thrown in his way the man he needed, when the apparently fortuitous circumstances of war and of consequent danger in the Duchy of Lorraine compelled John Calvin to make a long circuit on his way from his native Picardy to the city of Basle, and caused him to pass through Geneva. Calvin was a young man—he was only twenty-six years old, although he had even then written the

"Institutes" in the original and briefer form—and he was reluctant to give up his cherished plans of quiet study. But Farel was earnest, and after a severe struggle with his own inclinations, Calvin yielded to what appeared to him as distinct a call of God as if he had heard a voice from heaven.

At first Calvin consented only to assume the office of a theological teacher, although later he became one of the pastors of the city. There was, as yet, it is true, no theological school properly so called; for the circumstances of the petty republic did not permit the establishment of one. Meantime, however, the plan of a tolerably complete "college," or "gymnasium," had been devised about two months before Calvin's arrival. On the twenty-first of May, 1536, the citizens, assembled in their "General Council," had solemnly and unanimously declared their resolution "to live according to the Gospel and the Word of God" . . . without the use of "masses, pictures, idols, or any other papal abuses." On the same occasion, they also determined to found a college, and to provide for it a salaried principal, so soon as a scholar of competent attainments could be procured. Such a man was found in Antoine Saurier. Under his care the college before long became a flourishing and very useful institution, which, if not entitled to a place among theological seminaries, at least merited the appellation of a preparatory school in theology. To the college's use the city set aside the old monastery of the Cordeliers de Rive. An old programme of the studies pursued in 1538, the second year of the existence of the school, has recently come to light. It strikingly illustrates the religious character of the instruction. This document has, indeed, more of an apologetic than of a scholastic aim; for, as the writer informs us, among many other calumnies against the Reformed, it had been alleged that they held polite letters and liberal studies in no esteem, and that, consequently, learning was well-nigh extinct, "as though in truth the Gospel were at war with the good arts, which we account among the choice gifts of God." As opposed to this the programme asserts that "the Word of God is indeed the foundation of all teaching, but the so-called liberal arts are props and aids to the full understanding of the Word which ought not to be despised."

The theological character of the college is apparent from the

fact that beside the Latin and French languages, the Greek and Hebrew were studied, and that in the latter the sole textbooks were the New and Old Testaments in the original tongues respectively, with the use of grammatical helps, etc. But besides the lessons in the college, we further learn that two lectures were delivered daily in the principal church of the city, the old cathedral of Saint Pierre. Every morning at nine o'clock a teacher (whose name is not given) discussed the grammatical forms of the Hebrew language, or else Farel explained in a more purely theological manner the text of the books of the Old Testament. At two o'clock in the afternoon, John Calvin followed with an hour's lecture upon the Greek of the New Testament. Frequently (but we are not told how often) there were held, in the same place, public debates of a theological kind, "not noisy, sophistical, or contentious, but carried on with all moderation of words and tranquillity of mind." Every assertion was corroborated or impugned by the authority of the Holy Scriptures.* These exercises seem to have been open to all that chose to attend them.

In 1559 (or about twenty-three years after his first arrival at Geneva), Calvin saw his way clear to carry out a scheme which he had long had in view—namely, the erection of the "Académie de Genève." The designation of "university" was not given, apparently because it was not even then deemed practicable to develop at once much more than the single Theological Faculty. In fact, though there have been from time to time professors of Law and Medicine, it is only in our own days that the schools of Law and Medicine have been fully organized, and the name of the "University" of Geneva has come into use.

Calvin brought Theodore Beza from Lausanne, where he had been very successfully teaching classical literature, and made him first Rector of the Académie, and Professor of Theology. Calvin himself continued the instruction which he had hitherto maintained with occasional interruptions. How he and Beza divided between them the subject is not precisely known. At first they appear to have taught alternate weeks, each interpret-

* *Ordo et ratio docendi Geneve in Gymnasio* (Jan. 12, 1538), in *Herminjard, Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de Langue française*, iv. 455-460.

ing different books of the Bible.* "Later, one of the two theological professors was charged with the 'texts,' that is to say, with exegesis, while his colleague treated the 'loci communes,' that is, dogmatic theology." In addition, a professor of Hebrew, Antoine Chevalier, taught the elements of that language, and devoted six hours weekly to the exegesis of the Old Testament. Francois Beraud was professor of the Greek language, and Jean Tagaut, of Arts or Philosophy.† The rector and the new professors entered upon their duties by subscribing their names to the laws of the school, and, in particular, to the confession of faith of the Church of Geneva.

France was, during the first period of Protestantism, wholly dependent upon Switzerland for the training of its ministers. Almost all were taught either at Geneva or in the neighboring theological school at Lausanne. When one of the Venetian ambassadors, on his return home, informed the Doge and Senate that Geneva was the mine from which the French heresies were drawn, he referred especially to the students there equipped for their life-work. And Lausanne had the honor, as early as in 1552, of furnishing from among her pupils five martyrs for the faith—the famous Five Students burned at the stake in the city of Lyons. The foundation of the school at Lausanne is said to date from January, 1537.

But the moment that persecution relaxed its fury, and a prospect of toleration opened before the Protestants of France, in the first years of Charles IX.'s reign, they began to plan to secure theological training at home, in order to meet an extraordinary demand for ministers which could not otherwise be satisfied. The Church of Orleans was among the foremost in expressing a desire in this kind direction.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, not less than six Protestant theological seminaries (omitting that of Montpellier, which had but a brief existence) were founded in France, namely: Nismes (1561), Saumur (1598), Montauban (1598), and Die, in France proper; Orthez, in Béarn, and Sedan (about

* "Theologi duo professores sua quisque hebdomade, successim, sacros libros interpretantur." *Leges Academiæ*; *apud* Professor J. E. Cellerier's *Sketch of the Académie de Genève*, *Bulletin de l'hist. du Prot. français*, iv. 15.

† Prof. Cellerier, *ubi supra*. See also *Le Livre du Recteur*; *catalogue des étudiants de l'Académie de Genève de 1559 à 1859* (Geneva, 1860).

1580), in the principality of Sedan. Of these the most important were those of Saumur, Montauban, and Sedan. It is to be noticed that these several schools exhibited, for the most part, well-defined diversities of tendency. Nismes was inclined to soften down the points of difference between Protestantism and Romanism—put forth projects for re-union or conciliation, and offered more examples of apostasy than any other school. Saumur tended to displace the doctrine of Predestination as taught in Geneva, and to substitute a less rigid view. Montauban and Sedan furnished the most staunch defenders of the more strictly Calvinistic theology.*

It may seem strange that so many as six theological seminaries should have been required by the Protestants of France in the seventeenth century, whereas in our own times, as Professor Nicolas has remarked,† the three Faculties of Montauban, Strasbourg, and Geneva barely count up, on the average, one hundred and fifty students. We must remember, however, that this was before the expatriation of hundreds of thousands of Huguenots, in consequence of the persecutions of Louis XIV., and that the greater number of Protestant churches called for a more abundant supply of ministers.

All the six theological seminaries, or Académies, just mentioned, were successively closed by order of government. That of Montauban, transferred to Puy-Laurens in 1659, was the last to be destroyed, March 5, 1685—only seven months before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.‡

Throughout the dark period of more than one hundred years, during which no Protestant French minister could show his face without incurring the danger of being broken on the wheel, there was, of course, little theological instruction given in France. The few Huguenot ministers that ventured to brave death by secretly preaching and administering the sacraments to their suffering brethren in the Cevennes, were, for the most part, trained elsewhere, in Geneva, Holland, etc.—not that, however, such indefatigable laborers as the celebrated Antoine Court altogether neglected the work of preparing

* See Prof. M. Nicolas, *Les Anciennes Académies Protestantes, Aperçu des tendances diverses*, Bulletin de l'hist. du Prot. fr. ii. 320, etc.

† Ibid, ii. 49.

‡ Ch. Drion, *Hist. Chronol. de l'Eglise prot. de France*, ii. 235.

candidates for the ministry, even when compelled to hide from their enemies in the remote solitude of the "Desert." Court himself has left us a touching record of the simple manner in which he applied himself to the work. "I had our field-beds stretched by a torrent and underneath a rock. . . . Here we encamped nearly a week ; this was our lecture-room, these were our grounds, these our rooms for study. In order that the time might not be wasted, and that our candidates might have practice, I gave them a text of Scripture to make remarks upon. It was the first eleven verses of the fifth chapter of Saint Luke. They were permitted neither to communicate their views to each other, nor to make use of other helps than the Bible. In the hours of recreation, I propounded to them now a doctrinal point to explain, now a passage of Scripture, or a moral precept ; or I gave them passages to harmonize. Here is the method I employed : As soon as I had proposed the question, I asked the youngest for his opinion, and then the others in turn until I reached the eldest. After each one had stated what he thought, I again addressed the youngest and asked him whether he had any objection to the opinions of the others, and so from one to the other. When all had argued, I gave them my own judgment respecting the matter proposed. When their exercises were ready, a pole was placed across two forked stakes, and this, for the present occasion, served as a pulpit for preaching. When one of the candidates had resigned it, I asked all to state what they had remarked, observing the method above given."*

In November, 1787, Louis XVI. signed the Edict of Toleration, for the first time in one hundred and two years giving Protestants a standing in the sight of the law.† But apparently no steps were taken toward restoring theological education until 1802, when Napoleon, in his desire, by establishing the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches alike, to bring both into servile subjection to the *Stâte*, undertook to organize institutions for the training of Protestant ministers. In his law of the 18th Germinal Year X. (April 7, 1802), the First Con-

* Extract in an Address of Dean Charles Bois, of the Theo. Fac. of Montauban, November 15, 1877, 13-14.

† Text in *Almanach des Réformés et Protestants de l'Empire français pour l'an 1808*, containing *Le Code protestant*, 73, etc.

sul decreed that there should be "two Académies or Seminaries in the East of France for the education of the ministers of the Confession of Augsburg (Lutherans), and one Seminary at Geneva for the instruction of the ministers of the Reformed Churches."* No one could be elected pastor of a Protestant church without presenting a certificate stating that he had pursued his studies for a set time in these seminaries, and vouching for his capacity and good morals.† The Theological Faculty of Lausanne had, since the French occupation of the Pays de Vaud, been merged in that of Geneva. But as this latter could not supply the wants of the pastoral body, the Emperor (1808-1810) created a new Faculty of Protestant Theology at Montauban.‡ This new institution upon an old and time-honored foundation became the sole French Reformed Seminary, when Geneva ceased to belong to France. Strasbourg was made the seat of the Lutheran Seminary.

Protestantism of the Reformed type in France and French-speaking Switzerland to-day presents everywhere the strange spectacle of two distinct Churches, the one attached to and supported by the State, the other independent of State support, and consequently left entirely free in its action. Thus in France (not to speak of the Lutherans, or adherents of the Augsburg Confession, as they are called), we find the Established National, or Reformed Church, and beside it the Union of Free Churches; in the Canton of Geneva, a National Established Church, and a Free Church whose headquarters are the "Oratoire" and whose activity displays itself in connection with the Evangelical Society of Geneva; and so also in the Cantons of Vaud and Neuchâtel, a National or State Church and a Free Church in each.

The reasons for this anomalous state of things need not be dwelt upon at length. In Geneva the split grew out of the rank Socinianism of almost the entire body of the Protestant clergy, in the early part of the present century, and the revival of orthodox doctrine and true spiritual life in connection with the visit of Robert Haldane and his conversations with the students in the Theological School, in the winter of 1816-17.

* Arts. ix. and x. † Arts. xii. and xiii.

‡ De Félice, *Hist. of the Protestants of France*, 569.

Those who were brought to the knowledge of the truth—Gausen, Pyt, Merle d'Aubigné and others—were either expelled from the Established Church or found no room within its bounds, and felt compelled to form a new organization. In France, and especially in the Canton of Vaud, the division sprang from the inability of some of the best men conscientiously to acquiesce in a State connection which made the Church a slave of the civil government. In Neuchâtel the secession took place as late as the 26th of September, 1873, when, after a prolonged struggle, the people of the Canton, by a majority of only sixteen in a total vote of 13,956, had endorsed a legislation that made the preservation of the doctrinal purity of the Church an impossibility. The constituent Synod of the "Eglise Evangélique Neuchâteloise indépendante de l'Etat" met November 3, 1873.

This division of the Churches has, in the three French-speaking Cantons of Switzerland, given rise to a multiplication of theological institutions. In France this has not taken place; the reason being that the Free Churches are relatively much less numerous and weaker in France than in Switzerland; and that they prefer to send their students to one of the Swiss seminaries rather than undergo the expense of sustaining a seminary of their own.

The state of the case, then, is as follows:

In France there are two Protestant theological seminaries, both supported by an appropriation from the National Government. One of these seminaries, for the Lutherans, was formerly at Strasbourg, but since the loss of that city in the Franco-German war, it has, by a decree of the President, dated March 27, 1877, been brought to Paris. This institution, recently provided with new and convenient buildings, has been constituted a "Mixed Faculty," for the benefit of both branches of the Protestant Church. The other, for the use of the Reformed Church, is situated at Montauban, in Southern France. This seminary or Faculty, which officially forms a part of the "Académie de Toulouse," has seven professors and about sixty students. It is decidedly evangelical in tone, and is consequently resorted to by those who sympathize with evangelical views. The "liberal" or "heterodox" (Unitarian) wing of the National Church, constituting perhaps one-third

of the Church, prefers to send its youth studying for the ministry, to Geneva, or to the Lutheran seminary at Paris.

In French Switzerland (and all that is here said, refers to the French-speaking portion*) there are six theological seminaries. The three theological Faculties attached to State universities or academies, are :

Geneva, with	5	ordinary	professors	and	19	students.
Lausanne, "	5	"	"	"	10	"
Neuchâtel "	6	"	"	"	6	"

The three schools or Faculties independent of the State, are :

Geneva, with	6	ordinary	professors	and	35	students.
Lausanne, "	5	"	"	"	31	"
Neuchâtel "	4	"	and 4 ex. profs.†	and	10	students.

Of the theological character of these schools, it should be remarked that all the Free Church seminaries are orthodox. Among the professors of the Free Seminary of Geneva, may be mentioned Drs. Gaussen (author of well-known works of great ability on the Canon and Inspiration of the Scriptures), Merle d'Aubigné, and Pronier, among the dead ; and Ruffet, among the living. Professors Astié, of Lausanne, and Godet, of Neuchâtel, are well known in this country. On the other hand the State seminaries are doctrinally less pure. Of the five professors in the theological Faculty of the State Seminary of Geneva, three are classed as Rationalists, one as Semi-Evangelical, and only one (Professor Segond, in the chair of Hebrew) as distinctly Evangelical.

As to the prosperity of the two classes as contrasted with each other, it would seem that the three State seminaries have abundant resources, but are declining greatly in the number of stu-

* In German-Switzerland the State Seminaries are as follows :

Basle, with	5	ordinary	and	5	extraordinary	professors	and	50	students.
Berne, "	5	"	"	2	"	"	"	19	"
Zurich, "	6	"	"	5	"	"	"	21	"

Beside which there is the Evangelische Predigerseminar at Basle, with 2 professors, and 4 regular and 4 irregular students. (W. G. Blaikie, "The Presbyterian Churches throughout the World," Edin., July 3, 1877). The statistics of the first three are for 1875-6.

† These professors in the preparatory course are, at the same time, pastors of churches. The same thing is probably true of most, if not all, the Faculties of the smaller seminaries.

dents. This is especially true of Geneva. The "liberals" of France are more and more sending their candidates for the ministry to Paris, since the transfer of the Strasbourg Seminary to the capital. On the contrary, the Free Seminaries could, at least in the cases of Geneva and Lausanne, increase their number of students considerably, could they give them more pecuniary aid. Their great trial is their poverty. The professors are miserably underpaid. Those at Geneva, for instance, men of acknowledged ability and scholarship, receive the pittance of 4,000 francs, or \$800 a year, and must either be men of property or undertake other labors to supplement their resources.

The Swiss seminaries draw their students from abroad rather than from home. All but two of the students in the State Seminary of Geneva, a year or two since, were French. At the Lausanne Free Seminary, a little less than one-half are from the Canton of Vaud, the rest being eight Spaniards, eight Frenchmen, three Hollanders, one Waldensee, one Armenian, and one Neuchâtelois. The seminary has truly a cosmopolitan character.

The requirements for admission to all the theological schools in general presuppose the degree of bachelor of arts or of science, obtained in regular course. In lieu of this the State School of Geneva admits, it is true, those who have pursued systematic studies for two years in Philosophy, passing examinations at the close of each year; but stipulates that the candidate shall have taken at least twenty hours a week of lectures during these two years.

The Free Church seminaries have found it expedient to establish a preparatory course or courses, in order to give a training which it might not be in the power of their students to obtain elsewhere. At Geneva, there is a regular preparatory school, comprising three years of study; Latin, Greek, the Natural Sciences, Mathematics, etc., are pursued. In addition to these studies, corresponding in part to those of our high-schools and in part to those of our colleges, there is much special study. For example, there is, in the Senior year of this Preparatory School, a course of lectures, two hours weekly, by Prof. Tissot, on "Religious Ethnography," or "Religions outside of Christianity;" another, one hour weekly, by Professor Thomas on "Theological Encyclopædia," and a course of

study, four hours weekly, with Professor Tissot, in Hebrew. This last comprises the Grammar and Syntax of Preiswerk; the Theory of the Accents; Philological Interpretation of three chapters in Genesis, one in Samuel, the Book of Ruth, and one chapter of Proverbs; the memorizing of three chapters in Hebrew; and the translation of some chapters of the New Testament into Hebrew.* It would seem that the student, on finishing his preparatory course and entering the theological seminary proper, has acquired about as much of the language as students in most of our theological seminaries have acquired at the end of the Junior year. In addition to the instruction given in the Preparatory School of the Free Seminary, moreover, the Theological Department encourages the students to obtain at the University by examination the academic degree of bachelor of arts; even, if necessary, providing for their instruction in any branches in which they are lacking, and aiding them by payment of the necessary fees.†

The single preparatory year in the Free Theological Seminary at Lausanne presents about the same features. If it differs in anything, it is more strictly theological; although the History of French Literature, and of Philosophy, as well as Latin and Greek, are studied.‡ In the State seminaries of Geneva and Neuchâtel, the preparatory year is the lowest of the four years constituting the theological course.

In the Seminary of Montauban there is an "auditoire de philosophie," through which the candidate for admission to the "auditoire de théologie" must pass. It occupies not less than one year, nor more than three. For those who have the bachelor's degree (bachelier-ès-lettres), the preparatory course is limited to (1) Interpretation of the Greek New Testament,

* The Free Seminary of Neuchâtel requires, among other things, for admission to its *four years' course*, that candidates offer "six chapters in Hebrew, in which they shall give an account of all the grammatical forms."

† Soc. Evang. de Genève, Programme des Cours de l'Ecole de Théol. et de l'Ecole Prép. P. 6.

‡ Tableau des leçons dans l'auditoire d'introduction.—Semestre d'hiver, 1876-7. It may be remarked that a Preparatory School has been established at Paris, under the auspices of the Reformed Church (Société Centrale d'Évangélisation), until such time as a Reformed Theological Faculty shall be instituted in that city. See Decoppet, *Paris Protestant*, 381-3.

(2) Elements of Hebrew Grammar and interpretation of ten chapters of the historical books of the Old Testament and ten Psalms, and (3) Interpretation of a Greek and a Latin Father. But even those who have two bachelor's degrees (*ès-lettres* and *ès-sciences*) must have studied at least one year in the "auditoire de philosophie" before admission to the theological school proper.

The State School at Geneva requires of the student at entrance no evidence of anything more than scholastic attainments and general morality. The Free Seminaries demand a profession of faith, both theoretic and practical. And since the Synod of the Reformed Church of France in 1872 laid down an orthodox formula of belief for all candidates for the sacred ministry, this is, of course, required at the State Seminary of Montauban. Much stress is laid upon matriculation in all the seminaries. The reasons are obvious. One is, that admission as student is about equivalent to licensure. In the State Seminary of Geneva, "every theological student," says Professor Ruffet, "can preach, beginning in his first year, in the country churches, and read every Sunday in the city pulpits, if approved by the Company of Pastors. For this it is sufficient that he be a moral man."

So also in the Free Churches of Geneva and of Neuchâtel, students are permitted to preach "as early as the first year of their theological studies."

The Free School of Geneva confers a regular diploma of admission (*Diplôme d'Admission*), of which we have a copy before us. The form is as follows:

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, God blessed forever. We, Directors and Professors of the School founded in Geneva for the teaching of the Reformed Theology, conformably to the Holy Word of God, Declare that Mr. _____ born at _____ on the _____, having appeared to us to be animated by a true faith and sincere desire to devote himself to the preaching of the Gospel; having, conformably to our regulations, undergone the required examinations; and having testified his intention to give himself with prayer and zeal to theological studies, and conform to the order established among us; We have admitted him as student in Theology, commending him to God

and to the Word of His grace, that he may grow in the knowledge of Christ, be kept pure from all error, and preserved blameless in his conduct." It is signed by the President in behalf of the Directors.

This diploma is given to all graduates from the Preparatory School, and to all bachelors (*Bacheliers-ès-lettres*) of other schools, on passing examinations on Hebrew, Theological Encyclopædia, History of Religions, etc. (Ruffet).

Having virtually had one year of theological preparation already, the students now enter upon their theological course proper, lasting (with an exception to be noted further on) three years. Respecting this course the first thing to be noticed is, that there is in general no distinction of classes—all the students together attend all the lectures given. The lectures are repeated only once in three years. Each professor takes up a different part of his subject this year from the parts considered last year and the year before. Thus, with the programmes of the courses at the Geneva Free Seminary before us, we find that Professor de Laharpe, one year devoted his attention to the exegesis of the Book of Job; the next year, to that of Isaiah; and the third year to that of the Psalms. Professor Binder took, in successive years, the Romans, St. Peter's and St. John's Epistles, and the Hebrews, exegetically; and accompanied these by current or rapid reading in three other parts of the New Testament. So also Professor Ruffet divided up Church History into three portions, and gave lectures on one portion each year. The exceptions to this arrangement are few. A second noticeable feature in the course results directly from the first. The professors giving a different course of lectures each year, and devoting a smaller number of hours weekly to lecturing than in most of our American seminaries, are nevertheless enabled to provide a considerably fuller curriculum.

A student in the Geneva State Seminary attends twenty-one hours of lectures weekly, besides three hours not obligatory. A student in the Geneva Free Seminary has thirty hours of public exercises, an average of just five hours daily. A student at Lausanne Free Seminary has twenty-six hours weekly, occupying him without intermission from 8 to 12 A.M. every day, and to 1 P.M. on Mondays. Yet this course is

provided for without any excessive labor imposed on any professor, on account of the arrangement before referred to.

Two other peculiarities in the course at Geneva Free Seminary may be noted, viz: that during at least two years, students are compelled to study German and recite two hours weekly, and that systematic instruction is given in singing two hours weekly by a professor from the Conservatory of Music.

In one essential respect the plan of the free Faculty of Neuchâtel differs from the plans of all the rest. This cannot better be explained than in the words of a letter received from the eminent Professor Godet. He says: "Our cycle of theological study comprised, before our separation from the State Church, only two years, because it was our desire to see our young men after this time of preparation under our eyes and our guidance, go and continue their studies in the French academies or the Swiss universities. This all our young students did. And we have experienced the good results of this course. Our clergy has thus become a clergy at the same time evangelical by conviction, and capable of exerting a happy influence by its scientific attainments. We have retained this method in our Free Church. For *two* years our young men are compelled to attend all our courses. . . . Thus we are able to give them a direction, to communicate to them an impulse, to put them on their guard against dangers, etc. Then we let them go, and are happy to see them continuing to work independently in greater centres. Four years spent in listening to the same voices are too much. I have many proofs of it. *Fresh* nourishment is necessary for growing young men."

A very important feature of the course in all the seminaries, is that, in the very nature of the plan, no room is left for the elective or eclectic principle. All the students attend all the lectures. In fact, the view seems to obtain without question, that the directors and professors are better qualified to select a theological course for the student than he is, at his stage of mental development, to select one for himself.

As respects the relative importance assigned to the various branches of a theological education, it may be noticed that, in all the seminaries, the exegesis of the Old and New Testaments consumes fully one-third of the entire number of hours weekly—some eight or ten hours, about equally divided be-

tween the two Testaments. This is the more interesting, in view of the circumstance, already touched upon, that the elementary instruction in Hebrew, which in this country absorbs so much of the Junior year, is all given before the beginning of the three years of theological study proper.

How great an advantage this is in itself, can hardly be understood at the first glance, but will become evident from a comparative statement.

In our American seminaries the study of Hebrew for the first or Junior year, say four or five hours weekly, is of necessity little more than a study of a new, strange, and, to a beginner, difficult language. In the remaining two years of his course the student devotes probably on an average two hours weekly to the exegesis of the Old Testament, rarely more.

In the French and Swiss seminaries, there being no purely grammatical work in Hebrew to be done, the student for three successive years devotes ordinarily from three to five hours every week to the exegesis of the Old Testament.

The results of the comparison, therefore, are as *nine*, or even *fifteen*, to *four* in favor of the foreign system.

This one fact ought to call general attention to the imperative necessity—we will not say merely *propriety*—of carrying out the plan (urgently advocated by some of our most experienced theological instructors) of requiring an elementary knowledge of Hebrew as a condition of matriculation at the seminary. Assuredly no one will maintain for a moment that the space now allowed in our seminary courses is adequate for the satisfactory treatment of the Old Testament exegesis, or that any considerable part of the precious time in a three years' theological course—all too short at best—ought to be consumed in the drudgery of learning grammatical forms. By all means, let a year of preparatory theological study be added, rather than that a branch of such transcendent importance, especially in this age of sceptical objections and scholarly apologetics, should be neglected. The year in question could be admirably well employed, not only with Hebrew, but with the other branches of study already referred to, some of which hardly find a place with us at all.

In most of the seminaries, especially those unconnected with the State, the instruction is entirely gratuitous; in the

State Seminary of Geneva, however, the students' pay at the rate of two francs and a half (half a dollar) for every hour a week per semester. This would amount to about \$20 or \$22 per annum.

On the other hand, all the seminaries give pecuniary aid to those students who need it. The Geneva State Seminary has "bourses," or scholarships, at its disposal for students coming from France, each of which amounts to 1,140 francs (\$225) a year. These are derived from the income of a "French Fund," collected long since in the North of Europe by Benjamin Duplan and others. The free schools are able to give less—at Geneva 800 francs (\$160), for instance.

On graduating, the student receives a diploma of "Bachelor," or else of "Licentiate" of Theology (Bachelier or Licencié en Théologie),* a document at the Geneva Free Seminary in form very much like his Diploma of Admission.

To obtain this at the last-named institution, for example, he must have passed satisfactorily the examinations at the close of each year, and presented six sermons, two practical lectures (catéchèses), three theological monographs, beside plans of sermons, etc. Moreover, he must pass the "Grands Examens," or general examination, and must have been tested by writing (1) a trial sermon in three days; (2) a lecture (catéchèse) in twenty-four hours; (3) an analytic piece (analyse morale) in five hours; (4) by sustaining theological theses in public; and (5) writing a dissertation, which he may or may not print, as he pleases. The requirements are virtually the same in the other seminaries. In the State Seminary of Geneva, the essays must be printed, and at least one hundred copies must be handed in beforehand. These are used in the course of exchanges with other public institutions.†

The diploma of Bachelor of Theology is chiefly scientific

* The Free Faculty of Lausanne and Neuchâtel, and the State Faculty of Neuchâtel, give only the Diploma of Licentiate; the Free Seminary of Geneva only that of Bachelor, as the regular degree at the completion of the course of study. The Seminaries of Montauban and Geneva (State) confer the degree of Bachelor on all graduates, but these can subsequently obtain successively the degrees of Licentiate and Doctor. At Montauban an interval of at least one year must intervene between each degree; six theological essays and two theses, one in Latin and the other in French, are required for the second degree; a single French thesis is required for the third.

† Règlement de l'Univ. de Genève, Art. 52.

or academic, and has no ecclesiastical validity. In the Canton of Geneva, however, where, unhappily, by the constitutional changes of 1874, the Established Church, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, was killed, all that is required, in order to be capable of being presented for the suffrages of the people, is to have graduated in theology. But in the Free Churches of Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel, it is otherwise. The Church authorities do not undertake to examine into the intellectual and theological acquisitions of the candidate for ordination, accepting his diploma as sufficient evidence of these; but examine him closely respecting his doctrinal belief and his personal faith in Christ. Professor Astié, of Lausanne Free Seminary, writes: "At the outset of our Faculty, the certificate of studies covered equally the religious character and moral disposition of the young men who had just finished their studies. But we have seen difficulties of various kinds in the way of giving to every student, having the scientific capacity, a diploma covering his religious convictions; and yet it was impossible to refuse a certificate for studies to a young man who had studied well. It was this that led us to give to all students who have regularly terminated their studies, a diploma of an exclusively scientific character. Those who will then serve the Church must come to an understanding with it by submitting to a new examination, which has not a scientific character, but bears upon personal religious convictions."*

The Geneva Free Seminary goes further than this, however; for, as it requires of every student admitted credible evidence of "conversion of heart to God, so far as it is possible for man to judge of it," in a written statement of the circumstances of his conversion and his motives in devoting himself to the holy ministry,† so it gives to his Christian character its endorsement at the time of his graduation.‡

Such are some of the prominent features of the course of theological education in the Protestant seminaries in France

* Letter of Prof. J. F. Astié, Lausanne, March 16, 1878.

† Soc. Evang. de Genève. Règlement d'Admission, Art. 1 and 3.

‡ See form of Diploma. The Règl. de la Fac. de Théol. (Egl. Evang. Libre du Canton de Vaud) merely says: "Le Conseil de la faculté et la Commission des Etudes s'assurent que le candidat a les dispositions sérieuses et les mœurs irréprochables que l'on a le droit d'attendre d'un jeune homme qui entreprend l'étude de la théologie." Art. 24.

and French Switzerland. Of its general excellence there can be no doubt. And perhaps we could obtain from a close study of it some useful practical suggestions.

1. The annual sessions last from nine to ten months. Might it not be practicable somewhat to extend our sessions of seven and a half or eight months, and thus add a considerable amount of time for study?

2. Might not something be gained by a more general introduction of written examinations, which prevail to some extent in the Swiss seminaries, and conduce to greater accuracy and thoroughness?

3. The French and Swiss seminaries call for the presentation by the student at several stages of his studies, and especially at graduation, of monographs the result of independent research, and written with no little care, on various points in theology proper and Church history. It is an incentive to thoroughness that in some of the schools, at least, not only is the essay at graduation printed, but copies are sent to many foreign universities, in whose libraries they are permanently preserved. Some of the most valuable contributions to theological science of recent times are due to studies for which the spur was given by the call for such scholastic exercises.

In the annual statements of the various seminaries these papers are, for the most part, discussed with tolerable fulness. In one of the reports of Professor Bois, Dean of the Theological Faculty of Montauban, not less than ten pages are devoted to a critique of twenty-one theses submitted by candidates for the baccalaureate in Theology. The subjects are widely different, and the judgments passed upon the papers are no less varied. Some papers refer to the Old Testament, the greater number to the New. The Prophecies of Balaam, the Schools of the Prophets, the First Synod of Jerusalem, the Messianic Consciousness of Jesus Christ, the Resurrection of Jesus according to St. Paul, the Appearance of Jesus to Paul on the way to Damascus, the Notion of the Kingdom of God in the Synoptical Gospels—such are some of the titles. Other papers bear upon later Church history, as, for example, the Youth and Conversion of Calvin, the General Synod of Paris, 1559, the Obstacles encountered by the Ref-

ormation in the 16th century in France, the French Refugee Church of London, etc.

Some adaptation of this system of training in the writing of extended papers might be found serviceable with us.

4. The advantages which the foreign seminaries derive from the circumstance that the theological course repeats itself only once in three years, are well worth considering. With no increase of labor on the part of the professors, the number of lectures is practically doubled, or trebled, and subjects may be introduced which cannot find a place otherwise. It is true that this plan makes it difficult for a student to make a change in his course from one seminary to another; but this is perhaps not so much of a loss, after all.

5. The great point, however, in which these seminaries have the advantage over the American schools, is the year of preparatory theological work. Either in connection with our theological seminaries, or as an elective study in our colleges and universities, the elements of the Hebrew language should be mastered by candidates for the ministry before entering upon the theological course proper. An applicant for admission to the seminary who is ignorant of the rudiments of the tongue in which the Old Testament is written ought to be rejected as inexorably as if he were ignorant of the rudiments of that tongue in which the New Testament is written. It is, however, in every way better that the necessary instruction in the former language should be given in connection with the seminary than with the college; because in the preparatory year of the seminary, time can also be found for theological encyclopædia and other branches which can scarcely be introduced into an academic course.

HENRY M. BAIRD.

VI.

RAVENNA.

"Siede la terra, dove nata fui,
Su la marina dove 'l Po discende
Per aver pace co'seguaci sui."

INFERNO, v. 97-99.

RAVENNA may be reached from Bologna in three hours. Following the line of the old Via Æmilia, the train runs for an hour between fields of rice and wheat, and flat meadows dotted with the dun-colored cattle of Lombardy, and stops at Castel Bolognese, an unimportant town. Here carriages are changed, and the road bears away northeasterly to Ravenna, two hours farther.

The old grandeur of Rome forces itself upon a visitor through its very ruins. The broken lines of the vast aqueducts, the Coliseum, the baths of Caracalla, all bespeak the ancient seat of a colossal empire; but little or nothing in the outward aspect of Ravenna suggests the rival of Rome. No Roman walls now remain, and the ruins of a later enclosure appear close behind the railway station—huge crumbling masses of brick, relieved at intervals by circular towers. The very masts of the little freight-boats, rising from the canal which connects the city with the sea, now nearly six miles from its walls, are a satire upon the vanished greatness of the first naval station of the Adriatic—a sad reminder of the days when the sea flowed close by its walls, and Augustus' fleets rode at anchor where now lie the shadows of the Pineta. The general aspect of the city is squalid. Its principal objects of interest are largely within-doors. The exteriors of the most important and splendid churches are ruinous or insignificant, and there is not an elegant or an imposing modern structure in the town. Death and life are side by side. A sarcophagus in the street is a familiar enough object, and suggests uncomfortable reflections as one looks up from it to confront the menace of a round campanile, leaning a little from the perpendicular, and rough

with gaping chinks and crumbling mortar. The town is three miles in circumference, nearly one-half its area being occupied with gardens, and contains about nineteen thousand inhabitants. Accommodations for visitors are neither extensive nor sumptuous; but at the little Spada d' Oro, the principal inn, the tourist will receive kind attention, and may be far from uncomfortable during a few days.

And as we sit in its shady little dining-room, with the fierce glare of the June sun carefully shut out, and solacing ourselves with the unrivalled black cherries of Lombardy, while we await the vehicle which is to facilitate our rambles, we have leisure to consider at what a focus of historic lines a three hours' railway ride has set us down.

To enter into the disputed questions as to the early history of Ravenna, does not consist with the purpose or scope of this paper. The reader who is curious in such matters will find the results of these discussions admirably summarized in Mr. Edward A. Freeman's essay on the Goths in Ravenna.*

According to Strabo, the city was founded by the Thessalians. He pictures it as a kind of Venice, built of wood, situated in a marsh, traversed by canals and abounding in bridges and ferries. The unhealthfulness of its marshy situation was counteracted, according to him, by the ebb and flow of the tide, so that it was regarded as an excellent place for the residence and training of gladiators. The soil brought forth the vine in great profusion, and wine was so abundant as to call forth the jocular lines of Martial to the effect that he would rather be the proprietor of a cistern than of a vineyard at Ravenna, since he could sell the water for more than the wine. Strabo, however, remarks upon the short life of the vines, saying that they die at the end of four or five years. Other and later writers complain bitterly of the mud, the gnats, and the frogs—a complaint the two latter items of which the modern traveller will be quite ready to endorse.

Late in the history of the Roman republic, Ravenna appears as a well-known city and the chief military station of Cisalpine Gaul. It was a frequent resort of Julius Cæsar

* Historical Essays, third series.

during his Gallic administration, and the point from which he started on the campaign which ended in Pharsalia.

On his assumption of the imperial title Augustus made it the station for the Adriatic fleet. The piracy which had been chastised by the first Cæsar and suppressed by Pompey, still revealed possibilities of activity and danger. Within twenty years the fleet of Sextus had cut off the corn supplies from Rome itself. Among the first acts of the prudent emperor, therefore, was the construction of three naval stations: at Misenum, on the Tyrrhene Sea, at Frejus, on the Gallic coast, and at Ravenna. He prepared a new and spacious harbor, with room for two hundred and fifty galleys, and connected with the city by a causeway. A town grew up about this harbor, which was known later as the suburb "Classis" and between this and the city proper arose in time another suburb, under the name of Cæsarea.

From this time until far on in the history of the later empire, the city appears as an important military and naval station, often used by the emperors as a base from which to watch and oppose the movements of hostile forces, and as a place of confinement for state prisoners. But about the year 400, Ravenna began to assume a new importance as an imperial residence. Honorius, the feeble son of Theodosius, frightened at the approach of Alaric, fled from Milan, and sheltered himself within the marshes and walls of Ravenna; and there remained, amusing himself with his poultry, while Alaric sacked the Eternal City. From the time of Honorius' flight until the fall of the Western empire, the city of the marshes continued to be the seat of government. Galla Placidia, Honorius' sister, and mother of the Emperor Valentinian III., administered the empire there as regent from 425 to 450, and lavished her wealth on the adornment of the city. The Western empire came to an end with the accession of Odoacer in 476 as the first barbarian king of Italy. Then, in 487, Theodoric, with his horde of Ostrogoths, poured over the Julian Alps and laid siege to Ravenna. The compact for the joint reign of the two Gothic monarchs was but a figment. Odoacer was not suffered long to stand between the sovereignty of Italy and Theodoric's ambition, and his murder speedily placed in Theodoric's hand the sceptre which he wielded for thirty-three

years with such rare power and wisdom and tolerance, with such glory to Ravenna, and with such prosperity to Italy. Here at Ravenna he built his palace; here he employed his leisure with his fruit-trees and plants, and here he died with an uneasy conscience, the fish on his dinner-table assuming to his diseased fancy the shape of the head of his murdered friend, Symmachus.

A series of elective kings succeeded Theodoric until 539, when Justinian set himself to bring Italy under the Byzantine dominion, and Ravenna opened her gates to Belisarius. Then followed a hundred and eighty-five years, during which the Italian peninsula, "divided into counties and dukedoms," was ruled by a series of viceroys of the Byzantine Court, known as the exarchs of Ravenna, the first of whom was the eunuch Narses, and the last of whom, Eutychius, was driven out by the Lombards in 752.

Farther we need not follow the secular history of Ravenna. Even in those latter days it has for us that touching interest which always attaches to the decay of power. As the seven hills of Rome's birth will always be a shrine to the student of history, in like manner he will find himself irresistibly drawn across the peninsula, to the dreary marsh and the dreary city whither the hoary empire went down to die.

But a word must still be added to this meagre historical outline. Ravenna is no less an ecclesiastical than an imperial city. In the words of Dantier, "its gates seem to be still guarded by the statues of empire and of religion;" but the relics of empire are few as compared with those of religion. Its chief interest is ecclesiastical. The mass of its local legends and the catalogue of its local saints are alike enormous; and the lives of the whole series of archbishops down to the ninth century, literally speak volumes for the patience of good Agnellus, their biographer. Tradition has it that the gospel was preached there as early as A.D. 79, by Apollinaris, a disciple of St. Peter, who suffered martyrdom for the destruction of a temple of Apollo; and, without accepting too readily the tradition—which, as has been truly remarked, "carries us into mythology proper," the temple of Apollo having a suspicious kinship to the name Apollinaris—it is not hard to believe that a notable seaport like this, visited by strangers from all

parts, should have early received the story of the cross and should have abounded in martyrs. Monumentally, the city falls into the line of ecclesiastical history with the era of the family of Theodosius, and within less than one hundred and fifty years, Galla Placidia, Theodoric, and the representatives of Justinian's reconquest and of the exarchate, successively enriched the city with those monuments of their faith which now constitute the principal attractions for the traveller and for the student of Christian history and art.

The key-note of Ravenna, if I may so speak, cannot be struck by any one who does not appreciate the tremendous significance of the Teutonic race and power in Italy. The Teuton and the Latin, side by side in the peninsula, were separated alike by difference of race and of religion. It was not only Goth and Italian, but Catholic and Arian. Theodoric aimed at a fusion, but in vain. None the less the contact of the ruder manners, the democratic ideas, and the freer religious spirit and simpler theology of the Teuton were striking against the decaying, artificial fabric of Roman imperialism and the growingly rigid lines of Catholic ecclesiasticism, and the old forms of society were loosening under the contact. The time had not yet come for "the organization of the Roman province and of the Germanic tribe to be alike dissolved into the chaos whence the new order was to shape itself,"* and when religion should accomplish the fusion which political sagacity had been unable to effect. The crowning interest of Ravenna centres in this new power out of the North. Mr. Freeman's remark is very suggestive, that there seems to be a "fated connection between Ravenna and men of Teutonic race," which "comes out in a strange way at intervals throughout the whole history of the empire," so that the history of Ravenna is "an epitome of the history of the whole empire," in respect of the appearance, from time to time, of the Teutons in the Roman dominions successively as captives, allies, invaders, and conquerors. The matter cannot better be summed up than in Mr. Freeman's own words: "At Ravenna we must not look for either of those classes of monuments, one or other of which commonly form the monumental wealth of other cities.

* Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire."

In remains of Roman heathendom, in remains of mediæval Christendom, Ravenna is decidedly poor. . . . But Ravenna has . . . a succession of monuments of the true transitional age—the age when the Roman and the Teutonic elements of the modern world were both in being, but when they stood side by side, when neither had as yet absorbed the other, when the mingling of the two had not yet formed a third whole, different from either. In other cities we may see the works of heathen emperors or of mediæval prelates; Ravenna is the only city where we are met at every step by the works of Christian emperors, Gothic kings, and Byzantine exarchs. Of those strange and dark and unhappy centuries in which the old world was shaped into the new, Ravenna has the monuments almost wholly to herself. . . . Neither Rome nor Constantinople can lay claim to that special glory which, in the eyes of any man of Teutonic blood, must set Ravenna above all the cities of the earth. It was the seat of the first settled Teutonic dominion beyond the Alps; the seat of the barbarian conqueror who gave Italy thirty years of such peace and prosperity as she never saw for ages before or after; the seat of the prince who first taught that conscience could not bend to the laws of kings, and who first bade contending creeds and sects dwell in peace and equality side by side. We may pass by the works of the Cæsars of East and West; we may for a moment even forget that Dante found his last resting-place among them. The highest glory of Ravenna is that it can show the home, the church, and the tomb of Theodoric the Goth.*

The monuments of Ravenna fall, as already indicated, into three periods: the Theodosian, the Gothic, and the period of the Byzantine reconquest and exarchate. We will try to introduce the reader to some of the best specimens of each of these periods.

From the railway station we pass into an open square, with a “brand new” statue of somebody (for no one is worth naming here who has not at least a dozen centuries behind him), and turning to the left, find ourselves in the fifth century, under the shadow of the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista or della

* “The Goths at Ravenna,” *Historical Essays*, third series.

Sagra, erected by Galla Placidia in 425, in fulfilment of a vow made during a storm on her voyage from Constantinople to Ravenna. Time and change have been busy here, and little of the ancient splendor of the church remains. The court in front is entered by a Gothic doorway of the twelfth century, the original gray marble columns of the aisles remain, and one of the side chapels contains some remnants of the original mosaics, among them the fragment of a pavement representing the storm and the vow.

We hasten from this to the mausoleum of the empress, known as the Church of Ss. Nazaro e Celso, and erected about the year 450. The best way to find it (for, externally, the building is insignificant and not easily found) is to include it in the visit to San Vitale, where the custodian will lead the visitor through a side door and across a court to the entrance of the mausoleum. The chapel forms a Latin cross, forty feet by thirty-three, with vaulted ceilings and a cupola at the intersection, "the centre being occupied by a square elevation, arched over in the form of a segment of a cupola." The whole effect of the interior is singularly rich and impressive. The mosaics, on which time seems to have had but little effect, are chiefly in gold upon a blue ground, beginning with the cornice, and covering the vaultings, the dome, and the lunettes at the extremities of the cross. The vaultings and dome are decorated with patterns of wreaths, rosettes, and scroll-work; the four sides of the square elevation mentioned above contain figures of the apostles, two in each compartment, standing with outstretched hands on either side of a vessel from which doves are feeding; and in the lunettes at the extremities of the transepts, golden stags advance between green-gold arabesques toward streams of water. Over the entrance sits a beautiful figure of the Good Shepherd, youthful in face and figure, as is usual in the early mosaics, and surrounded by his sheep, while facing this, appears over the altar the form of Christ seated beside a kind of furnace, on the other side of which stands a little open book-case, and engaged in casting heretical books into the fire. Are they, indeed, the same—the Shepherd Christ of the gospels, and the polemic Christ of the ecclesiastics? Close behind the little altar, through the alabaster of which the sacristan's candle shines richly red, rises the huge

sarcophagus in which Galla Placidia's body was interred, clad in her royal robes and sitting upright in her chair of cypress wood. Hare, in his "Cities of Northern Italy," says that through a hole in the side the embalmed body of the empress might once be seen, but that in 1577 some boys set the robes on fire and the body was consumed. Besides this sarcophagus, the chapel contains four more, one in each transept and two near the entrance. Whose ashes they contain is a matter of some question. One of those near the entrance is, by general consent, assigned to Honoria, the profligate daughter of the empress. Honorius the chicken-feeder disputes the honors of sepulture with the rascally Valentinian III., the son of Placidia, and other authorities assign a place to Constantius III., her second husband. Whatever may be the exact truth of the case, it is probable that these stone coffins, with their Christian emblems, almost the earliest existing specimens of Byzantine sculpture, hold the ashes of at least two Roman emperors, and are the only tombs of the emperors, Eastern or Western, which have remained undisturbed.

To the same period, though not the work of Galla Placidia, belongs the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte, adjoining the cathedral. The cathedral itself, the Basilica Ursiana, need not detain us, since the original church of the year 400 has been replaced by a structure of the last century; but the octagonal baptistery may justly be termed one of the most interesting ecclesiastical structures, not only of Ravenna, but of the world. Architecturally it illustrates the habit of the early church-builders, of appropriating to their own use the rich remains of pagan architecture. The two tiers of arches which surround the interior are supported by columns of different sizes and orders. There is water under the pavement, and the bases of the columns are hidden by the raising of the floor; in other respects it remains very much as it was in the fifth century. The centre is occupied by the great octagonal font of porphyry and white marble, on the inner sides of which are inscribed, "*Baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in remissionem peccatorum*," and "*τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος, Πνεῦμά ἐστι.*" On one side is a little pulpit, with a semi-circular front, for the officiating priest, and below this, and projecting into the main font, a stone basin as large as an ordinary bath-tub, furnished with a

movable cover surmounted with the figure of a lamb. Here are the earliest known mosaics of the fifth century. In the spandrels of the lower tier of arches, between scroll-like arabesques of gold on a blue ground, are the figures of the eight prophets. Above the stucco reliefs of the second tier and at the base of the cupola a circle of mosaics represents altars, episcopal chairs, open books of the gospels, and tombs crowned with garlands, which, as Mr. Hare observes, are "interesting as early pictorial representations of the earliest memorial altar tombs." From these the eye rises to the glorious mosaics of the cupola. First, a circle of the twelve apostles, each in a compartment formed by gold acanthus plants, "the earliest instance of the apostles entering into a scheme of ecclesiastical decoration, as the consecrated and delegated teachers of a revealed religion."* The figures are colossal and clothed in robes of gold stuff. The heads are treated, not in profile, but in full-face, and the action of walking is indicated simply and naturally. The draperies are graceful and flowing, "the folds, as in the antique representations of Victory, appearing to be agitated by a supernatural wind."† Peter and Paul stand face to face at one extremity of the circle, and Simon and Bartholomew back to back at the other. Forming the centre of the circle is the baptism of our Lord. The figure of the Saviour is more natural and easy than in the similar mosaic in the later Arian baptistery. There is no nimbus surrounding the head, and Jordan, allegorized under the form of a river god, is seen upon the left, rising out of the water and presenting a cloth. "The combined ornamental effect, the arrangement of the figures, and the delicate feeling for color pervading the whole, enable us to form an idea of the genuine splendor and beauty which have been lost to the world in the destruction of the later decorated buildings of imperial Rome."‡

From the Theodosian or Placidian period we pass to the Gothic era. Between these two no monuments appear. As Mr. Freeman observes, "The five-and-twenty years of confusion, broken only by the short and glorious career of Majorian, which passed between the death of Valentinian III.

* Mrs. Jameson, "Sacred and Legendary Art," i. 176.

† Kugler.

‡ Kugler.

and the dominion of Odoacer, were not a time at all fitted for great works of this kind." But the reign of Theodoric enriched Ravenna with some of its grandest and best-preserved structures. The wise Ostrogoth, with all his sturdy Arian prejudices, had the virtue of tolerance, not a common virtue in his day. Whether it was that he cared little, as is quite probable, for metaphysical distinctions in theology, whether he was too wise to emphasize the difference in faith which combined with the difference of race to complicate the problem of a united Italy, or whether a native instinct of fairness and an ingrained common sense dictated the maxim, "*Religionem imperare non possumus, quia nemo cogitat ut credat invitus*," certain it is that the churches of Ravenna tell a noble story of his generous toleration. That he should have built Arian churches was but natural; that he should have refused to disturb the Catholic churches, and that San Vitale and Santa Maria Maggiore should both have been commenced in his life-time, are humiliating comments upon the dealing of Nicene ecclesiasticism when it recovered his short lease of power. It was the Arian Ostrogoth who punished his own subjects for persecuting the Jews, and compelled the restitution of their goods; who heaped honors upon Boethius, the champion of Nicene theology, and who respected and enriched the shrine of Peter. His charity was met by Justinian's anti-Arian crusade; and it was Catholic charity which tore his bones from the sepulchre where filial love had placed them, and scattered his dust to the winds.

The building which is pointed out as his palace is of a type so much later than the other architectural remains of his age, that it can at best be only a fragment of the original structure, or, as has been suggested, an addition to Theodoric's actual work, which has been left as the single remnant of the building to which it was added. The other remains are Roman, while these are Romanesque. The façade is an unsightly mass of rough brick, relieved, in the upper story, by a row of arched windows divided by graceful little columns. Bedded in the wall just above the foundation is a huge porphyry sarcophagus, with an inscription to the effect that it once contained the ashes of the king and stood upon the top of his mausoleum.

However doubtful this may be, there can be no doubt as to the genuineness of the extraordinary structure known as the

tomb of Theodoric, a name which, with poetic justice, cleaves to it, in spite of the name of Santa Maria della Rotonda, which Catholic piety bestowed after it had emptied the tomb of its heretic ashes. Making our way through a barnyard, we find ourselves in front of a massive stone edifice of two stories, the lower consisting of a decagonal basement, supported by circular arches, and surmounted by a cylindrical structure of smaller circumference, crowned by a circular cupola, which is formed of a single enormous stone, thirty-five feet in diameter and said to weigh two hundred tons. The stone handles by which it was lowered into its place remain protruding round the entire circle, and producing the effect of a range of dormer windows. On each side a flight of steps ascends from the ground to the platform at the base of the second story, round which formerly ran a range of arches resting on small columns, remains of which have been discovered in the adjoining garden. Each story consists of a single chamber; the upper one containing an altar and lighted by small loopholes, and the lower one often partly filled with stagnant water, though I found it perfectly dry, and with a hard, clean floor of cement. Huge and grim, its massive solidity only rendered more impressive by the destruction of its former decorations, it lowers in the fast-deepening twilight, an ideal of Gothic architecture far different from that which one has caught in the nave of Chartres or has seen mirrored in the font of St. Ouen. "Most eminently characteristic it is of the indomitable race of the North: one would think they feared that neither Alaric nor Theodoric could be held down in their graves except by a river rolling over the one and a mountain covering the other."*

From the monuments of Theodoric's royalty and mortality we pass to those of his faith. His reign was marked by the erection of six Arian churches, of which but two remain. One of these is San Spirito, the only noteworthy feature of which is the Arian baptistery in the adjoining court, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, with its sixth-century mosaics of the apostles and of the baptism of Christ, where Jordan appears again as in San Giovanni in Fonte, but this time with red horns, a green mantle, an urn by his side and a reed in his hand. But close

* Lindsay, "Christian Art," cited by Hare.

beside the royal palace there arose about the year 500, the royal Church of San Martino in Coelo Aureo, a name which was exchanged on the re-establishment of Catholic supremacy for the better known one of St. Apollinare Nuovo; in honor of the original Bishop of Ravenna, whose remains, after two removals, are said to have found their final resting-place in the first chapel to the right of the altar. It is a two-aisled basilica with side chapels. The eye is at once fascinated by the long nave flanked by its twenty-four marble columns brought from Constantinople, and displaying the peculiarity of the Byzantine capital in the interposition of a plain prismatic block between the capital proper and the spring of the arch. Above this colonnade we pass from Gothic to Catholic times; since the mosaics which are the glory of the church are due not to Arian but to Catholic piety. In this particular the church furnishes a striking illustration of the use to which the Byzantine builder turned the triforium—the space between the aisle arches and the clerestory windows above—which later Gothic architecture occupied with arcades and galleries. The whole of this space on both sides is occupied by a series of mosaics which may safely challenge the competition of any similar works in the world. On the right is a procession of confessors and martyrs, going forth from the city of Ravenna, which is represented by the imperial palace. On the left appears a procession of virgins, issuing from Classis, the naval suburb, represented by a palace with a ship at anchor behind it. The figures are colossal, seven or eight feet in height, and by their exaggerated length reveal the striving of Byzantine art for external dignity and sublimity.* The faces have a general likeness. With a quaint, sweet seriousness, they march on amid groves of palm, bearing crowns in their hands; the confessors moving toward the figure of the enthroned Christ surrounded by the four archangels; the virgins toward the throne of the Virgin Mother, close to which the three magi, in rich tiaras and cloaks and leopard-skin hose, are eagerly pressing forward with their gifts. In the treatment of this latter subject, indeed, the idea of eagerness seems to be predominant in Ravennese remains. Near San Vitale is a curious sarcophagus, known as the tomb of

* See Lübke's "History of Art," vol. i. p. 390.

Isaac, one of the exarchs of Armenian birth. On this are sculptured the three kings, all at a full run, their laden hands outstretched and their garments flying backward in the wind. The mosaics of St. Apollinare are strangely fascinating, and impress their sweet restfulness on the stranger from the bustling new world more and more with each visit. One retires ever more reluctantly from the walls to which those kindly solemn eyes enchain him with their fixed gaze—eyes of those blessed ones who long ago reached the rest toward which in picture they are ever moving among the palm branches, and which have looked out through thirteen long centuries on the strange and varied outworkings of the faith in which their tired lids were closed.*

Passing out of the Porta Nuova on the south of the city, and crossing a narrow stream by a high bridge, there appears in front a wide expanse of dreary marsh, with the blue Apennines forming a distant background. Two or three miles to the left rises an odd-looking tower—a square shaft mounted awkwardly on a square base, the whole forming the clumsy campanile of the Church of Santa Maria in Porto Fuori, dating from the end of the eleventh century. The basement of this tower is supposed by some to be the foundation of the old lighthouse of the Augustan port; hence the name, “in Porto.” For it will be remembered that the city, in the days of the earlier empire, consisted of three distinct quarters: Ravenna proper, Cæsarea, and Classis, or the naval suburb. Between the gate and the bridge mentioned above we have passed over the site of Cæsarea, of which not a vestige remains save a cross, surmounting a little marble column, and marking the situation of the great basilica of St. Lorenzo in Cæsarea. From the bridge we are now overlooking the site of the third quarter, Classis. The swamp, diversified here and there with patches of rice and wheat, occupies the place where arsenals and dockyards swarmed, where the noise of a great population

* Mrs. Jameson, “Sacred and Legendary Art,” ii. 527, calls attention to the importance of the list of martyrs as being, she believes, the earliest in the history of art, and as showing what martyrs were most honored in the sixth century, and what names have since fallen into comparative neglect. “Of these forty-two figures,” she says, “executed at Ravenna by Greek artists in the service of Justinian, only five are properly Greek saints—all the rest are Latin saints, whose worship originated with the Western church.”

ascended, and where the sea bore the galleys of Augustus. A mile or more on the road which turns sharply to the left from the bridge and skirts the marsh, appears a massive round tower, which crowns "a vast, lonely structure, heaving its huge long back against the low horizon, like some monster antediluvian saurian, the fit denizen of this marsh-world."* It is the great basilica of St. Apollinare in Classe. Tradition places it on the site of a temple of Apollo, and at the scene of the martyrdom of the bishop Apollinaris. No ecclesiastical building in the world, save, perhaps, the Church of Santa Maria Pomposa, in the marshes of Comacchio, rivals this structure in the impressiveness of desolation. From the very edge of the road which passes its door the marsh stretches away, patched with rice fields, where the women may be seen at work, up to their knees in water and bent double under the burning sun. The church was begun eight years after Theodoric's death, and was consecrated fifteen years later. When it was built Classis was still standing, and it looked down on Luitprand and his Lombards, when, one hundred and eighty years after, they surged about its feet with fire and sword, and left nothing of Classis but smoking ruins.† The church was attached to an abbey, some of the conventual buildings of which still remain, built of the same Roman brick as the church itself.‡ The external appearance of the church harmonizes with the surrounding desolation. It is a simple basilica, crowned by the round campanile peculiar to the Ravennese churches, and which, in every case, is of much later date than the church itself.§ The front has been disfigured by a great mass of modern building, through the iron gate of which the old custodian admits us into the interior. How beautiful it is in its sad loneliness! The nave, like that of St. Apollinare Nuovo, is separated from the aisles

* T. A. Trollope, in his romance, "The Siren," which contains some admirable descriptions of this portion of Ravenna. The old monk's story of his midnight vigils in the lonely church is singularly powerful.

† The date ordinarily assigned is 728; but Gibbon, c. xlix., remarks on its great uncertainty.

‡ Freeman, "Historical and Architectural Sketches."

§ Mr. Freeman considers the omission of all mention of these towers by Agnellus, the local historian, as decisive of their being later than the ninth century; and adds, "We shall not dispute if any one chooses to assign them to the eleventh or twelfth." "Goths at Ravenna," p. 143.

by rows of exquisite columns and crowned with a nearly flat ceiling of rough beams. Unlike the other church, it has no side chapels, but the walls of the aisles are lined with massive stone coffins with arched covers, in which rest the ashes of various archbishops. A little marble altar, covering the original resting-place of the patron Bishop, alone breaks the continuity of the nave. Over the altar are the original mosaics of 671. Here we see the full-length figure of St. Apollinaris, habited as a Greek bishop, without mitre, in the act of preaching to his converts, who are represented as sheep. It has been observed that the special interest of these mosaics consists in the fact that, in them, we begin to see the ecclesiastical ranking with the purely Christian sentiment. The figure of Apollinaris is placed on a level with that of Peter, thus asserting the equality of the Eastern with the Western church. Along with the pictures of the sacrifices of Abel and Abraham, there is also depicted the granting of privileges to the Church of Ravenna.*

There is no priest on the ground, no odor of incense lingering in the air. Priest and people have alike abandoned the fever-haunted spot. Standing before the high altar, the green slime of the marsh may be seen spread out over the stone floor and climbing the altar steps. The solitary lamp burns faintly before the cross in the red sunset light which rests with such sad beauty on the exquisite capitals. No voice of man, nor cry of child, nor song of bird is audible. No bell rings from the altar. No robe of priest flits through the sacristy door. The air is like that of a charnel house, and the sacristan bids you be covered, for it is "*molto freddo*." Behind and beneath the altar the dismal crypt is dry for the time, only to be deluged again with the pestilential ooze of the marsh. It is with a sense as of passing out of death into life that we emerge from the fast-darkening church into the grateful twilight of June, and look forth upon the distant Apennines, which the vanished sun has left overarched with

"dolce color d'oriental zaffiro,"

flecked with clouds of rose.

* A minute description of these mosaics may be found in Kùgler.

And now we pass to the relics of the Byzantine period under Justinian. One magnificent church shall furnish our illustration—San Vitale, begun in 526, the year of Theodoric's death, and consecrated twenty-one years later to the memory of Vitalis, the patron saint of Ravenna, and on the spot where, according to tradition, he was buried alive for exhorting a Christian martyr to fidelity. Here Byzantine art breaks from the control of its Western teachers, and strikes into an independent development. The simple, severe lines of the old basilica are abandoned. The oblong gives place to the octagon. The long lines of columns which led the eye irresistibly to the altar, are replaced by tiers of arches and domes and vaulted niches. The dome becomes the key to the whole structure. The choir, which drew all the points of the basilica to a focus, here "becomes a decentralizing element; an incontrovertible witness to the inevitable discord between the purposes of the ritual and the design of the architect."* The Byzantine love of ornament runs wild in the rich red marble inlaying the piers, the gorgeous mosaics, and the variety and exquisite elaboration of the capitals. The sacristan raises a trap at the foot of one of the columns, and shows the water beneath, and how the pavement has been raised three feet, while the adjoining street is still three feet higher. The tribune, with its double tiers of triple-arched recesses, its marble galleries on their graceful brackets, its columns with their wonderfully cut capitals, its pagan emblems, Neptune's throne and sea monster, and the apotheosis of Augustus,—nevertheless derives its chief interest from the mosaics of the time of Justinian and Theodora. Here Abraham carries out refreshment to the angels, and Sarah laughs behind the door, and Melchizedek blesses the bread and wine. Moses appears in three characters—as youth, shepherd, and lawgiver—and Christ sits on the globe of the world, enshrined in purple clouds, and with the rivers of Paradise at his feet. Further back are pictured the emperor and empress as the disciples and patrons of the church, which is figured by the entrance court of a church, from which a curtain is drawn back, exhibiting the symbolic fountain. Here is the bloated face of the legislator of an em-

* Lübke, "History of Art," i. 361.

pire and the fool of a courtesan, and opposite, the weak and sensual features of Theodora, "a bigot without faith, and a heretic without religious convictions," both their heads distinguished by nimbuses. Here are the fair-haired Germanic guards, and the Archbishop Maximian with his clergy. More minute description would be wearisome, and besides, would fail to convey the total impression of this unique structure, which, so far from being a copy of St. Sophia at Constantinople, as is often asserted, is really of earlier date than that church. It stands alone in Ravenna, and in all western Europe, with the single exception of Charlemagne's minster at Aix la Chapelle, which he copied from it, and adorned with marbles from the rifled palace of Theodoric.

But with all her wonderful reminders of empire and of religion, Ravenna also associates herself with intellectual sovereignty in her memorials of Dante. It is something even to hold the dust of the founder of modern literature; of the first poet who put Christianity into the literature of Europe as a power of duty and of aspiration, rather than as a mythology: of him "whose appearance," as Mr. Hallam finely says, "was as if, at some of the ancient games, a stranger had appeared on the plain, and thrown his quoit among the marks of former casts which tradition had ascribed to the demigods."*

In the Biblioteca Comunale, displayed in a gaudy case of glass and gilt, is a wooden box of the roughest description, in which, in the year 1865, the poet's ashes were discovered, having been moved from their original resting-place by a Franciscan friar, who appears to have feared lest the municipality of Ravenna should take from his order their jurisdiction over the tomb.† Dante removed from Verona to Ravenna in 1319, two years before his death, and wrote there the last lines of the *Paradiso*, and published the three *Cantice* entire. Here, as he walked the streets, the women used to point him out as the man who had been to hell, and to account for his black and frizzled hair by saying that he could not have entered the eternal fires without getting his hair a little singed. And here he ended his weary exile in 1321, leaving to Ravenna his mor-

* "Middle Ages," iii. 448.

† Maria Rossetti, "A shadow of Dante," p. 31, note.

tal part, which she steadfastly refuses to surrender to repentant Florence.

Yet the tomb in which Ravenna has shrined the poet's dust is but a sorry comment on her reverence for his memory, and thoroughly merits the irony of Byron's line,

"A little cupola more neat than solemn."

It is a small, chapel-like structure, wedged into a corner, and separated from the street by an iron gate, between the bars of which may be seen the sarcophagus. Beneath this is the Latin inscription attributed to Dante himself, and over it his half-length figure in relievo, leaning in an easy attitude on a kind of lectern, and dressed in the robe and cap which numerous portraits have made so familiar; but the face is gentler, and bears less of the querulousness which usually characterizes these pictures, and which is most painfully marked in the celebrated death-mask.*

It is surely far from unfitting that Dante should repose in a city of churches. As already intimated, he is, in a certain sense, the first Christian poet. "Complete and harmonious in design as his work is, it is yet no Pagan temple enshrining a type of the human made divine by triumph of corporeal beauty; it is not a private chapel housing a single saint, and dedicate to one chosen bloom of Christian piety or devotion; it is truly a cathedral, over whose high altar hangs the emblem of suffering, of the divine made human to teach the beauty of adversity, the eternal presence of the spiritual—not overhanging and threatening, but informing and sustaining the material. In this cathedral of Dante's there are side chapels, as is fit, with altars to all Christian virtues and perfections; but the great impression of its leading thought is that of aspiration, forever and ever. In the three divisions of the poem we may trace something more than a fancied analogy with a Christian basilica. There is first the ethnic fore court, then the purgatorial middle space, and last the holy of holies, dedicated to the eternal presence of the mediatorial God."†

At the same time, Dante and his poem are eminently

* See J. A. Symonds, "Introduction to the Study of Dante," title page.

† J. R. Lowell, "Essay on Dante." See also Mr. Longfellow's exquisite sonnets prefacing his translation of the *Commedia*.

churchly. He is an interpreter, not only of great Christian ideas, but of their embodiment in the scholastic theology and in the Roman Church. His grand social ideal, pervading the whole poem, was the blending of church and state in one, universal, holy *Roman* Empire. Rome, as the holy city, was to him the rightful seat of Pope and of emperor alike: the Roman people were divinely predestined for empire, marked out for this destiny by the miracles of their history, and by the birth of the Son of God under the dominion of their emperor.

"Whoever pillages or shatters it,
With blasphemy of deed offendeth God,
Who made it holy for His use alone." *

The vision of the eagle in the eighteenth *Paradiso* is Heaven's endorsement of Roman imperialism wedded with the Roman Church.

Yet this is one reason why Dante does not interpret Ravenna. While he is of Rome, Ravenna, church-wise, is of Byzantium. In the machinery of the *Commedia* the creations of Roman classic fable blend with the characters and legends of mediæval Christendom; but Ravenna, "more Byzantine than Constantinople itself," is "the one spot from which the monuments of heathen Rome and mediæval Christendom are alike absent."†

Besides, Ravenna enters into the poem incidentally, and not as fibre. The *Commedia* has no Ravennese flavor, except in a single instance, to be mentioned presently. Dante knew Francesca and her sad story, and worked them, on the lurid background of the second infernal circle, into the most tenderly, sadly beautiful picture in all literature, of the eternity of human love; but the fact that Francesca was born in the city by the sea, where the Po descends,

"To rest in peace with all his retinue,"

gives scarce a touch of character to the scene. How different is the case with Florence, which may be said to be wrought into the whole structure of the poem. In the *Commedia*, Dante never suffers us to forget that he is a Florentine by birth, if not in

* *Purgat.* xxxiii. 58-60; Longfellow's Trans.

† Freeman.

morals. I do not know that anything in the poem, except the latter part of the *Purgatorio*, would lead any one to suppose he had ever been in Ravenna. He must tell the hypocrites in their leaden cloaks that he was born at Florence.* The holes into which the simoniacs are thrust head first suggest his fair baptistery of St. John, where he broke a font when a boy.† Florence meant Beatrice. The old Florentine feud revives in Farinata's scorn as he stands half risen from his fiery tomb.‡ Florence points his bitterest invective and satire.§ Amid the blushing radiance of the heaven of Mars he listens, rapt, while Cacciaguida, set like a living topaz in the starry cross, rehearses the story of Florence's ancient virtue.|| He criticises Florentine painters as he climbs the cornices of the purgatorial mount.¶ His Florentine school-master is "in an ugly place" in hell,** and his Florentine singing-master meets him in the calm of the first morning in purgatory.††

Yet, as has been hinted, there is one exception to all this. There is one spot which has breathed its fragrance into the very spirit of a portion of the *Commedia*. That spot is the Pineta. This wonderful grove of stone pines is mentioned as existing in the fifth century. We are told that Theodoric encamped in the Pineta when he besieged Odoacer and Ravenna; but at an earlier date the imperial galleys floated there, and the Adriatic dashed where now the peasant picks the pine cones for market, and the great oxen browse amid the tall trunks. Following the road along the marsh, before St. Apollinare is reached, the dark outline of the pines is seen on the horizon, rolling like billows, as if trying to reproduce the lines of the vanished sea. But there is no gradual merging of the plain into the grove. The Pineta throws out no advance-guard into the marsh, but starts abruptly up from the level about three miles from the church, and stretches away along a sharply defined line for forty miles down the shore towards

* *Inferno*, xxiii. 94.

† *Inferno*, xix. 16.

‡ *Inferno*, x. 55-60.

§ *Inferno*, xv. 68; vi. 74; *Purg.* xiv. 37; *Paradiso* x. 127; and especially *Purg.* xiv. 43-54.

|| *Paradiso*, xv. 90, 148.

¶ *Purg.* xi.

** Brunetto Latini. *Inf.* xxiii. 32.

†† *Purg.* ii. 76-114. Genius never more gracefully immortalized a favorite than in the picture of Casella, singing the old songs in that unspeakably beautiful morning scene in the opening of the *Purgatorio*.

Rimini. All along the road the marshy pools are bright with the pure water-lilies, and the sluggish canal flows wearily on, the huge, speckled water-snakes coiled about the lily pads, and an occasional peasant, paddling in his clumsy skiff, relieving the monotony, until it passes into the shadow of the pines in a current far unlike that stream of the terrestrial paradise,

"which nothing doth conceal,
Although it moves on with a brown, brown current.*

One of the most vivid pictures of the Pineta has been drawn by Mr. J. A. Symonds. He says that the trees grow so thickly one behind the other, that we might compare them to the pipes of a great organ, or to the pillars of a Gothic church, or the basaltic columns of the Giant's Causeway. This may possibly be true deeper in the forest; but the portion which I traversed proved a very inadequate shelter from the sun. I could not find a patch of shade larger than the shadow of a single tree. The stone pine, as most readers are aware, is quite unlike our American pine in shape. It rises in a tall, straight trunk, and spreads suddenly out at the top like a vast umbrella. Occasionally one encounters an oak, a vine, or a laurel, and the undergrowth of juniper is abundant; but this is pre-eminently the kingdom of the pine. The cones form an important article of commerce, the kernels which fall out after the cones are dried being used as a condiment, and those of Ravenna being especially prized for their flavor. The taste, when they are roasted and pounded, is said to resemble that of almonds.

The names of Boccaccio and of Byron are both associated with this grove, but both these are dwarfed by the memory of that mightier bard who loved to walk these aisles. No one familiar with the *Divina Commedia* can fail to see, even in a brief visit, how this scene wrought itself into the poet's imagination, and, notably, how it gave the setting to the opening of the twenty-eighth canto of the *Purgatorio*, where Dante, having completed the circuit of the purgatorial mount, enters upon the earthly paradise at the summit. The passage is one of the purest outbreathings of perfect, restful joy to be found

* *Purg.* xxviii. 30-31.

outside of the Holy Scriptures ; and the sense of joy is, with the most consummate art, conveyed to the reader rather by the sights and sounds of nature than by the poet's own expressions of delight. The insertion of the passage entire requires no apology. The interlocked melody of the *terza rima*, indeed, exhales in a translation ; but Mr. Longfellow's rendering will at least not detract from the force of Lowell's remark, that Dante's poetry is of that quality which asserts itself as " of the highest order, after it has suffered the disenchantment inevitable in the most perfect translation " :

" Eager already to search in and round
The heavenly forest, dense and living green,
Which tempered to the eyes the new-born day,
Withouten more delay I left the bank,
Taking the level country slowly, slowly,
Over the soil that everywhere breathes fragrance.
A softly breathing air, that no mutation
Had in itself, upon the forehead smote me
No heavier blow than of a gentle wind,
Whereat the branches, lightly tremulous,
Did all of them bow downward toward that side
Where its first shadow casts the holy mountain ;
Yet not from their upright direction swayed,
So that the little birds upon their tops
Should leave the practice of each art of theirs ;
But with full ravishment the hours of prime
Singing, received they in the midst of leaves,
That ever bore a burden to their rhymes,
Such as from branch to branch goes gathering on
Through the pine forest on the shore of Chiassi,*
When Aeolus unlooses the sirocco.
Already my slow steps had carried me
Into the ancient wood so far, that I
Could not perceive where I had entered it.
And lo ! my further course a stream cut off,
Which toward the left hand with its little waves
Bent down the grass that on its margin sprang.
All waters that on earth most limpid are,
Would seem to have within themselves some mixture,
Compared with that, which nothing doth conceal,
Although it moves on with a brown, brown current,
Under the shade perpetual, that never
Ray of the sun lets in, nor of the moon."

How many details of this exquisite description are embodied to the eye and ear of one who reads it under the shadows of the Pineta ! The forest, " living green," is round him, though Dante has changed the stiff pines into more flexible trees,

* Per la pineta in sul lito di Chiassi—i. e., Classis.

through the swaying of which he makes us feel the breath of that "sweet air" which fans "unchangingly" the woods of Paradise. The spicy odor fills nostril and lung from the "soil that everywhere breathes fragrance." The grove is vocal with the notes of birds "practising each art of theirs," and the deep, low singing of the wind among the pine tops "ever bears a burden * to their rhymes;" while the stream flows quietly under the shadows, and loses itself in the piney aisles.

But we can stay no longer. We strike into the hot, dusty road, now shimmering in the noon sunshine. Gray old St. Apollinare seems to plead with us to stop once more; then up the slope and across the bridge, with a last look at the dark pine waves rolling on the low horizon, the stern, lonely old church, and the tower of Santa Maria, bereft of the sea, where no keeper shall ever again hear the dash of the waves, or kindle the beacons for the ships of Rome.

MARVIN R. VINCENT.

* The original is *bordone*—"bass."

VII.

THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

IT is of the utmost importance to the churches that bear the name of Presbyterian, and require subscription to the Westminster standards from their office-holders, that they should take pains to put before them all the information possible with reference to the historic origin, interpretation, and authority of these standards. It can hardly be deemed sufficient that the standards themselves should be made accessible to all, when there are constantly arising numberless questions as to their interpretation. Nor is it sufficient to hold that the ecclesiastical courts are the lawful interpreters, and a digest of their proceedings the final appeal in cases of controversy ; for unless the judges of our courts, themselves, are well grounded in the origin and history of the standards, they may pervert them, and gradually cause the Church to drift from its historic position ; especially when new questions arise, or fresh phases of old questions, that may need nice discriminations and careful adjustment in their historic relations. For if the Word of God, notwithstanding its divine inspiration, and the influence of the Holy Spirit in guiding the body of believers, and especially the humble and prayerful student, nevertheless needs all the light that philology and history can throw upon it, for its interpretation ; how much more must this be the case with reference to those historic documents, which, whilst they may be the most carefully framed and admirably composed of all the symbols of faith, are yet without divine inspiration and are to be studied without the Holy Spirit's guidance.

Futhermore, it is the common fortune of all churches, and indeed of all human institutions, to shift insensibly into new situations and circumstances, that modify in many respects their original life and character. Thus even the Word of God has not unfrequently been covered over by an accumulation of

traditional learning, as by the Pharisees in the time of our Lord, and by the Romanists in the Christian centuries. Thus symbols of faith which, to the generation that composed them, represented vital and absorbing interests, become to the succeeding generations more and more historical monuments, and abstract formulas, and gradually there gathers about them, through the interpretation of the schools and the exposition of the pulpit, a body of tradition, that unconsciously influences and controls the most exact and painstaking student in their interpretation.

History and tradition are ever at war, and no Church can stand fast very long by its historic symbols, unless these are kept fresh and distinct, in the minds and hearts of the office-holders, at least, in their historic setting. More than two centuries have passed since the Westminster Assembly composed our confession and catechisms, centuries abounding with great movements in thought and life, which, whilst they sprang from the mighty forces then at work and that had been in operation since the Reformation, have yet been subject to influences from other world-wide forces, and have assumed proportions that are enormous and vastly complex. The Westminster standards were the products of some of the noblest of these forces, and have perpetuated their influence in constantly increasing dimensions; and yet the question is forced upon us, whether they have kept the churches, that bear the Presbyterian name, in the normal line of their growth; or whether the external forces may not have deflected the churches from their standards, so that the line of their faith and life may not entirely correspond with the line of the standards, but may be rather at an angle with it. In these times especially, when it has been suggested in not a few quarters, that the time has come to revise the work of the Assembly at Westminster, is it not important, that we should rather make ourselves familiar with the historical work of that Assembly, and take pains to gather together all the documents that they produced, or occasioned on the part of others, that we may have all the facts before us, and not meet the issue with inadequate preparation?

It is the object of this article to call attention to some of the more valuable of these documents, and to suggest the line of work that might be serviceable for bringing them into

wider circulation, and thus make our standards more interesting and valuable to the present generation of students.

It should be a matter of profound thankfulness on the part of all Presbyterians, that such a large amount of valuable historical material has been preserved to us, relating to the Westminster Assembly. We have three partial records of their proceedings: (1.) "*The Journals of the Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines convened for the work of Reformation in the Church by the authority of Parliament, 1643,*" by John Lightfoot, a member of the Assembly.* These journals extend from the day of the opening, July 1, 1643, until December 31, 1644, some eighteen months. Lightfoot was present every day until January 22, 1644[5], when he was absent for the first time at Munden, which became his charge (Journals, p. 116). After this, he was frequently absent on Mondays, and sometimes later in the week, and is then quite brief in his summary of proceedings, but is generally full, especially in matters of church government and discipline. (2.) "*Notes of the Debates and Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines and other Commissioners at Westminster,*" by Geo. Gillespie, one of the Commissioners from the Kirk of Scotland to the Assembly.† These notes extend from February 2, 1644 to January 3, 1645, some eleven months; although there is a gap from May 14th to September 4th, of more than three months. Gillespie is full in his notes, when present, in the discussions of church government. (3.) "*Minutes of the Sessions of the Assembly of Divines,*" three volumes folio, mss., in the Williams Library, in Grafton Street, London. Each volume has a title in a later hand; the title of the first and second volumes containing the additional clause, "from August 4, 1643 to April 24, 1653;" the third volume, the correct statement, "from August 4, 1643, to March 25, 1652."‡

* These journals were published in Vol. XIII. of the "Whole Works of John Lightfoot," edited by Rev. J. R. Pitman. London, 1824.

† These debates were published in the "*Presbyterian Armoury*," vol. ii, Edinburgh, 1846, edited by David Meek, from the Wodrow mss. in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh.

‡ A copy of these minutes has been made at the expense of the Church of Scotland, and placed in the Kirk Library at Edinburgh. The third volume in part has been published with valuable introduction and notes under the title: "*Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, while engaged in preparing their Directory for Church Government, Confession of Faith and Catechisms* (Nov., 1644, to March, 1649), from transcripts of the originals procured by a Committee of the General Assembly of the

These minutes are supposed to be in the handwriting of Adoniram Byfield, one of the scribes, on account of his absence during the time of the omissions in the minutes, or when they are written in another than the prevailing hand, and besides that, on p. 2 of Volume II., the name Adoniram Byfield occurs three times in the same handwriting as the Minutes.* The writing is hurried and abbreviated in style, evidently made on the spot, with the design of securing as full an outline of the discussion as possible. It requires a long study and a practised eye to read it, and there are several instances of shorthand.†

Volume I. has three parts bound together : (1.) Sessions 45–86, from August 4, 1643, to November 1, 1643 ; (2.) Sessions 87–119, from November 2, to December 20, 1643 ; (3.) Sessions 155–198, from February 15, 1643[4],‡ to April 11, 1644.

Volume II. has two parts bound together : (1.) Sessions 199–264, from April 12, 1644, to August 9, 1644 ; (2.) Sessions 265–323, August 14, 1644, to November 15, 1644.

Volume III. has four parts bound together : (1.) Sessions 324–604, from November 18, 1644, to March 16, 1645[6] ; (2.) Sessions 601–900, from March 9, 1645[6], to August 16, 1647 ; (3.) Sessions 604–1163, from March 16, 1645[6], to February 22, 1648[9], where the numbering of the sessions ends, and from thence on to March 25, 1652, unnumbered sessions ; (4.) the Minutes of the Provincial Assembly of London from the third session of the eighth Provincial Assembly, November 27, 1650, to the thirteenth session of the sixteenth Assembly, April 24, 1655.

Church of Scotland. Edited for the Committee by the Rev. Alex. F. Mitchell, D.D., and Rev. John Struthers, LL.D. Edinburgh, 1874.

* Hetherington, in the Preface to his *History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, fourth edition, Edinburgh, 1878, states that "Dr. Thomas Goodwin, one of the leading Independent divines, wrote fifteen volumes of notes and journals of the Assembly proceedings, as we are informed in a memoir of his life by his son, three only of which are still preserved in Dr. Williams' Library, London. It was my intention to have consulted these, but I found it impracticable at the time." This conjecture of Hetherington is impossible, for Goodwin is said by his son to have taken "a brief account of every day's transaction, of which I have fourteen or fifteen volumes in 8vo, wrote with his own hand ;" whereas these minutes are folio in size, nine and not fourteen or fifteen in number of volumes, and quite full in reports of speeches.

† The Minutes of June 17, 18, 19, 20, of Vol. II., are in shorthand, and those of June 21st are mixed.

‡ The English still continued to begin the year with the 25th of March ; the year in brackets is after the present method.

Part 2 of Vol. III. stands by itself as a duplicate, going back seven days into the previous part, and extending as far as Aug. 16, 1647, into the following part. It differs from them, however, in being written with more care and exactness. Hence Dr. Mitchell (Preface to Minutes, p. viii.) concludes: "They may fairly claim to be received in the strictest sense as the 'minutes of the sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines,' though even in it many documents or parts of documents sanctioned are not entered at length." There are two great defects in Vol. I. that we must set over against these parallel records. There are no minutes from July 1 to Aug. 4, 1643, which may have constituted a part by itself, now lost, of forty-four sessions, over against forty-two in Part 1, and thirty-three in Part 2. There is then another long interval, from December 20, 1643, to February 15, 1643(4), of thirty-five sessions over against forty-four sessions in Part 3, which may also have been a part by itself. The paging running through the three parts is evidently by a later hand, probably the same one who wrote the titles. If, then, two of the original parts have been lost, they balance the parts of the third volume, that must be taken away, namely, the duplicate Part 2, and Part 4 containing the minutes of the Provincial Assembly of London, so that we would have nine parts as probably constituting the original work.

In addition to these three records of proceedings, there are the invaluable "*Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*," another of the Scotch Commissioners,* which give faithful pictures of the interior of the Assembly, and familiar gossip with reference to the relations and strifes of parties. There are, besides, large numbers of official documents, not only in the Journals of Parliament, but also in the various publications of the time.† Especially worthy of notice are the Parliament and Lord Mayor's sermons,‡ the controversial tracts

* The best edition is that edited from the authors' MSS., in the Archives of the Church of Scotland, by David Laing, Esq. 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1841.

† The most of these are to be found in the collection known as the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, and in the libraries of Dr. Williams and Zion College in London, the Bodleian at Oxford, Trinity College at Cambridge, and the Advocates and Church of Scotland libraries in Edinburgh. The McAlpin collection of the Union Theo. Sem., N. Y., contains not a few of them.

‡ There are nearly three hundred of these, giving expression to the historical circumstances and opinions of the divines on the great events and discussions of the time.

of the Smectymnuans, the London ministers, Thos. Edwards, Bastwick, and others on the one side; and the Dissenting Brethren, John Goodwin, Henry Burton, and others on the other side; besides the published works of the members of the Assembly covering the entire field of the discussions in which they were engaged. All this material should be gathered, and the most important of it made accessible to Presbyterian divines in some compact form. Some such movement might be appropriately inaugurated at the next meeting of the Presbyterian Alliance in Philadelphia.

The *History of the Westminster Assembly*, by Hetherington, although it has done excellent service, is entirely unsatisfactory, for it is not based upon a thorough acquaintance with the material above represented. The "*Lives of the Westminster Divines*," by Reid, Paisley, 1811, contains much valuable information of a biographical and bibliographical character, but it has been long out of print and is extremely scarce. Prof. Alex. F. Mitchell, in his brief article on the *Westminster Assembly* in Johnson's *New Universal Cyclopædia*, Vol. IV., in his *Lecture on the Westminster Confession*, Edin., 1866, and in his Introduction to the Minutes referred to above, has laid the foundation for future work, and excited the appetite for fuller information from the same competent source. Masson, in his "*Life of Milton*," Vol. II.-III., 1871-'3, has collected a large amount of valuable material in an incidental way, based on thorough historical study, with reference to his principal theme, and Dr. Schaff, in his "*History of Creeds*," New York, 1877, has compacted together the most important statements from these and other sources, yet it must be admitted that no one has as yet gone further than the threshold of the subject, and there is much remaining to be desired by all Presbyterian students of church history.

The Westminster Assembly was not called together until after long and matured deliberation. Already on December 1, 1641, the Parliament, in the *Grand Remonstrance* then presented to the king, had said :

186. "And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we desire there may be a General Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this Island, assisted by some from foreign parts professing the same religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their consultation to Parliament, to be there allowed and con-

firmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom." (Masson, ii. p. 327 seq.)

On the 9th of April, 1642, an order was passed by the Commons, naming two divines from each county in England except London, which was to send four, and one each from the Welsh counties, and also two each from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, ninety-nine in all, and stating:

"The Lords and Commons doe declare that they intend a due and necessary reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church, and to take away nothing in the one or other, but what shall be evill and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthensome. And for the better effecting thereof speedily to have consultation with godly and learned divines." *

It would seem that further action was taken on the 19th of April, and that from the 20th to the 25th, the names were gone over one by one until a total of 102 divines were named, and on the 9th of May a bill was brought in, "calling an Assembly of godly and learned divines to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church, and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrines of the Church of England from false aspersions and interpretations." On the 19th of May, it was read a third time and passed, and on the 26th, the Lords added fourteen divines, and on June 1st, it passed both houses, and required only the signature of the king to become law. [Masson's Milton, ii. p. 510 f.]† The king refused to sign the bill, and it had no effect.

* ** *Catalogue of the Names of the Divines appointed by the House of Commons for each severall county in this Kingdom of England and Wales, London, 1642.*"

† See also a tract, entitled "*Sixteene Propositions in Parliament touching the manner and forme for Church Government, by Bishops and the clergy of this Kingdom. Whereunto is added; The opinion of the English Doctors and Divines at the Synod at Dort, concerning Episcopacy and lay elders.* London, 1642." We make some extracts in order to show the mind of a portion at least of Parliament at this time. "The order for Church Government read in the House of Commons, 1642: I. Every severall shire of England and Wales to be a severall circuite or diocesse for the ecclesiastic jurisdiction, excepting Yorkshire, which is to be divided into three. II. A constant Presbyterie of twelve choyse divines to be selected in every shire or diocesse. III. A constant President to be established as a Bishop over this Presbyterie. IV. This Bishop in each Diocesse to ordaine, suspend, deprive, degrade, excommunicate by, and with the consent and assistance of seven divines of his Presbyterie then present and not otherwise. XII. The Bishop once a year (at midsummer) to summon a *diocesan synod*, there to heare, and by generall vote, to determine all such matter of scandall in life and doctrine among the clergie-men, as shall be presented unto them. XIII. Every three yeares, a Nationall Synod to be, which for persons shall consist of all the Bishops in the land, and of two *Presbiters* to be chosen by the rest out of each *Presbitery*, and of two *clarkes* to be chosen out of everie Diocesse, by the *Clergie* thereof. XIV. This

Several other similar bills were introduced in the course of the year, and at last, on the 13th of May, 1643, an ordinance was introduced into the Commons, and passed and ordered to be printed, June 1, 1643, "for the calling of an Assembly of learned and godly divines." They were directed to meet

"at Westminster, in the chappell called King Henry the Seventh's Chappell on the first day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1643 . . . to conferre and treat amongst themselves of such matters and things touching and concerning the liturgy, discipline and government of the Church of England, or the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, as shall be proposed unto them by both or either of the said houses of Parliament, and no other, and to deliver their opinion and advices of or touching the matters aforesaid, as shall be most agreeable to the Word of God, to both or either of the said houses, from time to time, in such manner or sort as by both or either of the said houses of Parliament shall be required, and at the same time not to divulge by printing, writing, or otherwise, without the consent of both or either house of Parliament. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that William Twist, D.D., shall sit in the chaire as prolocutor of the said Assembly."

This ordinance, as contained in the Lords' Journals of June 12th, has 119 divines, the most of them the same as in the previous orders, but with some changes; and also twenty members of the House of Commons and ten of the Lords—149 in all. Masson (*Life of Milton*, Vol. II., p. 516, sq.) gives a list in accordance with this journal, but adds Peter Sterry, whom he regards as omitted by mistake, thus making 120 divines in all. The ordinance of June 12th, as printed at the time,* contains 121 divines, adding to the Lords' list Peter Sterry and John Erle. Prof. Mitchell follows the ordinance as finally printed by order of the Houses, June 20, 1643, which substitutes Simeon Ashe for Josias Shute, deceased, and includes John Erle, making 121, which is doubtless correct. These names were fairly representative of all the counties of England and Wales, the two Universities, and the parties, with the exception of the extreme High Churchmen of the type of Laud and the extreme men among the Dissenters.

Of the defenders of Episcopacy were Archbishop Ussher, Bishops Brownrigge and Westfield, Drs. Featley, Hackett, Hammond, Holdsworth, Master of Emanuel College, Cam-

Nationall Synod to make and ordaine Canons of the Government of the Church, but they not to bind untill they be confirmed by Parliament."

* See the reprint in the *Presbyterian Armoury*, Vol. II.; so also, "*An ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament for the calling of an Assembly of learned and godly divines*, etc., London, 1658," which has the same names.

bridge, Morley, Nicholson, Saunderson, Prof. of Divinity at Oxford, Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex College, all able men, and doubtless others; but only Bishop Westfield and Dr. Featley attended, for a short time—the former dying June 25, 1644, the latter being expelled in September, 1643. Of the Independents, the five who had returned from exile in Holland, Thos. Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, Jeremiah Burroughs, and Sidrach Simpson, were the chief; but others held their opinions in whole or in part. The main body was thus selected, from the necessity of the case, from the great middle body of the ordained ministry of the Church of England, who were Presbyterians; and hence these controlled the Assembly, not without severe and long-continued struggles with the Independents; and also the Erastians, especially John Lightfoot, Thos. Coleman, and John Selden, who were in many respects the ripest scholars in the body.

The Assembly met, in accordance with the ordinance, on Saturday, July 1, 1643, in Westminster Abbey, "with a great congregation besides"; and listened to a sermon by the prolocutor on John xiv. 18. "After sermon all the members of the Assembly present went into Henry VII.'s Chapel, where the names being called, the appearance of names that day was sixty-nine, or thereabouts."*

On Thursday, July 6th, instructions were brought in from Parliament:

(1.) That two assessors be joined to the prolocutor to supply his place in case of absence or infirmity. (2.) That scribes be appointed, to set down all proceedings, and these to be divines who are not of the Assembly, viz.: Mr. Henry Roborough and Mr. Adoniram Byfield. (3.) Every member, at his first entry into the Assembly, shall make serious and solemn protestation, not to maintain anything but what he believes to be truth in sincerity, when discovered unto him. (4.) No resolutions to be given upon any question the same day whereon it is first propounded. (5.) What any man undertakes to prove as necessary he shall make good out of Scripture. (6.) No man to proceed in any dispute after the prolocutor has enjoined him to silence, unless the Assembly desire he may go on. (7.) No man to be denied to enter his dissent from the Assembly and his reasons for it in any point, after it hath been first debated in the Assembly, and thence (if the dissenting party desire it) to be sent to the Houses of Parliament by the Assembly, not by any particular man or men, in a private way, when either House shall require. (8.) All things agreed on and prepared for Parliament to be openly read and allowed in the Assembly, and then offered as the judgment of the Assembly, if the major part assent. Provided that the opinion of any persons dissenting and the reasons urged for it be annexed thereunto, if the dissenters require it, together with the solutions, if any were given by the Assembly, to their reasons." (Lightfoot, p. 4.)

* Lightfoot, p. 3.

The importance of all these rules we will see further on.

On Saturday, July 8th, the protestation was taken as follows :

"I do seriously and solemnly protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly, whereof I am a member, I will not maintain anything, in matters of doctrine, but what I think in my conscience to be truth ; or in point of discipline, but what I conceive to conduce most to the glory of God and the good and peace of his church " (Lightfoot, p. 4).

On the same day, Drs. White and Burgess were appointed assessors. This was the more important, that,

"Dr. Twisse, on account of his age and manifold infirmities, was not able to attend upon the concerns of the Assembly ; but in a few months was taken ill, falling down in the pulpit to rise no more. . . He was carried to his lodging, and laid upon his bed, where he languished about a twelvemonth. . . He died July 20, 1646, aged seventy-one years " (Brook's "Lives of Puritans," Vol. III., p. 16).

Charles Herle was then appointed in his place, July 22d, and remained prolocutor until the close. Herbert Palmer was also appointed an additional assessor, September 23, 1646, on account of the long-continued illness of Mr. White, who died in 1648, aged seventy-three, and finally Dr. Gouge, November 26, 1647, in place of Palmer, who had recently died.

In addition to the scribes, Henry Roborough and Adoniram Byfield, John Wallis was subsequently appointed an amanuensis or assistant, on account of the great amount of clerical labors required.*

On the 8th of July the whole Assembly was cast into three grand committees, according to the order of the names in the ordinance ; the first to meet in Henry VII.'s Chapel, the second in the Lower House of Convocation, the third in the Jerusalem Chamber. They met for the first time on the 10th, and organized by the appointment of Dr. Burgess as chairman of the first committee, Dr. Staunton of the second, and Mr. Guibbon of the third (Lightfoot, p. 5).

There is no list of these committees at the date of their organization, but three lists are found in the minutes of the Williams Library, one dated November 2, 1643, another February 15, 1643[4], the third April 12, 1644, the last of which is published by Prof. Mitchell (Minutes, p. lxxxv). These lists constitute without doubt the real members of the Assembly at the time. The list of November 2, 1643, the earliest one, is as follows :

* He took the covenant, December 22, 1643 (Lightfoot, p. 89).

First committee: Mr. Palmer, Mr. Bowles, Mr. Wilkinson, Sr., Mr. Valentine, Mr. Rayner, Dr. Hoyle, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Ley, Mr. Case, Dr. Gouge, Mr. White, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Sedgwick, Mr. Clark, Mr. Bathurst, Mr. Nye, Dr. Smith, Dr. Burgis, Mr. Green, Mr. Gower, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Tuckney, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Herle, Mr. Hericke, Mr. New, Mr. Paynter—twenty-nine. Second committee: Mr. Clayton, Mr. Gipps, Mr. Burroughes, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Walker, Mr. Carrill, Mr. Seaman, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Hill, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Carter of L., Mr. Thorowgood, Mr. Arrow-smith, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Whitaker, Dr. Stanton, Mr. Lightfoot, Mr. Corbett, Mr. Langley, Mr. Tisdale, Mr. Young, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Conant, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Hall, Mr. Scudder, Mr. Bayley, Mr. Pickering, Mr. Caudry—twenty nine. Third committee: Mr. Salloway, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Burgis, Mr. Vines, Mr. Greenhill, Dr. Temple, Mr. Ash, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Spurston, Mr. Channell, Mr. Delamarch, Mr. Newcommen, Mr. Carter of D., Mr. Hodges, Mr. Perne, Mr. Prophet, Mr. Sterry, Mr. Guibon, Mr. Michaelthwaite, Dr. Wincop, Mr. Price, Mr. Wilkinson, Jr., Mr. Woodcocke, Mr. Delaplace, Mr. Maynard—twenty five; or eighty-three in all.

This list contains two divines that were admitted subsequent to the first organization: Francis Woodcocke, August 5, 1643, in place of Moreton, deceased, and John Maynard, admitted September 15, 1643, in place of Henry Nye, deceased. The remainder were named in the ordinance. Thus, including the prolocutor, eighty-four of the 121 named were present, November 2, 1643; the remaining thirty-seven having declined to attend, or withdrew. The list, February 15, 1643[4], adds to the first committee Mr. Rathband, and takes away Mr. Paynter; to the second committee Mr. Strickland and Mr. Bond; and to the third committee Mr. Paynter and Mr. Good. The list, April 12, 1644, adds to the first committee Mr. Hickes, to the second committee Mr. Harris, and to the third committee Mr. Hardwicke, making ninety-one in all. An edition of "*The Confession of Faith, Catechism*," etc., London, 1658, contains in an appendix the list of all the divines who took the promise and vow. This includes all the names of the last list, and adds thereto Edward Perle, John Dury, Philip Delme, John Foxcroft, John Ward, Richard Byfield, Thos. Ford, seven

who entered the Assembly subsequently, making ninety-eight in all.* These are the men who really constituted the Assembly and did the work. Besides dividing themselves into these three committees, it was resolved subsequently that the whole number assembled at the time appointed for daily opening, before the arrival of a quorum, should constitute a *grand committee*, to report to the Assembly when organized.

July 19th, Mr. Palmer, as chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose, brought in a petition to Parliament for a fast-day, which was signed and sent up. We note the following requests:

"I. That you would be pleased to command a publicke and extraordinary day of humiliation, this weeke—that every one may bitterly bewaile his owne sinnes and cry mightily unto God for Christ his sake, to remove his wrath, and to heale the land, with professed and renewed resolutions of more full performance of the late covenant for the amendment of our wayes. II. That you would vouchsafe instantly to take into your more serious consideration, how you may most speedily set up Christ more gloriously in all his ordinances within this kingdome, and reforme all things amiss throughout the land wherein God is more specially and more immediately dishonoured; among which we humbly lay before you these particulars: (1.) That the brutish ignorance and palpable darkness possessing the greatest part of the people . . . may be remedied by a speedy and strict charge to all ministers constantly to catechise all the youth and ignorant people. . . (2.) That the grievous and heinous pollution of the Lord's supper, by those that are grossly ignorant and notoriously profane, may be henceforth with all Christian care and due circumspection prevented. (3.) That the bold venting of corrupt doctrines . . . may be speedily suppressed everywhere, and that in such manner as may give hope that the church may be no more infected with them." . . . That so God, who is now by the sword avenging the quarrell of his covenant, beholding your integrity and zeal, may turn from the fierceness of his wrath, heare our prayer, goe forth with our armies, perfect the work of reformation, forgive our sins, and settle truth and peace throughout the kingdome."†

Parliament appointed Friday, July 21st, as the fast-day, and promised "to take the other particulars into speedy consideration."

August 4th, the Westminster Assembly united with Parliament in each addressing letters to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and requesting that they would,

"according to their former promise and resolution, send to the Assembly here such number of godly and learned divines as in their wisdom they think most expedient for the furtherance of the work which so much concerns the honour of God, the prosperity and peace of the two churches of England and Scotland."

* Mr. Strong, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Bolton also entered, took the protestation, and were active in the proceedings, as we see from the minutes, though not included in this list. It must have been a republication of an older list, prior to the appointment of these men to the Assembly.

† *Petition of the Divines of the Assembly, delivered to both houses of Parliament, July 19, 1643. Together with the houses' answer to the said Petition.* London, 1643.

The Assembly assured them "of all testimonies of respect, love, and the right hand of fellowship." A Committee of Parliament, and Stephen Marshall and Philip Nye of the Assembly, carried them to Scotland. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent Alexander Henderson and George Gillespie, ministers, and J. L. Maitland, ruling elder,

"to repaire unto the Assembly of Divines and others of the Kirke of England, now sitting at Westminster, to propound, consult, treat, and conclude with them . . . in all such things as may conduce to the utter extirpation of Popery, Prelacie, Heresie, Schisme, Superstition, and Idolatrie, and for the settling of the so-much-desired union of the whole island in one forme of church government, one confession of faith, one common catechism, and one directory for the worship of God.

August 28th and 29th "the covenant agreed upon by the Scots, and sent to England for approbation, for uniting the two nations forever," was discussed; and it was finally recommended to Parliament: that, in point of conscience, the covenant might be lawfully taken, with certain explanations. September 15th the Scotch Commissioners came into the Assembly, and were received by the prolocutor with an address, being followed by Dr. Hoyle and Mr. Case, to which Alex. Henderson responded. Monday, September 25th, the Assembly, with the House of Commons, took the solemn league and covenant in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, lifting up their hands at the conclusion of every clause, and then subsequently signing it.* On November 20th the Scotch Commissioners were reinforced by Robert Bayly and Samuel

* They solemnly swore: "1. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavor, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; also, the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches; and we shall endeavor to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship, and catechising, that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us. 2. That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavor the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (*i. e.*, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that Hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive the plagues, and that the Lord may be one and his name one in the three kingdoms," and so on.

Rutherford, who were received by the moderator in accordance with the order of Parliament.

The Assembly, immediately after organization, set to work and did not adjourn until July 22, 1644, after sitting an entire year, when they took recess for two weeks. Their first attention was given to

THE REVISION OF THE XXXIX. ARTICLES.

On the 8th of July the first ten articles were distributed to the three committees; to the first committee, Articles I.-IV.; to the second committee, Articles V.-VII.; to the third committee, Articles VIII.-X.; and a committee was appointed to seek out copies of the thirty-nine Articles, that "the proceeding may be upon the most authentic" (Lightfoot, p. 5). July 12th it was resolved that, "in our proceedings upon all the Articles we should produce Scriptures for the clearing of them" (Lightfoot, p. 5). The committees reported after preparing their revision, and the Articles were debated, amended, and adopted, step by step, until October 12, 1643. The mss. minutes of the Williams Library represent them as debating the Xth and XIth Articles on September 5th. From this date until the 12th of October the progress was slow, owing to the important doctrines under consideration: free will, justification, good works, works before justification, works of supererogation, and Christ alone without sin; so that they were still engaged upon the XVIth Article, having only finished the first fifteen Articles, when, by order of Parliament, they were required "to take in hand the discipline and liturgy of the church." These debates occupy one hundred and five folios in the mss. minutes of Williams Library, are the fullest of any that are reported, and really lie at the basis of the same subjects as subsequently discussed and adopted in the construction of the Confession of Faith. Lightfoot is remarkably silent with reference to these doctrinal discussions, his chief interest being in matters of church government. The work of revising the Articles never went any further,* but that which had been

* However, we find that April 21, 1645, it was ordered that "the XXXIX Articles be reviewed by the former committee, and the committee to consider how far they, or any of them, may be useful to be recommended to both houses of Parliament for the present, till a Confession of Faith can be drawn up by the Assembly."

done became permanent by subsequent official action of the Assembly and Parliament. Thus, December 10, 1646, an order was received from the House of Commons, "to send up what is finished upon the Articles of the Church of England;" and a committee: Dr. Temple, Mr. Seaman, Mr. Bond, and Dr. Staunton were appointed to consider what had been done. January 5th and 6th, 1646[7], they reported, and "the old Articles and Scripture proofs of them" were debated and ordered to be transcribed, to be sent up to the House of Commons. April 12, 1647, a committee, composed of Mr. Gower, Dr. Burgess, Mr. Palmer, and Dr. Temple, were appointed to prepare a Preface to the old Articles. They reported on the 14th the Preface, which was debated and recommitted. On the 15th it was ordered that "the scribes do write out what is done upon the old Articles, and insert the Scriptures in the margin to be presented to Parliament." On the 22d an additional order from the Commons was received, "requiring them to send into this house the former Articles of the Church of England." April 23d, the Preface was again reported, debated, and adopted and ordered to be transcribed. April 26th a large committee was appointed to carry up the old Articles to both Houses of Parliament. Six hundred copies of them were ordered to be printed for the use of the Houses and the Assembly.*

A comparison of *Article XI.* will give a specimen of the work of revision :

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely expressed in the Homily of Justification.

Of the Justification of Man BEFORE GOD.

We are justified, that is, we are accounted righteous before God, and have remission of sins, not for, nor by, our own works or deservings, but freely by His grace, only for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, his whole obedience and satisfaction being by God imputed unto us, and Christ with his righteousness being apprehended, and rested on, by faith only. The doctrine of justification by faith only, is a wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort; notwithstanding God doth not forgive them that are impenitent, and go on still in their trespasses.

* Parliament was anxious for these Articles at this time, in order to make them a basis for an arrangement with the king, as we see from "*The four bills sent to the king to the Isle of Wight, to be passed together with the propositions sent unto him at the same time, which, upon the passage of those bills, were to be treated upon, also the Articles of the Church of England, with the rules and directions concerning suspension from the sacrament of the*

The importance of these changes, which are emphasized by us to make them more distinct, is manifest in view of the Antinomians and other errorists of the time. A comparison of these revisions with the original XV. Articles would be instructive throughout, especially in their relation to the Irish Articles on the one side and the Westminster Confession on the other. In this connection it is appropriate to refer to the various actions of the Assembly with reference to Antinomianism, Anabaptism, and other heresies. August 10, 1643, the Assembly adopted a petition to Parliament against the Antinomians, mentioning especially Eaton's "*Honeycomb of Free Justification*," and Tobias Crisp's "*Christ Alone Exalted*;" and on September 1st the printer was called to account (Lightfoot, p. 12). On September 14th Mr. Calamy was appointed chairman of a Committee on Antinomians. November 2d an order was received from the Commons, "to take into revising our judgment which we sent in to the House concerning the Antinomian opinion, and that we should enlarge and print it." November 3d a committee was appointed for the purpose, Mr. Walker chairman. On December 18th the committee was enlarged "for the Antinomian business, because of its weight and haste" (Lightfoot, p. 84). August 7, 1644, a committee was appointed to draw up a petition to Parliament with reference to Anabaptists and Antinomians, Marshall chairman; and he reported on the 9th, mentioning especially Hanserd Knollys. August 14th an order of the Commons was read for the quelling of Antinomians and Anabaptists (Lightfoot, p. 303). August 21st a committee was appointed to consider a way for the suppression of Antinomians; August 22d Mr. Palmer reported for the committee; September 4th the way for suppressing Anabaptists and Antinomians was voted (Gillespie, p. 65). May 20, 1645, upon information against Mr. Knollys, his preaching

Lord's Supper in case of ignorance," ordered to be printed March 11. Printed March 20, 1647. The XV. Articles of the Church of England, as amended, were signed by Charles Herle, prolocutor, and Henry Roborough and Adoniram Byfield, scribes. Among the propositions is an indulgence with the qualification, "That this indulgence shall not extend to tolerate the printing, publishing, or preaching of anything contrary to the principles of Christian religion as they are conteyned in the I.—XV. Articles of the Church of England, according to the true sense and meaning of them, as they have been cleared and vindicated by the Assembly of Divines now sitting at Westminster."

in private and venting his Antinonian opinions, it was ordered that Dr. Burgess and others be a committee to consider of this complaint and all others of like nature. June 10th the whole Assembly went to the House of Commons to complain of the blasphemous opinions of Paul Best, the prolocutor and assessors expressing their views.* July 11th the attention of the Assembly was called to the book of John Archer, entitled "*Comfort for Believers*," making God the author of sin. Dr. Gouge was appointed chairman of a committee to inform both Houses of Parliament, and desire the suppression of the book, and that all copies should be seized and burned. July 16th and 17th, a declaration of the Assembly with reference to the book was adopted and sent to Parliament, who ordered it printed with their own orders respecting the book.† In it they say :

"For whereas, that most vile and blasphemous assertion, whereby God is avowed to be the author of sin, hath hitherto, by the general consent of Christian teachers and writers, both ancient and modern, and these as well Papists as Protestants, been not disclaimed only, but even detested and abhorred ; yet in this book it is, not closely intimated, or occasionally hinted, or inconsiderately and through inadvertency stumbled upon, but openly, in express terms and in a very foul manner, propounded, maintained, and purposely at large prosecuted. . . . And the scandall hence arising is every whit as great, both in regard of the offence which is thereby given unto the Reformed churches, who in their publick confessions make Satan, and man himself, the only causes or authors of sin, and some of them do in these, their confessions, by name damne this wicked position ; and also in regard of the great advantage which it giveth to our common adversaries the Papists, who have hitherto only calumniously charged the doctrine of the Reformed churches with so odious a crime. . . . Whereas now should this book be tolerated, they might justly insult over us, and publish to the world, that now in the Church of England it was openly and impunely maintained, that God is the author of sin. . . ."

Mr. Walker, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Smith, Mr. Foxcroft, and Mr. Corbet were ordered to be present at the several places of

* This Paul Best, complained of by the ministers of York, was finally, on March 31, 1646, brought before the Assembly, where he persisted in his errors. April 4th he was brought to the bar of the House of Commons. He seems to have denied the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, while holding to the Trinity in some sense. He was frequently before the committee of the Assembly, and his books were burned, but little could be done for suppressing him, on account of the increasing demand for toleration ; (Mitchell, p. 214).

† The title is, "*A short declaration of the Assembly of Divines, by way of detestation of this abominable and blasphemous opinion, that God is, and hath an hand in, and is the author of, the sinfulnesses of his people ; mentioned in a book entitled, 'Comfort for Believers, about their Sins and Troubles.' Together with the order of both Houses of Parliament for the burning of said books by the hand of the common hangman.* London, July 25, 1645." The author of the book complained of was John Archer, a noted Premillenarian, and author of "*The Personal Reigne of Christ upon Earth.* London, 1642."

burning the book. December 25th Dr. Gouge moved against a book of John Tombes', an Anabaptist,* and a committee was appointed, which was enlarged December 25th, to "consider of heresies and blasphemies published and licensed." And so throughout their proceedings we find similar efforts to meet and overcome heresies in accordance with their covenant obligation, but all in vain; for they and their adherents combined the Independents and Baptists with the Antinomians as heretics, and these were forced to unite with all the detached parties in favor of toleration. A special effort was made, however, by the observance of March 10, 1646[7], as a "solemn day of Publike Humiliation to seek God's assistance for the suppressing and preventing of the growth and spreading of Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies; and Richard Vines preached before the Commons on "*The authors, nature, and danger of Hæresie*," and Thomas Hodges on "*The growth and spreading of Hæresie*." Finally, December 14, 1647, the ministers of London united and subscribed their names to "*A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the Errours, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these times, and the Toleration of Them*." This was followed by similarly subscribed papers from the assembled ministers in all parts of England.† But the current of the times was against them, and all their efforts were ineffectual.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.

On the reception of the order from Parliament, October 12th,

"to forthwith confer and treat among themselves, of such discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve,

* This same John Tombes had already, in 1644, presented to the chairman of a committee of the Divines an "*Exercitation about Infant Baptism*," which was published with additions, London, 1646. Then he published "*An Examination of the Sermon of Stephen Marshall about Infant Baptisme, in a letter sent to him*," London, 1645. These were afterwards published together under the title, "*Two Treatises and an Appendix to them Concerning Infant Baptism*," London, 1645, December 15th. This was followed by "*An Apology or Plea for the Two Treatises against the original charges, complaints, and censures of Dr. Homes, John Geree, Stephen Marshall, John Ley, etc.*," London, 1646; and several other treatises, all finally collected into three parts of the "*Full Review of the Dispute Concerning Infant Baptism*," in which he contends with Robert Baylie, Richard Baxter, and others.

† We have seen them, from Lancaster, Norfolk, Wilts, Devonshire, Stafford, Somerset, Gloucestershire, Essex, Northampton, and Salop, representing in these more than seven hundred ministers.

the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad, to be settled in this church instead and place of the present church government by archbishops, bishops, . . . which is resolved to be taken away. And touching and concerning the directory of worship or liturgy hereafter to be in the church. . . ."

The Assembly left off debating the XVIth Article, and on the 17th resolved to begin with the government of the church. The three committees went to work: "to collect together all the texts where mention of any church officer is" (Lightfoot, p. 21), and on the 19th the first and second committees reported, and the debate began, which continued for several months without interruption. There is an admirable summary of this discussion about church government published in the *Presbyterian Armoury*, Vol. II., entitled: "*Votes passed in the Assembly of Divines in Westminster concerning Discipline and Government*," signed by the scribes, which, Wodrow states, was copied from the original copy, thus signed, among the Gillespie papers. This should be compared with Lightfoot's journals throughout, as it gives the votes from Session 76, October 17, 1643, to Session 186, which, by comparison with Lightfoot, we find to be March 22, 1644. In this whole debate Lightfoot is very full, giving pages 17-234 to it. During this period occurs the chief defect in the minutes of the Williams Library, December 20, 1643, to March 15, 1643[4], fortunately precisely where information is least needed. Gillespie's minutes begin February 22, 1643[4], when the question of Presbytery was opened, and are very full on this subject. On that day Lightfoot was absent, but mentions the fact that "they fell upon the propositions brought in by the committee concerning many churches under one Presbytery, which the Independents did most vehemently oppose the handling of" (Lightfoot, p. 131). After finishing this discussion, the Assembly refrained from sending up their votes for some time, hoping for accommodation with the Independents; but in vain, for the discussion with them was renewed from time to time for many months. The draft of Government was finally voted, and sent up to Parliament by a committee (Marshall chairman) July 4, 1645, entitled, "*To the Right Honorable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, the humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, now sitting by*

*ordinance of Parliament at Westminster, concerning Church Government.** (Appendix to Confession of Faith, etc., London, 1658). April 3, 1644, Dr. Burgess reported from the committee on drawing up the votes on ordination twelve propositions (Lightfoot, p. 237). These were debated and with some modifications adopted, together with a directory for ordination (Gillespie, p. 53), and both were ordered to be sent up to Parliament April 19th (Lightfoot, p. 253), entitled, "*To the Right Honorable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines now sitting by ordinance of Parliament at Westminster, concerning the Doctrinal part of Ordination of Ministers.*"†

* This discussion, thus opened with the Dissenting Brethren, became most troublesome and prolonged, both inside the Assembly and without. Inside it culminated in a series of papers *pro* and *con*, which were collected and published by order of Parliament by Adoniram Byfield, at first under the title: "*The Reasons Presented by the Dissenting Brethren against certain Propositions concerning Presbyterian Government and the Proofs of them voted by the Assembly of Divines, sitting by authority of Parliament at Westminster, together with the Answer of the Assembly of Divines to those Reasons of Dissent*, London, 1648; afterwards under the title: "*The Grand Debate concerning Presbytery and Independency, 1652.*" Outside the Assembly the leaders on both sides first united in the effort to prevent debate, and published: "*Certain Considerations to dissuade men from further gathering of churches in this present juncture of Time, subscribed by diverse churches of the Assembly hereafter mentioned*. London, 1643." Among these were Twisse, Marshall, Herle, Tuckney, Palmer, etc., on the one side, and Goodwin, Nye, Greenhill, Burroughs, on the other; and Chas. Herle reduced the difference to a minimum in his "*Independency on Scriptures of the Independency of Churches*, 1643." But the publication of the "*Apologetical Narration*," December 30, 1643, after its presentation to Parliament, brought on a fierce discussion, in which Thos. Edwards, in his "*Antapologia*," July, 1644, and his "*Gangræna*," three parts, 1646; Dr. Bastwick, in his "*Independency not God's Ordinance*," 1645, and "*The utter Routing of the whole army of all the Independents and Sectaries*," 1646, and others on the side of Presbyterians; and Henry Burton, John Goodwin, and others in numerous tracts and books, on the side of the Independents, took part. Dr. John Bastwick, a ruling elder of one of the London churches, was especially obnoxious to his opponents, and called forth bitter replies, among which it is interesting to note: "J. Sadler: *Flagellum Flagelli, or Dr. Bastwick's quarters beaten up in two or three pomeridian exercises by way of animadversions upon his book entitled, 'Independency not God's Ordinance,'* London, 1645;" and "*Medico Mastix, or Pill for the Doctor, a reply to Dr. Bastwick, by E. A., a she-Presbyterian*. London, 1645."

† June 5, 1645, Palmer reported from a committee of conference with a sub-committee of the Commons, in which the latter expressed the desire that the Assembly would consider of a catalogue of sins to be added to the rules of exclusion from the Sacrament. This catalogue was debated by the three committees, the Assembly, and a special committee (Marshall chairman) for several days, and finally sent up, June 13th. August 6th a committee was appointed to consider what is fit to be done by the Assembly to discharge their duties and conscience on the business of the sacrament, for the preserving of it pure, occasioned by the statement that the ordinance is drawing up only for seven sins. They reported, and August 8th a petition was sent up to Parliament, who appointed a sub-committee to receive the advice of the Assembly. August 11th the Assembly appointed a large committee to confer with them.

(Appendix to the Confession of Faith, London, 1658.) Subsequent action on this subject was as follows: August 15th Mr. Rous brought in the business of ordination, resolved upon by the Houses, asking the naming of twenty-three ministers to be the ordainers. September 16th the matter of ordination came from the Houses perfected, and nothing wanting but the nomination of twenty-three divines in London to put it in practice, which was referred to a committee (Dr. Burgess chairman), who reported September 18th, naming ten divines from the Assembly and twenty-three from the city. October 2d the ordinance was adopted and printed: "*An ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament after advice with the Assembly of Divines for the ordination of ministers pro tempore,*" October 2, 1644. August 19, 1645, Parliament ordered to be printed: "*Directions of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after advice had with the Assembly of Divines, for the electing and choosing of Ruling Elders in all the Congregations and in the Classical Assemblies for the cities of London and Westminster, and the several counties of the Kingdom, for the speedy settling of the Presbyterian Government.*" This ordinance divided the Province of London into twelve classical elderships, composed of from eight to sixteen churches in each. The congregational Assemblies were to meet every week, the classical Assemblies every month; the Provincial Assembly was to be composed of at least two ministers and four ruling elders out of every classis. The National Assembly was to be composed of two ministers and four ruling elders from each Provincial Assembly, and to meet when summoned by Parliament. The question of suspension from the sacrament now became an important one to the Assembly, for on October 20th there was issued: "*An ordinance of the Lords and Commons, . . . together with rules and directions concerning suspension from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in cases of ignorance and scandall: Also the names of such ministers and others that are appointed Triers and Judges of the ability of Elders in the twelve Classes within the Province of London.*" These rules were not satisfactory to the Assembly, as Mr. Marshall said on the 23d: "It is too short in some things, that, according to my present light, we shall not be able to proceed in our ministry with a good

conscience. If you do intend to petition the Honorable Houses to consider further this business, we can never do it more seasonably than now." A committee was appointed (Mr. Marshall chairman), who reported the same day, and the subject was debated for several days. On the 30th an order from the Commons was received for a further enumeration of scandalous sins, and a committee of fourteen were appointed, and the debate continued for some time.

An additional ordinance was passed by the Lords and Commons, and ordered to be printed November 10, 1645, "*For giving power to all the classical Presbyteries within their respective bounds to examine, approve, and ordain ministers for severall congregations.*" March 14, 1645[6], an ordinance of the Lords and Commons was issued, "*For keeping of scandalous persons from the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the enabling of congregations for the choice of elders, and supplying of defects in former ordinances and directions of Parliament concerning Church Government.*"

It was herein ordained :

"that there be forthwith a choice made of elders throughout the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales; . . . that the classical Assemblies in each Province shall assemble themselves within one month after they shall be constituted and this ordinance published ; . . . that out of every congregational eldership there shall be two elders or more, not exceeding the number of four, and one minister, sent to every classis.

This was not satisfactory to the Assembly, and on the 20th Mr. Marshall moved, "that since there were some things in that ordinance which did lie very heavy upon his conscience and the consciences of many of his brethren, that the Assembly would consider what is fit to be done in the business." *

After debate a committee (Mr. Marshall chairman) was appointed to draw up a petition, which was adopted and sent up to Parliament. This was the occasion of sore trouble to the Assembly, for April 30th a committee of the House of Commons, headed by Sir John Evelyn, came to the Assembly to inform them that they had broken the privileges of Parliament in the late petition, and delivered to the Assembly nine

* See also Baillie, ii. 361 and 362 ; and Masson's Life of Milton, Vol. III. p. 406 f. The difficulty was chiefly on the question of exclusion from the sacrament of improper persons.

questions respecting the *Jus Divinum* (Minutes, p. 225), which they required to be answered. The Assembly at once entered on the consideration of these by the three committees, and continued at work upon them until July 22d,* when they were ordered by the Commons to lay aside other business and apply themselves to the Confession of Faith and Catechism (Minutes, p. 558; Masson, iii. p. 426). The question was resumed after the conclusion of the confession and catechism, but never finished by the Assembly. The answer then had been made in the *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, . . . by sundry ministers of Christ within the City of London; London, 1646. A further ordinance of Parliament was issued January 29, 1647[8], "*For the speedy dividing and settling the severall counties of this kingdom into distinct classical Presbyteries and congregational elderships*"; and on the 29th of August, 1648, "*The form of Church Government to be used in the Church of England and Ireland: agreed upon by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after advice had with the Assembly of Divines.*"

In this ordinance it was ordered:

"that there be forthwith a choice made of elders throughout the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales. . . . There shall be out of every congregational eldership two elders or more, not exceeding the number of four, and one minister, sent to every classis. . . . That the number of the members sent from every classis shall be so proportioned as that the Provincial Assembly may be more in number than any classical Presbyterie, and to that end there shall be at the least two ministers and foure ruling elders out of every classis. . . . The National Assembly shall be constituted of members chosen by, and sent from, the severall Provincial Assemblies aforesaid; the number of the members from each Province to the National Assembly shall be two ministers, foure ruling elders, and five learned and godly persons from each Universitie.† That the National Assembly shall meete when they shall be summoned by Parliament, to sit and continue as the Parliament shall order, and not otherwise."

The Provincial Assembly of London had already met, in accordance with the previous ordinance, holding their first meeting May 3, 1647, in St. Paul's Church, Dr. Gouge, being modera-

* May 19th an order of the Commons was received for a further enumeration of scandalous offences for suspension from the Lord's supper, and a committee was appointed (Marshall chairman), who reported, and after debate the former vote was reaffirmed and sundry additional offences named, and the whole sent up May 22d. This tended to remove the difficulty between the Assembly and Parliament.

† It will be noticed that the Westminster plan was for synodical representation in the National Assembly, a plan which is now in some quarters so strenuously opposed as unpresbyterian.

tor. The Provincial Assembly of Lancaster held its first meeting August, 1648, James Hyett being moderator. (See *Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity*. By Robert Halley. Second edition. London: 1872.) These were the only Provincial Assemblies, so far as we know, that were organized in accordance with the ordinance, although the other counties were taking the preliminary steps.

The third great work of the Assembly was the preparation of the

DIRECTORY FOR WORSHIP.

Friday, May 24, 1644, the committee appointed for the purpose reported concerning the Lord's Day, Prayer and Preaching, and the debate on the Directory for Worship began. Gillespie's minutes fail us here, giving nothing from May 14th until September 4th. Lightfoot is frequently absent at his charge at Munden. But the Williams Library Minutes fill up the gap with important information. Thus Lightfoot was absent May 24th to June 3d, during the discussion of the Sabbath and Prayer (Williams Library Minutes, fol. 84a-89a), and again, June 24th-28th, during part of the discussion on the Communicants sitting at the table, and also the week beginning July 15th, during part of the debate on Baptism (Williams Library Minutes, fol. 130a-136a), and so on. Oct. 25th an order was received from the Commons calling for the Directory, and on November 12th it was finished and ordered to be sent up; but there was a delay about the Preface, so that it was sent for again on the 18th, and also on the 20th, when "the whole Preface and Directory were ordered up to-morrow" by a committee (Dr. Burgess chairman), which was done (Lightfoot, p. 335). December 2d an order was received for hastening the Directory for Marriage and Burial, "for that the house intends to lay by the Book of Common Prayer, and cannot do it until these be finished" (Lightfoot, p. 337). These, with the Directory for Public Thanksgiving and Singing of Psalms, were finished and sent up December 27th; and on January 3d the Directory passed the Commons, and was ordered to be printed March 13, 1644[5], under the title: "*A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the three Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, together with an ordinance of Parlia-*

*ment for the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and for establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales.”**

The fourth undertaking of the Westminster Assembly was the composition of the

CONFESSION OF FAITH.

August 20, 1644, Herbert Palmer reported from the grand committee, desiring that the Assembly appoint a committee to join with the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland to draw up a Confession of Faith. Nine were named: Dr. Gouge, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Arrowsmith, Dr. Temple, Mr. Burroughs, Dr. Burgess, Mr. Vines, Mr. Goodwin, and Dr. Hoyle (Lightfoot, p. 305; Williams Library Minutes, Vol. II., Session 269). September 4th Dr. Temple, chairman of the committee, desired that they might be augmented, which was done (Lightfoot, p. 308); and Mr. Palmer, Mr. Newcommen, Mr. Herle, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Tuckney, Dr. Smith, Mr. Young, Mr. Ley, and Mr. Sedgewick were added.

May 12th the report of the committee on the Confession of Faith was read and debated, and it was resolved that the first draft of the confession shall be drawn by a committee of a few. The minutes here give two parallel lists:

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| (1.) DR. GOUGE, | (2.) MR. GATAKER, |
| MR. REYNOLDS, | MR. HARRIS, |
| MR. VINES, | DR. TEMPLE, |
| MR. TUCKNEY, | MR. BURGESS, |
| DR. HOYLE, | MR. REYNOLDS, |
| MR. HERLE, | DR. HOYLE, |
| MR. GATAKER, | MR. HERLE. |

* August 23, 1645, a further ordinance was printed, "*For the more effectual putting in execution the Directory for Public Worship in all parish churches and chappels within the Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales.*" It ordained: "that if any person or persons whatsoever shall at any time or times hereafter use or cause the aforesaid Booke of Common Prayer to be used in any church, chappel, or publique place of worship, or in any private place of family worship, . . . every such person . . . shall for the first offence forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds, . . . for the second offence the sum of ten pounds, and for the third offence shall suffer one whole year imprisonment without baile or mainprize. And it is further hereby ordained . . . that the severall and respective ministers of all parishes, churches, and chappels . . . shall respectively from time to time, and at all times hereafter, . . . pursue and observe the Directory for Publique Worship established by ordinance of Parliament, according to the true intent and meaning thereof."

The first list is enclosed in brackets. It is also stated: "Ordered Mr. Tuckney and Mr. Vines be exchanged for Dr. Temple and Mr. Burgess, Mr. Harris be for Mr. Palmer," and "the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland are desired to be assisting to this committee." As Dr. Temple made report on July 7th, we infer that the second is the true list. These names in both lists were taken from the original committee, with the exception of Mr. Harris (see also Mitchell's Westminster Standards, in Johnson's Cyclopædia, iv., 1369).

July 7th, 1645, Dr. Temple made report "of that part of the Confession of Faith touching the Scriptures," and the debate began. July 8th Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Herle, and Mr. Newcomen,* also of the original committee, were desired

"to take care of the wording of the Confession of Faith, as it is voted in the Assembly from time to time, and to report to the Assembly when they think fit there should be any alteration in the words. They are first to consult with the Commissioners from the Church of Scotland before they report to the Assembly."

July 11th it was ordered to divide the body of the Confession of Faith to the three committees.

The committee for the confession met on the 14th, and on the 16th reported some heads, which were then distributed to the committee. To the first committee: God and the Holy Trinity, God's Decrees, Predestination, Election, etc., the Works of Creation and Providence, Man's Fall. To the second committee: Sin and the Punishment thereof, Free Will, the Covenant of Grace, Christ our Mediator. To the third committee: Effectual Vocation, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification. These committees reported, as they prepared their material, and their reports were fully discussed, amended, sometimes recommitted, until all had been gone over and adopted. If now we compare these heads with the heads of the Irish Articles and the Confession as subsequently adopted, we cannot but be satisfied that Prof. Mitchell is correct in stating: "In these Articles, as it humbly appears to me, we have the main source of our Confession of Faith, and almost its exact prototype in the statement of all the more important and essential doctrines

* Mr. Arrowsmith was added to this committee June 15 1646, and Mr. Cawdrey September 1, 1646.

of Christianity" (Minutes, p. xlvii.; see also his lecture on the Westminster Confession, Edin., 1866).

IRISH ARTICLES.	HEADS OF THE COMMITTEE.	WESTMINSTER CONFESSION.
I. Of the Holy Scripture and the Three Creeds.	The Scriptures.	I. Of the Holy Scripture.
II. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.	God and the Holy Trinity.	II. Of God and of the Holy Trinity.
III. Of God's Eternal Decree and Predestination.	God's Decrees, Predestination, Election, etc.	III. Of God's Eternal Decree.
IV. Of the Creation and Government of all things.	The Works of Creation and Providence.	IV. Of Creation. V. Of Providence.
V. Of the Fall of Man, Original Sin, and the State of Man before Justification.	Man's Fall, Sin, and the Punishment thereof, Free Will.	VI. Of the Fall of Man, of Sin, and of the Punishment thereof.—IX. Of Free Will.
VI. Of Christ the Mediator of the Second Covenant.	The Covenant of Grace. Christ our Mediator.	VII. Of God's Covenant with Man.—VIII. Of Christ the Mediator.
VII. Of the Communicating of the Grace of Christ.	Effectual Vocation.	X. Of Effectual Calling.
VIII. Of Justification and Faith.	Justification, Adoption.	XI. Of Justification. — XII. Of Adoption.
IX. Of Sanctification and Good Works.	Sanctification.	XIII. Of Sanctification.

The heads of the committee as at first assigned show a transition from the Irish Articles to the Assembly's Confession. The remaining heads were subsequently distributed and might be compared, but the above are sufficient for our purpose. June 15, 1646, the committee for perfecting the confession reported, and the Assembly went over carefully and finally ten chapters by the 30th. July 22d an order was received from the Commons for hastening the perfecting of the Confession of Faith and Catechism. Accordingly they went on steadily until September 18th, when another order for haste was received from the Commons. On the 21st Dr. Burgess made report of the confession, "transcribed, so much of it as the Assembly had perfected." It was then decided to call the heads chapters and distinguish the sections by figures. On the 24th Dr. Burgess was ordered to prepare a title. This he reported the next day, and also chapters 15–19, and it was resolved to send them up by a committee (Dr. Burgess chairman). On

November 26th the confession was finished, and by "order of the Assembly the prolocutor gave thanks, in the name of the Assembly, to the committee that had taken so great pains in the perfecting of the Confession of Faith;" and it was ordered that "the whole Confession of Faith shall be transcribed and read in the Assembly, and sent up to both Houses of Parliament." However, the Preface and several Articles were debated and modified until December 4th, when "thanks were given to the assessor, Dr. Burgess, for his great pains in transcribing the Confession of Faith," by the prolocutor; and it was resolved to present it to both Houses of Parliament by the whole Assembly. This was done on the same day to the Commons, and on the 7th to the Lords. (Mitchell, p. 308.) Six hundred copies were at once struck off for the use of both Houses and the Assembly, under the title: "*The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament.*" It is signed by Charles Herle, prolocutor, Cornelius Burgess and Herbert Palmer, assessors, and Henry Roborough and Adoniram Byfield, scribes, and is without Scripture proofs, having thirty-three chapters on fifty-four pages. On January 6, 1646[7], Mr. Wilson, Mr. Byfield, and Mr. Gower were appointed a committee to prepare Scriptures for the Confession of Faith. Debate upon them began on the 7th and continued until April 5th (the fourth section of chap. xx. giving them the most trouble), when they were finished. It was, however, reviewed by the three committees, and not finally completed unto the 26th, when a large committee (Dr. Smith chairman) were appointed to carry them up to both Houses (Mitchell, p. 354). Six hundred copies were ordered to be printed for the use of the Houses and the Assembly, under the title: "*The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith; with the Quotations and Texts of Scripture Annexed.* London, 1647." The texts are in the margin; there are thirty-three chapters on fifty-six pages. It is signed by the same persons as the first edition without Scriptures. They were not finally adopted by Parliament until June 20, 1648.

Chapters xxx. and xxxi., on Church Censures, and Synods and Councils, were stricken out; and the two closing Articles were numbered chap. xxx., Of the State of Man After Death and Resurrection of the Dead; and chap. xxxi. The Last Judgment.*

They were then printed under the title: "*Articles of Christian Religion approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament after Advice had with the Assembly of Divines by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster.* London, June 27, 1648."

The last and greatest work of the Assembly was upon the

CATECHISMS.

We have not been able to discover the first appointment of a committee on this subject; but on February 7, 1644[5], it was ordered "that Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Delny be added to the committee for the catechism," and May 12th, "that the committee for the catechism do meet this afternoon." On the 13th the committee reported, and there was a long debate, in the course of which Gillespie said (Mitchell, p. 92): "I like well the form offered to you, the capital questions by themselves, and particular questions by aye and no, both put together in the body of the catechism. . . . When we were lately in Scotland, in conference, we had occasion to speak of this way, and showed them the example of it, and they all liked it very well." Mr. Herle said: "I would have aye and no to be expressed, but not distinct. It should be the first word of the answer." Mr. Palmer said: "If I had not a peculiar interest in this I should have spoken more." This peculiar interest of Herbert Palmer was in his being chairman of the committee, and that it was his catechism that was under discussion as a basis. There is a copy of it in the McAlpin collection of Union Theological Seminary, entitled: "*An Endeavor of making the Principles of Christian Religion, namely, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments, plaine and easie.* By Herbert Palmer. Sixth

* Besides these changes, chap. xxiv., Of Marriage and Divorce, was made to close with section 4—"as these persons may live together as man and wife." The rest of the section and sections 5 and 6 are entirely omitted.

impression. London, 1645." From this we quote a few specimens, to show that it was really under debate at this time :

1. <i>What is a man's greatest business in this world?</i>		<i>A. A man's greatest business in this world is to glorify God, and save his owne soul. 1 Cor. vi. 20; 1 Cor. x. 31; Matt. xvi. 26.</i>
Is it to follow the world, and live as he list?	No.	
Or, is it to glorify God, and save his owne soule?	Yes.	
2. <i>How shall a man come to glorify God and save his own soul?</i>		<i>A. They that will glorify God, and save their owne soules, must needs learn to know God, and believe in him, and serve him. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; 2 Thes. i. 7, 8; Rom. iv. 20; Heb. x. 39; Deut. x. 12; Rom. vi. 22.</i>
Can they do so that are ignorant?	No.	
Or, They that do not believe in God?	No.	
Or, Doe not serve him?	No.	
Or, Must they not needs learn to know God? and believe in him, and serve him?	Yes.	
Q. <i>Say the Articles of the Believe.</i>		<i>A. I believe in God, etc.</i>
3. <i>What is it to believe in God?</i>		<i>A. To believe in God is to be persuaded that there is a God, and to trust in him as my God at all times, according to his word. Heb. xi. 6; Ps. lxxviii. 22; Dan. vi. 23; Ps. lxii. 8; Ps. lvi. 4, 10, 11.</i>
Is it not first to be persuaded that there is a God?	Yes.	
And, Is that enough without trusting in him as my God?	No.	
Or, Is it enough to trust in him at some time only?	No.	
Or, To trust in him and not according to his Word?	No.	
Or, Is it to trust in him as my God, at all times, according to his Word?	Yes.	

That this catechism was under consideration at the time will appear further from a comparison of it with the subsequent debates.* On August 1, 1645, Mr. Palmer made report of the catechism, and it was debated, and on the 4th there was "a debate about the creed to be expressed." As we see above, the creed occurs after the second question. Then on the 5th there was a "debate about the catechism concerning God," the third question above. August 20th, there was another debate

* Prof. Mitchell (Minutes, p. lxxxvi) states: "The catechism which Baillie reports to have been drawn up and near agreed on in the end of 1644, was, of course, neither of the two ultimately adopted, but either that which had been almost completed, and to a considerable extent passed, in the Assembly (pp. 281, 282, etc.), before it was resolved to have two; or it may be that it was that catechism still preserved in ms. in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and ascribed to Samuel Rutherford." This statement is correct as to the first part, but the conjecture as to the catechism of Rutherford cannot be true, as we shall see in the course of our comparison, unless that really be a ms. copy of the catechism of Palmer or one based on it by the committee. The words of Gillespie quoted above look as if he might have taken Palmer's catechism with him to Scotland.

about the catechism, and it was resolved that "Mr. Palmer, Dr. Stanton, and Mr. Young draw up the whole draught of the catechism with all convenient speed and make report to this Assembly."* These were selected from the larger committee, which probably included Mr. Guibon and Mr. Caudrey as well as Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Delmy, above mentioned as added to the committee, as we should judge from the erasures and a comparison with a similar course with reference to the Confession of Faith, where a small committee was chosen from the larger one for the first draught.

September 14th, 1646, Mr. Palmer reported for the first, and there was again a "debate of reciting the creed. This left till the end of the catechism, the Assembly now only considering of the materials." The Assembly then for some time went over the catechism question by question. This debate we will compare with Herbert Palmer's catechism on the one side and the debate subsequently on the Larger Catechism on the other, that it may be shown how, through this double debate and work of committees, Herbert Palmer's catechism passed over into the Westminster catechisms. We have space only for the answers to the questions, emphasizing the changes.

PALMER'S CATECHISM.	MINUTES OF FIRST DEBATE ON THE CATECHISM.	MINUTES OF DEBATE ON THE LARGER CATECHISM.
4. God is a being, infinite in all perfection.	6. God is a <i>most glorious</i> being, infinite in all perfections.	7. God is a spirit, infinite in being and perfection.
5. There is but one God.	7. There is but one God.	8. There is but one only, <i>the living and true God.</i>
6. There are three Persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, yet still there is but one God.	8. There are three persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, <i>and these three</i> are but one God.	10. There be three persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one true, <i>eternal</i> God, equal in <i>substance, power, and glory.</i>
7. Jesus Christ is God.	9. The Son of God, who is the only begotten of the Father <i>from all eternity</i> , is true God, <i>equal with the Father.</i>	11. It is <i>proper to the Father to beget the Son</i> , and to the Son to be begotten of the Father, and to the Holy Ghost to proceed from the
8. Jesus Christ is God the Son, the only begotten of the Father.		

† July 23, 1646, Mr. Ward was added to the committee. December 1st, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Nye, Mr. Byfield, and the brethren that methodized the Confession of Faith; July 15, 1647, Mr. Burgess, Mr. Sedgwick, Mr. Bond, Mr. Bolton and Mr. Chambers; August 9th, Mr. Calamy and Mr. Gower; September 8th, Mr. Wilson.

PALMER'S CATECHISM.

9. The Holy Ghost is God, equal with the Father and the Son.

10. God hath his being only from himself.

11. God is a spirit, and hath no body.

13. God is invisible.

14. God is not like a man or anything to be seen in the world.

12. God is everywhere and in all places.

15. God is almighty, and can do all things.

16. God is most wise, knowing all things, and doth all things most wisely.

17. God is most perfect, holy, and alloweth not any to sin.

18. God is always most just, and in all things; whether he punish or spare good or bad, punishing all sin either in the sinner or in Christ the surety.

19. God is most merciful, both in giving and forgiving beyond desert.

20. God's mercy only forgiveth those that repent of their sins, and believe in Christ.

21. God is eternal, from everlasting to everlasting, having no beginning nor end.

22. God is unchangeably the same forever, notwithstanding the changes he makes in all other things.

23. God is most true, and it is not possible for him to lie.

MINUTES OF FIRST DEBATE
ON THE CATECHISM.

10. The Holy Ghost, *who from all eternity proceeds from the Father and the Son*, is also *true* God, equal with the Father and the Son.

11. God is a spirit, invisible, without body, or *bodily parts*, not like a man or any other *creature*.

12. God is everywhere, and *fills both heaven and earth*, and yet is *not contained in any place*.

12. God is almighty, and can do all things: *nothing is too hard for him*.

14. God is most wise, knowing all things *past, present, and to come*, even *the secrets of all hearts*, and cannot be *deceived*.

15. God is most perfectly holy, and *neither causeth*, nor alloweth any to sin.

16. God is always most just, and in all things, punishing all sin, either in the sinner or in Christ the surety.

17. God is *infinitely good* and merciful, both in giving and forgiving *freely*.

18. God is eternal, from everlasting to everlasting, having no beginning or end.

19. God is *always* the same unchangeably, notwithstanding the changes in all other things.

20. God is most true *in all his words, particularly in his promises and threatenings*, and it is not possible for him to lie.

MINUTES OF DEBATE ON
THE LARGER CATECHISM.

Father and the Son from all eternity.

9. God is almighty, all-sufficient, eternal, unchangeable, everywhere present, knowing all things, most wise, most holy, most just, most merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth.

(This is a summary of 9-24 of Palmer, and 11-21 of first debate.)

PALMER'S CATECHISM.

24. God is in himself most blessed every way and forever.

25. I am sure there is a God, because neither of myself nor anything in the world could make me or preserve me, or order things that befall me without God.

35. Mankind is now naturally in a very miserable condition.

36. Man's misery is, that they are now all sinners, and subject to punishment for sin; and that is my condition as well as others.

37. Sin is any transgression of God's law, be it but in words or thoughts.

38. Mankind became miserable by sinning all with our first parents, Adam and Eve, in eating the forbidden fruit: and I sinned among them.

40. All mankind are altogether corrupted with sin, and that in every part, both of soul and body; and so am I.

41. All men are inclined to all sins, and untoward to any good; and I as much as any other by nature.

42. All children that are conceived a naturall way, are conceived and borne in sin; and so was I too.

MINUTES OF FIRST DEBATE
ON THE CATECHISM.

21. God is in himself most blessed every way, and forever, *neither can any creature add to his happiness or take anything from it.*

22. I am sure there is a God, because the *things that are in the world* could neither have their being nor their preservation, nor be ordered as they are without God.

29. Man is now naturally in a very miserable condition, by reason of sin and punishment for sin.

30. Sin is the transgression of God's law.

31. By the first man's eating the forbidden fruit all mankind became *sinful; being all conceived and born in sin.*

32. All men *have lost the image of God*, and are by *nature* wholly corrupted with sin, both in soul and body being inclined to all evil, and *enemies* to all good.

MINUTES OF DEBATE ON
THE LARGER CATECHISM.

25. Sin is *any want of conformity unto*, and transgression of, the law of God, *given as a rule to the reasonable creature.*

26. The sinfulness of that state whereunto man fell, consisteth in the *guilt of Adam's first sin*, the want of that original righteousness wherein he was created, and the corruption of his nature, whereby he is utterly *indisposed, disabled, and made opposite unto all that is spiritually good*, and *wholly inclined to all evil*, and *that continually; which is commonly called original sin*, and *from which do proceed all actual transgressions.*

27. Original sin is *conveyed from our first parents unto their posterity by natural generation*, so as all that proceed from them in that way are conceived and born in sin.

This last question brings us to an important discussion on September 24, 1646 (we quote from the minutes): "The Assembly proceeded in debate of the catechism. The next question

and answer, viz.: *Q.* Are children also thus guilty of sin and corrupted with it? *A.* All children conceived in a natural way are conceived and born in sin, and so was I too, was waived." The next question and answer in Palmer is: "43. *Q.* You say all mankind are altogether corrupted: how then came any to be of a better mind or behaviour than others? *A.* God's grace is onely that that makes one man better than another." The minutes, p. 289, record: "Resolved upon: this question and answer, viz.: *Q.* If all mankind be thus corrupted, how comes any one to be better than another? *A.* It is God's grace onely that makes one man better than another, restraining all and sanctifying some, shall be waived in this place."

They did not get beyond question 35 on that day, but devoted themselves to the confession until November 27th, when they again took up the catechism, and debated as far as the fifty-eighth question of Palmer, when the other questions concerning the death of Christ were referred to the committee, "that something might be added concerning the active obedience of Christ and His suffering in soul." On the 30th they began with the seventy-fourth question of Palmer, which was passed in almost identical terms. On December 2d they debated the forty-eighth to the fiftieth questions of Palmer, on the 7th the seventy-second and third. On December 2d they came to the second part of Palmer's Catechism on the Commandments, and began with his opening question: "How do they live here, who partake of Christ and all his benefits?" which they put thus: "How are they bound to lead their lives, who do believe in Christ?" after which they took up the commandments in their order until January 4, 1646, when they came to the fourth. Here they again left off to attend to the Confession of Faith. January 14, 1646, on motion of Mr. Vines, it was ordered "that the committee for the catechism do prepare a draught of two catechisms, one more large and another more brief, in which they are to have an eye to the Confession of Faith, and to the matter of the catechism already begun." On Thursday, April 15, 1647, the Assembly began the debate on the Larger Catechism, and went on regularly until June 23, when the commandments were referred to eleven committees, and it was ordered "that report be brought in to-morrow sevensnight to the committee of whom Mr. Tuckney is in the chair." Mr. Tuckney from

this time forth seems to be the moving spirit in making report about the Larger Catechism, especially the commandments.

September 10, 1647, the last questions of the Larger Catechism were reported, and the Assembly then went to work, reviewing the whole, Mr. Tuckney reporting until it was completed October 15th, and ordered to be sent to both Houses. A minute was made on motion of Mr. Rutherford that :

"the Assembly hath enjoyed the assistance of the honorable, reverend and learned Commissioners from the Church of Scotland, in the work of the Assembly. During all the time of the debating and perfecting of the four things mentioned in the covenant, viz., the Directory for Worship, the Confession of Faith, Form of Government, and Catechism, some of the reverend and learned divines, Commissioners from the Church of Scotland, have been present in and assisting to the Assembly."

On the 22d the Larger Catechism was ordered to be sent up by the prolocutor, attended with the whole Assembly. Six hundred copies were ordered to be printed, under the title : *"The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Larger Catechism. London, 1647."*

The Assembly now went to work upon the Shorter Catechism. Already, August 5, 1647, they had resolved : "The Shorter Catechism shall be gone in hand with presently by a committee now to be chosen. Ordered : Mr. Prolocutor, Mr. Palmer, Dr. Temple, Mr. Lightfoot, Mr. Green, Mr. Delmy, shall be this committee, and Mr. Palmer to take care of it." August 9th Mr. Palmer made a preliminary report, and this is the last we hear of his presence in the Assembly. He was taken sick and died before the close of the year. October 13th, the Assembly sent for the papers that were in his charge, and November 2d a motion was made to appoint an assessor in his place. Dr. Temple made a second preliminary report on the 10th. Having finished the Larger Catechism, it was ordered, October 19, 1647, that Mr. Tuckney, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Ward prepare the Short Catechism." Mr. Tuckney began to report on the 21st, and proceeded rapidly with it. On the 8th of November it was resolved to add the Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and Creed to it. On the 9th Mr. Burgess and Mr. Caudry were added to the committee for the review of the catechism, Mr. Wallis to attend it"—that is, as chairman of the committee for the review. Mr. Tuckney made his final report November 16, 1647, and it was ordered to be sent up to both

Houses. After some minor additions and the preparation of the Preface, it was carried up by the prolocutor on the 25th. It was ordered to be printed under the title : "*The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster, concerning a Shorter Catechism.* London, 1647." November 26th, in accordance with the directions of Parliament, a committee was appointed, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Gower, Mr. Byfield, Mr. Strickland, Mr. Hickes, Mr. Rayner, to prepare the Scriptures for both catechisms. The debate began on the 30th, and continued until December 23d, when Mr. Prophet, Mr. Tuckney, Mr. Burges, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash, Mr. Thorowgood, were appointed to review the Scriptures for the catechism, Mr. Prophet chairman. Mr. Whitaker was added January 19, 1647(8), and Mr. Sedgewicke, Mr. Caudrey, Mr. Scudder, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Strong, Mr. Rayner, Mr. Lightfoot, and Mr. Green on February 9th. On the 10th the three committees were ordered to meet and prepare the Scriptures. March 13th Dr. Stanton and Mr. Caudrey were added to the committee. April 12th the Scriptures were completed, and ordered to be taken up by the prolocutor with the Assembly. Six hundred copies were ordered to be printed. The titles are : "*The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Larger Catechism presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament, with the proofs thereof out of the Scriptures.* London, 1648," and as finally adopted, "*The Ground and Principles of Religion contained in a Shorter Catechism (according to the Advice of the Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster), to be used throughout the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales*" (Mitchell, p. 513).

There was nothing more to be done by the Assembly but to answer the nine queries. For this they had little heart, as they could expect nothing but opposition from Parliament in this particular, and indeed the work had already been done for them by their brethren, the London ministers. They felt more at home in the freer atmosphere of the Provincial Assembly of London, at Sion College, to which many of them belonged ; so that the Assembly gradually melted away, the Provincial Assembly taking up its work in preparing those invaluable Presbyterian documents : "*A Vindication of the Presbyterian*

Government, 1649," and the "*Jus divinum ministerii evangelici, or the divine right of the Gospel Ministry*, 1653," and so on.

Looking at the Westminster Assembly as a whole, it is safe to say that there never was a body of divines who labored more conscientiously, carefully, and faithfully, produced more important documents, or a richer theological literature, than that remarkably learned, able, and pious body, who sat for so many trying years in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey.

C. A. BRIGGS.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

EXEGETICAL NOTES.

PSALM xciii. 3.*

נָשְׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת יְהוָה
נָשְׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת קוֹלָם
יִשְׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת דְּבָרֵם :
מִקְוֵלוֹת מַיִם רַבִּים
אֲדִירִים מִשְׁבְּרֵי יָם *
אֲדִיר בְּמָרוֹם יְהוָה :

Have lifted up the floods, O Lord,
Have lifted up the floods their voice,
Are ever lifting up the floods their dashing waves
Above the voices of the waters many,
The glorious breaking billows of the sea :
Glorious in the high place is Jehovah.

A most noble climax, imitating, in its risings and repetitions, the swellings of the sea itself. The principal beauty of the diction consists in the use of the Hebrew preposition *מִן*, signifying, when thus employed, "above," or, "beyond" (like the Greek *παρα* in certain cases), and being more expressive than any direct form of the comparative or superlative as made in other languages. There seems in a rising swell a continual heave, billow rolling over billow, until we come to the last, or the superlative, when the mind is carried up at once to a height far above all earthly grandeur—

Glorious in the high place is Jehovah.

The floods lift up their voice.

How bold the personification ! Compare Habakkuk iii. 10.

נָתַן יְהוָה קוֹלוֹ
רִם יְרֵיהוּ נִשְׂא

The deep uttered his voice,
The Height lifted up his hand,

as the last clause should be rendered, instead of, "lifted up his hands on high," *רִם* being the subject of *נִשְׂא* and not an adverb of place.

* These notes on passages from the Psalms have been obtained from the manuscripts of the late Prof. Tayler Lewis, LL.D., L.H.D., from which we shall hope occasionally to secure selections.—*Ends.*

Such personifications could not be allowed to modern poets. They require the vivid Oriental imagination, and that, too, under the influence of inspiration, to make them acceptable. In modern poetry they would be regarded as forced and unnatural; as used in the Scriptures they have a most sublime effect. The LXX, by rendering the particle מִן by *ἀπό* have destroyed the climax, and greatly marred the sense. No metrical translation has so caught the spirit of the original as the quaint old Scotch version :

The floods, O Lord, have lifted up,
Have lifted up their voice ;
The floods have lifted up their waves,
And made a mighty noise—
But still the Lord, who dwells on high,
More glorious is far
Than voice of waters vast and wild,
Than raging billows are.

PSALM v. 4.

יְהוָה בִּקְרָתְשָׁמַע כּוֹלִי
בִּקְרָאֲעֲרֹךְ לִי וְאַצְפָּה

"My voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O Lord; in the morning will I direct my prayer unto Thee, and will look up."

Some would regard בִּקְרָתְשָׁמַע here as used adverbially, as it is in some places (or rather לְבִקְרָתְשָׁמַע) to denote earnestness, diligence, intensity, readiness. But the more literal and particular sense is favored by the context. It is the matin prayer—*mane*—*πρωῆ*.

There is some question as to the proper object of אֲעֲרֹךְ. The LXX have taken it reflexively, τὸ πρῶτον παραστήσομαι σοι, "in the morning will I present myself before thee." The object may be מִלִּי words, understood—as it is expressed Job xxxii. 14, עָרַף עָלַי מִלִּי, "array words against me." In this sense it would refer to the liturgical preparation, or to the arrangement of the music, perhaps, which accompanied the Psalmist's devotions. It may intend the preparation of the heart, or it may denote simply the time, having בִּקְרָתְשָׁמַע for its direct object; the morning will I devote to Thee—arrange, set apart, as a peculiar season of devotion.

וְאַצְפָּה "And I will watch." *Look up* is a beautiful rendering, but does not convey the whole idea. I will look out for an answer to my prayer, and not be content with it merely as a duty performed, or as a mere sentimental subjective performance, which is all that some would regard prayer to be. LXX, ἐπόψομαι—I will look out; Vulgate, *videbo*. This suggests the image of one standing on a watch-tower (compare מִצְפָּה watchman, Isaiah xxi. 6: "Watchman, what of the night?") and looking out to see what is coming.

There is a very beautiful allusion to the passage in one of the hymns of the old Syriac worship: "The prayer that ascends in the morning, the watchers (Heb. שֹׁמְרֵים) on high are listening, and rejoicing in the sound."—*Off. Feriale Eccl. Syrorum*, page 347.7. Compare Psalm cxxx. 6.

נַפְשִׁי לַאֲדֹנָי מִשְׁמֹרִים לְבֹקֶר שֹׁמְרֵים לְבֹקֶר "My soul to the Lord, more than the watchers for the morning—the watchers for the morning;" also Psalm cxxiii. 1: "Unto thee do I lift up mine eyes, O thou who dwellest in the heavens:" "Ad TE levavi oculos meos qui habitas in coelis."

PSALM xii. 3.

בְּלֵב וּלֵב יְדַבֵּר

"With a double heart they speak"—literally, with a heart and a heart. This is rather more expressive than "double heart" (duplicity), as it denotes two hearts, a manifested and a concealed one. The contrary of this is found in 1 Chron. xii. 38, בְּלֵב יָבִל לֵב רָא without duplicity, that is, with a single or sincere heart. From this idea of two hearts comes the word *διψυχοι* found James i. 8, and iv. 8. It is a Hebraism, that is, a Greek word built on a Hebrew or Oriental conception, and not found, or but rarely, in classical Greek. From the same source have come our modern phrases, duplicity, double-minded, double-mindedness.

We find a similar idiom in the Arabic, Surat xi. 5: "Ah! do they not double (make two) their hearts?"—that is, "speak with a heart and a heart," as the Psalmist says.

PSALM XC. 3.

שׁוּבוּ בְנֵי אָדָם

"Return, ye children of men."

Some of the versions interpret this of the return to a new existence in the resurrection, or the great renovation period, which was a very ancient doctrine of the Oriental world. See especially Luther's German version, and our English Psalter version. The view would receive some support, as an ancient one, from the frequent expressions in the Koran about the "return," etc., and which evidently denote opinions of an ancient date. See Surat x. 4: "To Him is the return of you all, according to God's promise (or his sure decree), for he it is who manifested (or created) at first, and he, the same, causes the return." Other and similar passages are found in the Koran.

T. L.

GALATIANS III. 20.

THE number of varying interpretations which have been offered of this passage might well deter one from presenting another. By evincing the fact that its meaning has not been settled, however, it rather acts as an incitement. We do not hope to settle it now ; but we wish to contribute our mite.

The meaning of the words themselves is simple. That they express primarily the simple thought, "But a mediator is not [in the nature of the case, a mediator] of one [person or party], but God is one," most men have quickly seen and frankly expressed. That the *εἷς* must be taken in the same numerical sense as the *ἐνός* seems also plain. But, having got this translation, what does it mean ? The following explanation of the contextual flow of argumentation will supply, it is thought, a natural and—may it be hoped ?—probably the true account of the matter.

The apostle is arguing that the introduction of the law did not set aside the promise to Abraham. He states that the transaction with Abraham was of the nature of a covenant (v. 17). Now, when men once make a covenant, that covenant is fixed and not liable to alteration or destruction save on consent of both parties (v. 15). The covenant of the promises was made so long ago as Abraham's day (v. 16), and, as it is incidentally stated, with two parties of the second part, Abraham himself, and his seed, who is explained to be Christ. It follows, then, that since made with Abraham at that time, it was not liable to be summarily set aside (by the introduction of a law) by God alone four hundred and fifty years after, in the absence of both the parties of the second part, Abraham being dead and his seed not yet come. That a legal method of salvation would make void the promise is evident (v. 17). For, if the inheritance was given to Abraham by promise, as it certainly was, then, to make it to be of law by a new enactment would be to set aside the promise (v. 18).

But, if the law did not set aside the promise, and if the *κληρονομία* was never meant to be by law—why, it may well be asked, was the law given at all ? Verse 19 answers this question. The children of Abraham, provided for in the covenant, had ever since its institution been breaking their covenant engagement—by sinning. Yet, as the covenant could not be disannulled until the coming of the *σπερμά*, who was one of its original parties, God could not cast off those children of Abraham. Therefore, on account of these transgressions,—to bring out and make evident their true character as transgressions,—the law was added—a document temporarily (*ἄχρις*) put forth by one of the parties to declare what was infringement of the covenant engagements, and therefore to stand as witness or norm of action on the other side until the coming of the *σπερμά*. The temporariness of the document was a matter of course ; if the *σπερμα* on his coming fulfilled the terms of the covenant, this would be full satisfaction for all infringements, and the *protest* (as it were), necessarily disappeared. Now, the apostle adds that this law was given *ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου*. And, notice :—a mediator is not and cannot be a mediator of *one* party—there must be *two* concerned in it ; yet God is only *one* party. Therefore, in giving the law by the hand of a mediator God makes an express admission that there were two parties involved, and a consequently implied acknowledgment that a law published only by one of them—so long, there-

fore, as the seed had not come—*could not set aside* the promissory covenant. The conclusion is, that the law in the nature of the case and by the direct implication of the method chosen for its publication, could not do away with the promise. It was not an *ἐπιδιαθήκη*, therefore not inconsistent with v. 15; but a simple declaratory document set forth by one party as an exhibit of his covenant rights.

Looking back on the whole argument the apostle asks, v. 21, if the law could, then, be against the promises, and answers, *μη γένοιτο*. No law had ever been given, meant to set aside the promise and offer salvation on other conditions. The law included in the Scriptures was designed, rather, to shut up all under sin—to define and make plain what was a violation of the covenant—and thus to bring all to Christ, the *σπερμά* to come, to be according to promise justified through faith in Him. Thus, the law, so far from being *κατὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν* (v. 21), is seen to be rather *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν* (v. 24). And its service is over when the *σπερμά* has come (v. 25).

B. B. W.

ROMANS II. 22.—*Ἱεροσυλέω*.

COMMENTATORS have been divided into three marked classes in the explanation of this word. Following Chrysostom, Fritzsche, De Wette, Meyer, Tholuck, Philippi, Alford, Sanday, etc., understand it of robbing heathen temples, Pelagius, Pareus, Grotius, and among the moderns, Michaelis, Ewald, Reiche, Van Hengel, Hofmann, etc., understand it of robbing the Jewish Temple (by withholding tithes, etc.; Joseph. *Antt.* viii. 3, 6, sq.) On the other hand, taking a broader and higher view, Luther, Calvin, Bengel, Platt, Köllner, Umbreit, Cremer, Hodge, etc., understand it of any irreverence towards God, or profanation of His name—in a word, of “committing sacrilege.” Dr. Shedd is undecided between the second and third.

Meyer declares that the third view is an unjustifiable deviation from the literal sense which would never have been thought of if proper attention had been directed to the climax, “*theft, adultery, robbery of idols’ temples*.” It may well be asked, however, in what way the climax suffers on the rendering, “*theft, ADULTERY, SACRILEGE*.” Surely, with Paul, sacrilege was a surpassingly horrible transgression, while the robbery of idols’ temples was simple theft and that only. Surely, then, Cremer (2d Ed., p. 295) is right in calling the explanation *lame*, and referring rather to the progress from the commandments of the first table of the decalogue to those of the second. With the analogy of the substantive in Acts xix. 37 before us, where *Ἱεροσύλοι* are paralleled with those who blasphemed the goddess, we ought to have been kept straight as to the rendering of the verb here. The use of the abstract in 2 Macc. xiii. 6 (cf. verse 8), also seems broader than simple robbery of the temple, although the well-known robberies of Menelaus were doubtless meant to be included in the reference. Considerable light has been thrown on the meaning of this word lately by a passage in one of Mr. Wood’s Ephesian inscriptions (*Ins.* vi. 1, p. 14). There we find the words *ἄττω Ἱεροσυλίᾳ καὶ ἀσέβειᾳ*, although, unfortunately, the condition of the stone prevents us from reading what is thus to be accounted “as sacrilege and impiety.” Certainly we seem justified, however, in coming to this conclusion :

that if those who performed the action of the verb in Acts xix. 37 are paralleled with blasphemers, and the action itself in Mr. Wood's inscription is paralleled with ἀσέβεια, we cannot go wrong in translating the verb itself broadly "to commit sacrilege." Compare in confirmation, Cremer, *sub voce*, and the passages there quoted

B. B. W.

The General Synod of the Evangelical Church of Prussia assembled for the first time in the city of Berlin, on Thursday, Oct. 9, at 10 A.M., and was opened with an address by the President of the Supreme Consistory, Hermes. At last the tendencies to a Presbyterian form of government, which have been at work since the Reformation, have reached their culmination, and this first synod is a happy indication of the blessing that will result therefrom to entire Germany in the future. The Rationalistic element was in a feeble minority. Even the middle party, that has played such an important part for the last fifty years, were only respectable in numbers and names. The control was decidedly in the hands of positive, evangelical men. Count Arnim Boitzenburg was chosen President and Superintendent Rübesamen, Vice-President, and five Secretaries; six Committees were appointed, of twenty-one each, on Marriage, an Emeritus Fund, Choice of Pastors, Church Discipline, Petitions, and Finances. The chief business was of a practical character:

(1). It was resolved to take up a special collection every two years for city missions in Berlin. On the last day of the session a collection for this purpose was made in the synod, and 2,762 marks were raised on the spot. In our land the metropolis raises money for the country, but in Germany the metropolitan city is the most destitute of religious privileges of all Germany.

(2). The Sabbath question received much attention, resulting in several resolutions for the abolition of military general reviews on the Sabbath, the limitation of service on railroads, and so on.

(3). Intemperance was treated in a common-sense way, and it was resolved that drunkenness should not be regarded as lessening the guilt of a crime, that those intoxicated in public places should be punished, as well as keepers of restaurants and hotels who tolerate or sell to such persons, and that habitual drunkards should be shut up in asylums.

(4). Provision was made for worn-out ministers in the establishment of an Emeritus Fund.

(5). A resolution was passed, that the common schools should have a confessional character, and that the reading books should include the chief points in the history of the Evangelical Church, and that no restrictions should be put upon the use of Luther's smaller Catechism.

(6). The laws of marriage were discussed, and two forms of marriage were adopted to suit various circumstances and cases.

(7). The greatest difficulty was in the matter of discipline and exclusion from the sacrament. Cases arise in which the pastor and his elders do not agree in this difficult matter of discipline. It was resolved, that then the pastor's decision should stand until the appeal to the Presbytery should be decided, which must be made within fourteen days.

(8). A resolution was adopted that the Supreme Consistory should consult

with the Committee of the General Synod hereafter in the appointment of Professors of Theology, especially when there are objections in points of doctrine and confession.

After appointing a Standing Committee of seven and a Council of eighteen, selected as representing the eight Provincial Synods in proper proportions, with alternates, and by acclamation, they adjourned, Saturday, Nov. 1st, with prayer by the Vice-President.

May this remarkably harmonious gathering be an index of the future for evangelical Germany, and at no distant day may all the provinces of the German empire unite with those of Prussia in the constitution of one compact Presbyterian body, that will be celebrated for piety and evangelical faith as well as for scholarship and ability.

C. A. B.

The Congregational Colleges of England have, during the past year, agreed to combine in constituting a *Senatus Academicus* composed of "the Professors of the Associated Colleges, together with a delegation of three other gentlemen from each college, empowered to institute examinations in Theology, and to grant certificates to those who pass such examinations." They are to appoint not less than ten examiners from their own number, or otherwise, two each in the following departments: Theology and the History of Doctrine; Hebrew, Old Testament Introduction and Exegesis; New Testament Introduction and Exegesis; Ecclesiastical History and Patristic Literature; Philosophy. The examination is to be held annually in the month of March.

As a suitable accompaniment of this new movement, Principal Newth, of the New College, London, has published *The Calendar of the Congregational Colleges of England and Wales*, 1879, giving an interesting account of the history and working of each of the institutions represented. From this we gather that there are eight Congregational Colleges in England, including the Countess of Huntingdon's College at Cheshunt. The course of study in these is, two years for academic studies and three years for Theology. New College has ten professors and forty-three students; Western College, at Plymouth, three professors and eighteen students; Rotherham College, three professors and twenty-six students; Cheshunt, four professors and forty-three students; Airedale, three professors and twenty-four students; Hackney, three professors and nineteen students; Lancashire, three professors and fifty-three students; Spring Hill, Birmingham, three professors and twenty-six students; altogether, thirty-two professors and two hundred and fifty-two students in eight colleges. There are too many of these struggling institutions; the professors have too much ground to cover in their instructions. We trust that ere long the Congregational body will see their way to making some of these academies and others exclusively theological halls. It is a marvel that so much excellent work is accomplished under such disadvantages as these institutions suffer.

C. A. B.

May a Ruling Elder Moderate a General Assembly? This question was discussed in the Westminster Assembly May 14, 1644, under the report of a

committee containing the clause: "In these meetings, one, whose office is to labour in word and doctrine, is to moderate in the proceedings." Mr Coleman, the Erastian, argued against it, and contended that a priest was not always a moderator of the Sanhedrim. Thos. Goodwin and the Independents contended that "the ruling elder was fittest for moderation." After some debate the phrase was modified so as to read: "It is most expedient that in these meetings one, whose office is to labour in word and doctrine, is to moderate in the proceedings." Lightfoot says that "The sense of the Assembly was for the preaching Presbyter to be the moderator; but this temper was put in, for the Independents' urgency." (See Lightfoot's Journals, p. 264, and Gillespie's Minutes, p. 64). It is interesting to note that the First General Synod of Prussia has recently organized with an elder as moderator.

C. A. B.

The New Map of Palestine. The English Palestine Exploration Fund, which was organized in 1865, has completed its survey of Western Palestine, and will soon give us an instalment of the results. The memoirs which accompany the large map will occupy six, if not seven, volumes. A large-paper edition of the entire work, strictly limited to 250 copies, at twelve guineas a copy, was so quickly subscribed for in Great Britain, that only ten or a dozen American subscriptions got in. "No part of the Memoirs, none of the Drawings, and no sheets of the Map, will be issued to the general public until the whole work is in the hands of the subscribers to this large-paper edition, and the work will not be issued afterwards in a cheaper form." This large map will consist of twenty-six sheets, on the scale of an inch to the mile, and will be sold to subscribers for two guineas, the price to the general public being a great deal more.

The American Palestine Exploration Society, which was organized in 1870, has also completed its survey of Eastern Palestine. Its large map, in thirteen sheets, has been made over to the English Society, and will be sold to subscribers for one guinea. No price has been set upon the Memoirs, which have not yet been sent to London, Dr. Selah Merrill having only just completed them. The English large map of Western Palestine may be looked for, perhaps, in April, and the American large map of Eastern Palestine, perhaps, in May of the present year (1880).

The small map, including both Western and Eastern Palestine, will be the one that was promised to American subscribers. It can hardly be looked for till 1881. It will then be furnished, in sheets (6), to all that are entitled to it.

R.D.H.

IX.

REVIEWS OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

I.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE BIBLE-READER'S COMMENTARY. The New Testament in Two Volumes. The Text arranged in Sections; with Brief Readings and Complete Annotations, selected from the "Choice and Best Observations" of more than 300 Eminent Christian Thinkers of the Past and Present. Prepared by J. GLENWORTH BUTLER, D.D. New York, 1878-9. D. Appleton & Co.

The name of this Commentary was happily chosen, and indicates the class of readers who will find it most profitable; namely, those Christian people who desire either at family worship, or for devotional reading, the ripest thoughts of devout Christian men, to help them in their study and meditation on the Scriptures. At first, one objects to the plan as mere patchwork, but finds it in its practical execution so skillfully and tastefully done, that we would no more dispense with it than with those variously-colored and arranged comforters that many of us have inherited as the handiwork of the honored dames of the previous generation. The amount of labor required for such a task as this in the mere detail of arrangement, can hardly be overestimated, not to speak of the wealth of literature through which the author must have gone in making his selections. We would have preferred, ourselves, to have had more of the best thoughts of the older Puritans, especially the Westminster divines, and of the abler preachers of the Continent; but doubtless the author has chosen for the edification of the vast majority of his readers. This Commentary will be a real blessing in many a household. In our judgment it is preferable in many respects to those "morning and evening exercises" of various authors which have been so much used in the past. The Commentary is well illustrated, and provided with maps and indexes. We trust that the author may feel encouraged to undertake the Old Testament likewise. C. A. B.

NUMBERS. By Dr. J. P. LANGE. Translated and Enlarged by Drs. S. T. LOWRIE and A. GOSMAN. DEUTERONOMY, by Rev. F. W. J. SCHRODER. Translated and Enlarged by Dr. A. GOSMAN. 8vo. pp. 192, 272. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons.

This long-expected volume completes the series of Lange's Commentary as edited in English by the Rev. Dr. Schaff, a work greater in magnitude and importance than any of the same class that has been undertaken in Britain or America for at least a century. The portion before us, treating of the last two books of the Pentateuch, is wrought out with scholarly skill and care, and is, we suppose, the best critical commentary accessible to English readers. Like the other volumes, it brings the exposition up to the latest dates, and at least furnishes all the materials requisite for an intelligent judgment. Numbers was the work of Dr. Lange, the originator of the *Bibelwerk*, and bears the traces of his acute and well-furnished intellect. Deuteronomy, prepared by the late pastor Schroeder, of Elberfeld, is well worthy of the place it occupies. The translators appear to have done their work carefully

and successfully, and the additions they have made to the original add greatly to its value. Ample use has been made of the geographical and archæological investigations of later years, and in this way much is gained for the proper interpretation of the sacred narrative. Dr. Lowrie appears (p. 73) to concede the identification of Kadesh with *Ain Gadis*, as proposed by Wilson and Palmer, but it hardly seems to us that a stronger case is made for this spot than that which Dr. Robinson made for *Ain-el-Weibeh*.

As was to be expected, particular attention is given to the question of the Mosaic authorship of these portions of the Pentateuch. The subject is handled in the introduction to each book, but at the close of the volume there is a special treatise respecting Deuteronomy, making distinct reference to the writings of Kuenen, Kayser, Graf, Wellhausen, and Prof. W. Robertson Smith. This appendix is very valuable. *First*, it gives a candid and well-considered view of the present state of the question, emphasizing some points which are apt to be quietly ignored by the assailants of Moses. *Secondly*, it states the chief special objections made to the traditional view—such as the differences of style; anachronisms and discrepancies; the clauses relating to the king and to one central altar as opposed by the later history; the law of tithes as contradicted by the previous legislation; the confounding of priests with Levites in opposition to the sharp distinction between them elsewhere maintained, etc. These positions are controverted with care and success, and it is shown, as we think, that the conclusions of those who impeach the Mosaic authorship rest upon unfounded assumptions or unfair inferences.

But the author is not content with negative statements, but proceeds, *thirdly*, to state some of the serious difficulties which lie in the way of the theory that Deuteronomy is a supposititious work foisted into the canon toward the close of the monarchy. He presses with force the phraseology of the book, the difficulty of finding a period when such an imposition could be successfully attempted, the literary obstacles the manufacturer of such a fraud would have to contend with, and the moral impossibility that a good man, as the author of the book must have been, could have perpetrated what was simply a forgery. These considerations are put with vigor and incisiveness. Dr. Gosman then concludes, *fourthly*, with a restatement of the positive argument for the Mosaic authorship. Here he insists upon the internal character of the book—its tone, its substance, its spirit, its salient points, so well befitting the period to which it claims to belong—and no other; its historical features, especially such as refer to the desert and to the surrounding nations, all of which point directly to the plains of Moab and the end of the forty years' error as the place and time of its composition; its relation to the older books of the Pentateuch, whose existence it presupposes, and to the later Scriptures, whose history, poetry, and prophecy presuppose the existence of this book; and, finally, the external evidence, as seen in the unanimous testimony of the Jews expressed by Josephus at Jerusalem, Philo at Alexandria, and the Talmud at Babylon, and in the utterances of the New Testament, especially the words of our Lord at the temptation, when thrice he confounded the adversary by quoting from Deuteronomy, each time prefacing the citation with the formula, "It is written," which means that it is divinely written.

To the opponents of the Mosaic authorship we must concede the merit of laborious industry and great ingenuity. They accumulated an immense mass of material and constructed a plausible argument, as every sober critic must acknowledge, but on a close and careful examination it is found that they have considered only one side of the question, and that their conclusion is due, not to the force of the evidence in itself, but to the preconceived views with which they set out on the investigation. The final result of their fierce onslaught on the Pentateuch will be a more complete and satisfactory vindication of its credibility, canonical authority, and Mosaic origin.

T. W. C.

A COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF JOB. Intended for Popular Use. By the Rev. J. K. BURR, D.D. 12mo. pp. 306. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

It is now about a century since Bishop Hurd published to the world the pungent paragraph of Warburton respecting Job, as not only persecuted by his friends during life, but "executing *in effigie* ever since, being ordained by a fate like that of Prometheus, to lie still upon his dunghill and have his brains sucked out by owls." No portion of Scripture has been so often treated in an unsatisfactory manner. The book is a poem, a theodicy, and an experience; and yet time and again it has been handled by persons lacking the qualities necessary to put them in sympathy with one or two, and sometimes with all three of these characteristic features. The expositor's mind is thoroughly prosaic, or it is incapable of grasping large views of theological topics, or it has never cried out from the depths; and so it is content with scratching the surface here and there, or of falling into the deep ruts of the past. And although many eminent scholars have labored upon the work, the ideal commentary has yet to appear. The late Tayler Lewis furnished an admirable contribution toward it in his metrical version and excursus prefixed to the American edition of Lange, yet even those who best appreciate his varied learning, intellectual force, and spiritual insight, would hardly say that he has left nothing to be desired.

The work before us does not profess to be exhaustive, but is designed to be "for popular use." As such it possesses very great merits, being concise, lucid, and sensible. The author, familiar with the rather extensive literature of the subject, in important cases presents not only his own view, but also in few words that of others, with the reasons why it is not adopted. In the explanation of words and phrases he makes use of all the modern aids, and attains a much more satisfactory result than is found in any similar work. The archæological illustrations are frequent and full, and add much to the value of the book. A number of excursus are given on special points, all of them thoughtful and learned, and most of them quite useful, in which latter class we do not include that which treats of "Leviathan and Behemoth," the point and relevancy of the passage which refers to these being precisely the same, whether we know or do not know exactly what animals are intended by the terms.

What one most misses in the volume is a clear, clean-cut statement of the great purpose of the antique poem, and a lucid analysis of the debate, together with a view of the contributions of each speaker to the final conclusion. This is not an easy matter to do, and perhaps complete success is not attainable, yet this is no reason why it should not be attempted. The sections of the Introduction which treat of the historical reality of the book and of the time when it was written, are excellent specimens of condensation, and present the true view with great force. When we add that the author's spirit throughout is devout, that he writes in a simple and perspicuous style, and that he embodies or represents the latest results of Biblical scholarship, we shall have said enough to vindicate the claim of the work to a wide circulation among those for whom it was intended.

T. W. C.

DIE PROPHETIE DES JOEL UND IHRE AUSLEGER. VON ADALBERT MERX. Halle, 1879.

This volume is in some sense a history of Hermeneutics, and regarded in that light displays learning and thought. The prophecy of Joel serves to illustrate the mistakes and the progress of generations of exegetes—from the patristic age up to the Reformation. Such a history is, without doubt, most useful; patient study of the errors as well as the successes of the past must bear fruit for the present, but we may be pardoned the hope that criticism and interpretation like that of Dr. Merx are not the final product of such investigations. The first quarter of his book is devoted to Joel, and this is of special concern for us. We have been mistaken, it seems, in assigning great antiquity to Joel. He lived and wrote, not 700 or 800 years before Christ, but in the period between B.C. 445 and 400. From the absence

of allusion to Assyrians, Syrians, and Babylonians, we are to infer, not that they had not yet appeared upon the prophet's stage, but that they had long since left it. In the quiet, uneventful Persian times he had no call to think of foreign enemies. This somewhat startling position is supported by various arguments; *e. g.*, he appropriates and combines—unskillfully, so that we see the joinings—prophecies out of the older times, especially Ezekiel and Isaiah. Even the heathen peoples whom he denounces are named because Ezekiel had named them, not because the land was any longer threatened by them. Only Egypt and Edom may have possibly harassed the Jews in recent times. Moreover, the style of the prophecy is smooth, polished, artificial; there is no regular progress in the thought, there is repetition, self-conscious rhetoric. Neither in matter nor manner have we to do with an original man. But can it be true that the literary culture of centuries ended in bringing forth such a bungler? Furthermore, his horizon is narrow—the heathen are to be destroyed, not converted; a zealous Judaism is already there. Later, indeed (p. 78), the author allows that the narrow horizon was, at least in one important respect, common to Joel with the old prophets, and we must still believe that such narrowness—which in a time of peace may indeed be attributed to ritualistic zeal—is only the natural outcome of a period of fierce conflict. The non-mention of the northern kingdom is surprising, but not decisive. Dr. Merx surprises us, however, far more when he cites chap. ii. 1, 16, in proof that the land comprises only Jerusalem and its environs. He perhaps forgot Zech. xii. 8, 10, 11, which ~~he~~ holds for pre-exilic. But elders and priests are mentioned as leaders of the people, and emphasis is laid on fastings and offerings—against prophetic usage. These are strong grounds, but only for one who believes the full ritualistic order is in theory as well as practice post-exilic, and who fails to understand that the older prophets found fault, not with the ritual, but with mere formal observances of the ritual. And when Merx dwells on the absence of allusion to any king in Jerusalem, he has forgotten again his pre-exilic Zech. ix. 14, and, also, that it is the elders only as *representatives* of the people that come into view. But, besides, everything in the prophecy is external, the thought rests only on the visible and outward—"the disposition of mind is fleshly," "the thinking of a man who is still deeply entangled in the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*" (p. 21). Yet a prophet who calls upon the people, "Turn to the Lord with all your heart," "Rend your heart and not your garment," and who promises a great outpouring of the *Spirit* upon them, would seem not to be wholly given over to the flesh. Merx, naturally, thinks of this outpouring of the Spirit as something quite external, not connected with deep heart-workings; this notwithstanding that it comes—according to the prophecy, and according to the application of the prophecy in the New Testament, and according to the usage of the same term in the mouth of the evangelists and in the early apostolic preaching—only upon those who stand in an intimate relation to the Lord, and betokens a constant intercourse with Him, a constant receipt from Him of strength to do His work (Comp., Acts i. 8).

On the whole, Merx's arguments for a post-exilic Joel do not seem to bear examination. His interpretation of the prophecy assumes it to be *wholly* eschatological. The glories foretold by the elder prophets have not come. Joel still looks for them. He paints the future day of the Lord. The entire description of the devastating scourge, chaps. i., ii. 11, is an artificial introduction to the prophecy, a typical interpretation of the plagues preceding the deliverance from Egypt. As the exodus was so prepared, in like manner shall come the scourge again—a sign that the day of the Lord is near. This is after the manner of the Targum writers and Jewish commentators (pp. 43 ff.). The assumptions here are patent.

Some points of exegesis are strong and worthy of notice. In ii. 18, 19, Merx proposes to point the verbs as jussives, with *vav. conj.*, to avoid the awkward historical tenses. These verses would then be a continuation of the prayer, v. 17 (p. 38). It is, however, hardly conceivable that all the rest of the book should be

thus laid in the mouth of Jehovah, and not rather the apparent change of speakers at v. 21, be observed. Instead of "the former rain moderately" (v. 23), he defends the translation (given in our margins) "the teacher of righteousness" (pp. 70-73). In chap. i. he holds the description to be of a real locust-swarm; in chap. ii. there is a transition to metaphor, which finally prevails; and in "the northern army" (v. 9) we have the Gog of Ezek. xxxviii. 39.

There is given a critical text of Joel (unpointed) with the versions compared, followed by a translation, and the Ethiopic text of the prophecy, borrowed from Dillmann, is appended to the volume. F. B.

A CRITICAL AND DOCTRINAL COMMENTARY UPON THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO THE ROMANS. By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This volume is among the foremost that have lately appeared in the department of critical and doctrinal exegesis. Its peculiar features have been determined by the end in view, or, rather, the class of persons for whom it was specially prepared—ministers and theological students—and by the personal qualities of the author, which give him peculiar fitness for the task. His scholarship, learning, logic, philosophic insight, literary culture, thorough orthodoxy, vitalized by a moral and religious earnestness so inspired by its truths as to make this epistle divinely true, not only to his speculative, but his practical reason; a reality not only grasped by his intellect, but felt in the very depths of his spiritual life—these constitute a rare furnishing for the great work he has published.

Consulting the convenience of the class for whom the book was prepared, Dr. Shedd has given the Greek text at the top of the page, the commentary following it below. He has "adopted the text of Lachmann, with such modifications, chiefly from Tischendorf, as would probably have been made by Lachmann himself, if he had had access to those manuscripts that have been brought to light by the industry and skill of Tischendorf." Probably the difference is slight, yet we should, on the whole, have preferred to make Tischendorf's text, as the latest and most perfect, the basis, adopting needful modifications from Lachmann and others. The author has omitted any formal homiletic teachings, although the doctrinal and practical, especially the experimental, elements of Christianity are so much intertwined, that the due exposition of the one involves more or less unfolding of the other, in the hands of a devout expositor like Dr. Shedd. If not homiletic in form, yet a homiletic element enters like a filament of gold into its web and woof, so as to make it not only "profitable for doctrine," but "for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." So far as the more formal and systematic development of the ethical and experimental applications of the epistle are concerned, these were the less necessary as these are made with such admirable terseness and completeness in the "Commentary on the Romans," by Dr. Charles Hodge, which has now, for the first time, found, so far as we are advised, its peer among recent expositions in the English tongue.

It is gratifying to observe that these two commentaries on the book of Scripture which, beyond all others, contains the integral summation and explication of Christian doctrine, are at one as to the system, and nearly every detail, of doctrine taught in it, both as to what they are, in themselves, and in their inter-relation. This is not saying that they are at all alike, or that the possession of the one supersedes the necessity of access to the other, any more than that the possession of Calvin's Commentary on the same epistle supersedes the necessity of either or both of these. It would be quite as reasonable to say that the gospel by Matthew renders useless that by Luke, or that the book of Romans suffices without the other Pauline epistles. Both these commentaries are marked by the strong individuality of their authors, who, while they generally reach the same results, reach them by methods and processes of their own, which are seldom inconsistent with, and generally complement-

ary of, each other. Whatever we get from the one will be enriched and perfected by the other. Nevertheless, whatever the peculiarities arising from the individualities, or even idiosyncrasies, of the respective authors, they agree in one important element of method, as well as in their principal conclusions. Their expositions harmonize with the general drift of St. Paul in respect to specific doctrines, their correlation, and the whole scope of the epistle. Hence, as to principal points, very little of strained interpretation is found necessary. Here they are in strong contrast to the whole class of rationalistic, Pelagian, Arminian, and, what Dr. Shedd aptly calls, "anti-predestinarian" commentaries on this epistle. Premising that Dr. Shedd's copious references to commentators of every kind, and to none with greater frequency and consideration than that of Dr. Hodge, give a very complete view of the literature of the subject, we summarize in the briefest manner the principal positions of the author on some points that have figured much in controversy.

He holds that all sinned in Adam in a realistic, as distinguished from the representative view maintained by Dr. Hodge and the federal school of theology. And this, which is more nearly the Augustinian view, is his main point of divergence from them. Yet, this aside, Dr. Shedd recognizes the covenant basis of God's dealings with man, which is repudiated by many. "The merit of the creature before the Creator is *pactional*. It is founded on a promise or covenant, and not upon the original relations between the finite and Infinite" (p. 75). Dr. Shedd, however, does not carry his realistic view of the fall to justification. He maintains that the parallelism between Adam and Christ (Rom. v. 12-21) stops short of this, and, therefore, furnishes no countenance to subjective justification, or justification through the personal righteousness of the believer. Although this leaves some serious speculative objections to the realistic view of the primal race-sin unsolved, it obviates the graver objection strongly felt by many, that it reacts upon and weakens the doctrine of the believer's gratuitous justification through the righteousness of Christ alone, imputed to Him and received by faith. But this latter sort of justification Dr. Shedd contends for as the teaching of this epistle most earnestly, abundantly, and conclusively, also that this righteousness of Christ consists, not only of His sufferings, but His obedience; that these sufferings were penal, vicariously borne for the sinner, whose sins were imputed to Him (pp. 81, 127, et passim). He maintains that this satisfaction to Divine justice, though purchased by Christ, is a gratuitous boon to the sinner (p. 78); that the subjective pacification of conscience comes from the objective satisfaction to the Divine justice, and that this is a material requisite and aid to sanctification (p. 10, et seq.); that this is gradual, and inseparable from justification, which is instantaneous. He rejects the Pelagian interpretation of Rom. vii., and finds the true explication of the double or divided ego it sets forth, in John Owen's Analysis of Indwelling Sin. On the subjects of predestination, personal election, preterition, ability and inability, guilt as equivalent to liability to punishment, and eternal retribution, his expositions accord with the obvious meaning of this epistle and the language of the great Calvinistic symbols. Indeed, so long as such expositions of the Word of God as those of Hodge and Shedd on the Romans give doctrinal tone to the ministry of our Church, the demand for a revision even of the *ipsissima verba* of that portion of the Westminster Confession which "contains the system of doctrine" set forth in them, will be faint or unheard.

L. H. A.

THE MESSIANIC PROPHECIES: Being the Baird Lecture for 1879. By P. J. GLOAG, D.D. Edinburgh, 1879.

The author of this book, already known by his work on the "Acts of the Apostles" and "Introduction to the Pauline Epistles," proposes to make the Messianic Prophecies of the Old Testament of use in the way of Apologetics. He starts out to prove

that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah of prophecy, and that, therefore, Christianity is a revelation from God. The author so well states his course of argument (p. 314-15) that we can do no better than quote him: "Our first lecture was of an introductory character; in it we offered some suggestions on the nature and importance of prophecy in general. In our second lecture, after adverting to the claim of Jesus to be the Messiah, we considered the argument arising from the Messianic prophecies, and showed that these prophecies are contained in records which were indisputably written centuries before the birth of our Lord; and that they are of such a nature that, if fulfilled, this fulfilment could not have been predicted by human sagacity. In our third lecture, we considered the nature of the Messianic prophecies, and proved that there are in the Old Testament primary prophecies concerning the Messiah—that is, prophecies which apply to Him only and cannot be predicated of another—that there is an ideal king who is the subject of Hebrew prophecy. Our fourth lecture was devoted to a consideration of the nature and validity of the secondary and typical prophecies. The fifth lecture may be considered as the principal one of the series; it formed the application of the argument; in it we proved, by a variety of particulars, that there is a correspondence between the Messianic prophecy and the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth, and that, consequently, Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah divinely foretold in the Old Testament. And in the sixth lecture we illustrated our argument by a special reference to the remarkable prophecy of the suffering servant of Jehovah contained in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. We now proceed in this concluding lecture to the application of the whole subject; to advert to those important doctrinal and practical inferences which are deducible from the Messiahship of Jesus."

From the author's own statement of his plan and its accomplishment, while praising the book for clearness and precision of statement and a generally fair and scholarly tone in his treatment of his subject, we must yet condemn the title of the book as entirely misleading and disappointing the expectation of the reader. For there is no proper treatment of Messianic prophecy here. That subject is really confined to three of the lectures, and it is entirely subordinate to the use the author proposes to make of it in the way of Apology. In these chapters the author presents many of the most important features of Messianic prophecy, but does not show any freshness or originality of research into the subject, or any proper conception of the development of the Messianic idea. As a treatise on Messianic prophecy it is a decided failure. As an effort to prove the Messiahship of Jesus it is interesting and worthy of attention.

C. A. B.

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THE CONFLICT OF CHRISTIANITY WITH HEATHENISM. By Dr. GERHARD UHLHORN, Abbot of Loccum, and Member of the Supreme Consistory in Hanover. Edited and translated, with the Author's sanction, from the third German edition, by EGERT C. SMYTH and C. J. H. ROPES. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879. pp. 508. 12mo.

In a private conversation, some years ago, George Bancroft remarked that, in his judgment, the history of the triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire had not yet been adequately handled. He may still be of the same opinion. But for popular impression and effect this work of Uhlhorn certainly goes far ahead of anything

that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah of prophecy, and that, therefore, Christianity is a revelation from God. The author so well states his course of argument (p. 314-15) that we can do no better than quote him: "Our first lecture was of an introductory character; in it we offered some suggestions on the nature and importance of prophecy in general. In our second lecture, after adverting to the claim of Jesus to be the Messiah, we considered the argument arising from the Messianic prophecies, and showed that these prophecies are contained in records which were indisputably written centuries before the birth of our Lord; and that they are of such a nature that, if fulfilled, this fulfilment could not have been predicted by human sagacity. In our third lecture, we considered the nature of the Messianic prophecies, and proved that there are in the Old Testament primary prophecies concerning the Messiah—that is, prophecies which apply to Him only and cannot be predicated of another—that there is an ideal king who is the subject of Hebrew prophecy. Our fourth lecture was devoted to a consideration of the nature and validity of the secondary and typical prophecies. The fifth lecture may be considered as the principal one of the series; it formed the application of the argument; in it we proved, by a variety of particulars, that there is a correspondence between the Messianic prophecy and the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth, and that, consequently, Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah divinely foretold in the Old Testament. And in the sixth lecture we illustrated our argument by a special reference to the remarkable prophecy of the suffering servant of Jehovah contained in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. We now proceed in this concluding lecture to the application of the whole subject to advert to those important doctrinal and practical inferences which are deducible from the Messiahship of Jesus."

From the author's own statement of his plan and its accomplishment, while praising the book for clearness and precision of statement and a generally fair and scholarly tone in his treatment of his subject, we must yet condemn the title of the book as entirely misleading and disappointing the expectation of the reader. For there is no proper treatment of Messianic prophecy here. That subject is really confined to three of the lectures, and it is entirely subordinate to the use the author proposes to make of it in the way of Apology. In these chapters the author presents many of the most important features of Messianic prophecy, but does not show any freshness or originality of research into the subject, or any proper conception of the development of the Messianic idea. As a treatise on Messianic prophecy it is a decided failure. As an effort to prove the Messiahship of Jesus it is interesting and worthy of attention.

C. A. B.

THE HEBREW UTOPIA: A Study of Messianic Prophecy. By W. F. ADENEY. London, 1879.

The author uses the title as the most convenient term to represent "a Hebrew picture of the perfect state—though unlike Sir Thomas More's ideal, which he naively tells us, 'contains many things to be desired rather than expected,' this Utopia embodies presages and promises of its ultimate realization." Notwithstanding this explanation, we must regard the first title as an unfortunate and misleading one, too much savoring of an effort to satisfy the popular taste for something new, and that the second title is the one adequately characterizing the book. It is a study of Messianic prophecy, and as such, fresh, bright, and exceedingly interesting. The author at the start justly rebukes those who think that "the Christianity of Augustine or Calvin is lurking secretly in every nook and cranny of the earlier cultus;" and who wish "to hunt up in the vast arcana of Hebrew prophecy predictions which would fit any event, from the exodus of Israel to the liberation of Bulgaria." He then brings out some of the characteristics of Messianic prophecies; the great complexity of their environment; the poetic language and extreme form and license; the connection with the personality of the prophets; their association with cotem-

porary history—all which is happily, though briefly, stated in a popular form. He regards prophetic inspiration as “an enlightening and stimulating power, which enables the prophet to see and know what he could not know or see in the lower region of his normal consciousness, while at the same time he retains unfettered his own individuality of thought.” . . . “In the greatest prophets we meet with the least of the allegorical and vision element, and the most of the direct and rational utterance of truth.” The author gives an interesting sketch of the development of Messianic prophecy from the earliest ages until the close of prophecy. This takes up the body of the book, or some 220 pages. As a *study* the work is well done, and is an important contribution to the subject, although we cannot agree with the author in many of his interpretations of particular passages and his arrangement of some of the prophecies in the order of historical development. He yields too easily to the weight of authority of the leading exegetes of the Continent. Not pretending to be more than a study, we are hardly justified in criticising it for its omissions and incompleteness. The final chapter is a very good statement of the fulfilment of Messianic prophecy. To the sentiment of the closing page we entirely subscribe: “Thus in the present condition of Christianity we see that the seed of Messianic prophecy has germinated and borne some fruit, and is still growing continually, so that we have good reason to look for its perfect fulfilment in the final development of the Christian dispensation.”

C. A. B.

II.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

A HANDBOOK TO THE BIBLE: Being a Guide to the Study of the Holy Scriptures; derived from Ancient Monuments and Modern Exploration. By F. R. CONDER and C. R. CONDER, R.E. Post 8vo. pp. xviii. 439. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

This volume furnishes us one of the most welcome and serviceable of helps to the study of the Bible. He must have a rich library who possesses the most important documentary material upon which the editors have drawn with great care and excellent judgment. And he must have traveled in the Holy Land with, or like, Lieut. Conder, the commander of the British Palestine Exploration Expedition, who should have his opportunities of knowledge in regard to its geography, topography, natural history, and other kindred things.

The volume is divided about equally between the history and life of the Hebrews, viewed independently of the land in which they dwelt, and the characteristics and experiences of the country.

The compactness of the volume, the felicitous arrangement of its material, the broad, diligent, and judicious use which has been made of its sources, the rare personal opportunities of, at least, one of its editors, and the manifest competence of both, its attractive style, its numerous tables and copious indexes, will make it a constant companion to those who know when they have found a prize. C. A. A.

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of its kind and compass hitherto put forth. The first edition came out in 1874, and now this American translation of the work is made from the third German edition. Danish and Swedish translations have also appeared. This is great success for a book going over ground so well trodden. And the success is deserved. First of all, there is great exactness, along with great amplitude, of learning. We get, in most cases, the results of the latest historic criticism: as, for example, that no edict of toleration was issued in 312, but only directions to be observed by officials in executing the edict of 311. The old date (A.D. 166) of Polycarp's martyrdom is, however, allowed to stand. But the special charm of the book is in its dramatic power. The author has a happy instinct for the vital aspects and relations of subjects, and knows how to make striking pictures of men and events by a few masterly strokes. His countrymen generally are painfully deficient in this respect. Carlyle's *Dryasdust* is hardly a caricature. Even Neander, the first of modern Church historians, is tiresome to most readers. On the other hand, some of the heretics, like Strauss and Baur, have greatly excelled in their way of putting things. Uhlhorn is also a master of this high art. He is easy to read, not so much on account of what are commonly considered felicities of expression, as on account of his general vigor of movement, and prompt seizure of the strategic points. Everything is fresh, even to the handling of the oldest materials; while less familiar citations and incidents are made to do excellent service in indicating and emphasizing the true significance of events. And then, all along, whatever occurred is looked at sharply and shrewdly from the standpoint of present living interests and problems. We may not always like the assumptions of our author, as, for example, with regard to the proper mutual relations of Church and State, but we must respect his earnestness, his orthodoxy, and his humanity. On the whole, the book is one of rare excellence of the highest type, and ought to have a very wide circulation. It is calculated to interest even secular readers, and will no doubt greatly promote the study of Church History. A word or two about the author himself may serve to explain the popular character of the present work. His full baptismal name is Johann Gerhard Wilhelm Uhlhorn. He was born at Osnabrück in Hanover (where the treaty of Westphalia was signed in 1648), Feb. 17, 1826; is the son of a shoemaker; and was educated at the University of Göttingen, where Ewald held sway so long. A staunch Lutheran, his earliest published work was a Latin essay, of forty-six pages, on Lutheran Symbolics. Equally staunch in politics, he opposed, as Ewald did, the Prussian absorption of his native kingdom of Hanover, and has taken a lively interest in all social questions. His reputation as a critical scholar began with the appearance, in 1854, of his work (of more than 400 pages) on the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. The year following he was appointed assistant preacher, and afterwards first preacher, to the Court in Hanover. He is now (since 1878) at the head of an old Cistercian Abbey (founded in 1170), which accepted the Reformation in 1591, and in 1817 became a seminary for the training of evangelical preachers. He is himself one of the ablest and most distinguished preachers in Germany; and has published a great many sermons. He thus combines, in a high degree, qualities not often found together, his eloquence resting on a very solid basis of critical scholarship. The American translation is a piece of honest good work. Prof. Smyth, of Andover, assisted by his friend and pupil, the Rev. Mr. Ropes, of Ellsworth, Me., has done his department honor. The version throbs with the vigorous pulse of the original. A little more freedom here and there would have made us almost forget its foreign parentage.

R. D. H.

JOHANNES VON DAMASKUS. Eine patristische Monographie. Von Dr. JOSEPH LANGEN. Gotha, 1879.

Dr. Langen is one of the Old Catholic Professors of Theology in Bonn, who with Drs. Reusch, Döllinger, Reinkens, von Schulte, Friederich, and others, left the

Roman Catholic Church in consequence of the Papal infallibility dogma of the Vatican Council, which they regard as contrary to Scripture and Catholic tradition. He took part in the remarkable Old Catholic Conference in Bonn, in 1874 and 1875, which endeavored to adjust the difference between the Greek and Latin Churches concerning the double or single procession of the Holy Spirit, and which made the teaching of John of Damascus the basis of a compromise, namely that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, but through the Son. Soon afterwards he wrote a book on the history of the Procession controversy, "Die trinitarische Lehrdifferenz," etc., and now we have from him a valuable monograph on John of Damascus. Prof. Langen is a scholarly and ascetic-looking gentleman, and is an earnest and devout Catholic in all points except the new dogmas of Vatican Romanism. The same may be said of his colleague, Prof. Reusch. They enjoy the full benefit of their Professorships from the Prussian Government, but have very few students. Roman Catholics are forbidden to hear their lectures.

John of Damascus is the greatest systematic divine of the old Greek Church, and commands as much authority in that Church as Augustine or Thomas Aquinas in the Latin. He gathered up the theological labors of the older Greek fathers and reduced them to a complete system in his "Exposition of the Catholic Faith" (*ἑκδοσις ἀκριβῆς τῆς ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως*). Of his outward life little is known. He was born in Damascus, was learned in all the sciences and arts of his age, became a priest and a monk, took an active part in the violent image controversy as a champion of the worship of images, lived in Damascus, Constantinople, and the Convent of Mar Saba, near Jerusalem, where he died in extreme old age before the year 754. He wrote, besides his great doctrinal and polemical works and commentaries, a number of hymns, some of which have been translated by John Mason Neal, and incorporated in recent Protestant hymn-books.

The work before us, after an introductory discussion on the importance of John of Damascus, gives a critical view of his legendary biographies, a full exposition of his writings, and last explains the relation of his dogmatic system to the Oriental and Occidental theology of the present time. The work is written in a calm, impartial, historical tone and fills a space in patristic literature.

P. S.

PETER DER EREMETE, ein kritischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges. Von HEINRICH HAGENMEYER. Leipsic, 1879.

Since the 12th century, that is, since the time of William of Tyre, Peter the Hermit has stood as the principal figure in the picture of the first crusade, as the author of the whole movement and its most powerful agency. His visions in Jerusalem, his meeting with Urban II. in Rome, his preaching in Italy, France, and Germany have generally been represented as the first and almost as the only cause of the first crusade, and the impression which the writers of the 13th and 14th centuries produced by means of fantastical and mystical legends, the writers of the 18th and 19th centuries have reproduced by means of psychological subtleties and quaint picturesqueness.

The first who uttered a doubt with respect to the correctness of this representation was Prof. Heinrich von Sybel in his *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 1841. He called attention to the fact that, between the report of the first crusade by William of Tyre, who was not a contemporary of the event, and the reports of those who were, such as Guibert of Vogent, Fulcher of Chartres, Raimond de Ayiles, Anna Commena, etc., there are found not only a number of minor discrepancies in detail, but also a considerable difference in the conceptions of the whole, and that, according to the latter and more trustworthy accounts, a much more modest part should be ascribed to Peter the Hermit.

Prof. von Sybel's view, however, remained a mere suggestion until Mr. Heinrich Hagenmeyer now, in the above work, has given the subject an exhaustive treatment,

based on a thorough critical sifting of the sources. The result is a complete substantiation of Prof. von Sybel's ideas. Thus the author gives conclusive evidence that Peter the Hermit received no vision in Jerusalem, because he never was there, and had no conversation with Pope Urban II., because he never saw him, etc. His labor in rousing Western Europe and bringing about the first crusade may have been quite phenomenal in its appearance, but it lies on the second line; the true master of the work was the Pope himself.

The critical process by which these events have been stripped of their legendary ornaments and reduced to their true historical elements, has consumed a good deal of learning and required a high degree of precision and acuteness. The book is, nevertheless, very pleasant to read; its scholarship is elegant and its argumentation both clear and easy to follow. P. S.

LIVES OF THE LEADERS OF OUR CHURCH UNIVERSAL. By European writers from the German as edited by Dr. FERD. PIPER, now translated and edited, with added Lives by American writers, by Dr. H. M. MACCRACKEN.

It was a happy thought that led Dr. MacCracken to devote himself to the preparation of this highly interesting volume. The great work of Dr. Ferdinand Piper on which it is based—a Protestant Bollandist collection—is very little known in this country. It comprises a complete calendar of Christian biography for every day in the year, the monographs being furnished by a large body of the most eminent Protestant scholars in Europe. The complete work was published by Tauchnitz in 1875, and has met with signal favor in all parts of Germany.

From this great body of three hundred and sixty-five worthies, Dr. MacCracken has selected with excellent judgment, about eighty of the most eminent, after the time of the apostolic fathers. They include such names as Augustine, Ulphilas, Chrysostom, St. Patrick, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, John Tauler, Wyclif, Luther, Calvin, Gustavus Adolphus, Richard Baxter, etc.; and when we add the names of such writers as Neander, Krummacher, Semisch, Ranke, Hase, Van Oosterzee, Hagenbach, Henry, Tholuck—and many other of the contributors are of equal, or nearly equal, merit—it will be easily seen how rich a mine of biographical ore has here been developed.

Beside translating all these monographs into English, Dr. MacCracken has found time, amid the labors of a large pastoral care, to provide for the preparation of an entirely new volume, containing sketches of some thirty American "leaders of the Church," consisting of such as Edwards, Makemie, Witherspoon, Bishop White, John Henry Livingstone, Alexander Campbell, Francis Wayland, Drs. Hodge and Alexander, Albert Barnes, and a number of missionary worthies.

These names have been taken from the various parts of the Church with entire impartiality, and by a judicious system of selection; three lives being allowed to each of the principal churches, and the preparation of the sketches usually assigned to writers of their own communion.

Many of these monographs are gems of religious biography. The book is well indexed, an excellent thing in a book; and an ingenious device has been adopted for making it more practically useful to ministers and Sunday-school teachers. Facts or sentiments, to the number of a round thousand, have been selected from these biographies, and arranged under appropriate heads with references to page and volume, so as to admit of easy citation. The value of such a work in this respect, as well as in the illustration it gives of the identity of Christian experience in all ages, and under all diversities of Church life, and even of creed, is so obvious as to need no remark.

We hope the experience of the editor of this volume, mentioned in his preface, and the helps and suggestions contained in the biographies themselves, will lead many ministers to furnish their hearers, from time to time, with that food for edifi-

cation which is found in the lives of the saints. Why should not Protestants have a saints' calendar as well as Romanists?

For private reading, perhaps the complete scheme of Dr. Piper would be best. The Christian would have by his side a brief religious biography for every day in the year, as he has, or used to have, his "daily food." But for the preacher, here are ample materials. Suppose he should say to his congregation in advance: "The 17th day of March will be observed by some millions of Roman Catholics in this country, and other millions elsewhere, as the festival of St. Patrick. I shall take the opportunity on that day, or the Sunday nearest it, to give you an account of the real character and history of that much-calamniated apostle of Ireland." Or: "The present year is believed to be the 500th anniversary of the first publication of the entire Bible in English. I shall improve the next 31st of December, the day when Wyclif rested from his labors, to present you a view of the life and influence of that illustrious servant of God," etc., etc. In these days when it becomes so imperative to augment, by any ingenious and legitimate methods, the interest and attractiveness of the pulpit, an occasional series of biographical sermons may be safely recommended to every pastor. S. M. H.

THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH. A Historical Essay by JOHN PRYCE, M.A., Vicar of Bangor. London, 1878.

The origin of British Christianity is involved in obscurity. The fact is certain that Christianity was introduced into England long before St. Augustine landed in Kent, and before the Anglo-Saxon crossed the channel to aid the Britons against the invasion of the Picts and Scots from the north. But the precise time and agency are unknown. The Galatians, or Gauls, who had migrated from the banks of the Rhine and the Moselle in the third century before Christ to Asia Minor, were the first branch of the Celtic race to which the Gospel was preached, and it is a bare possibility that some of Paul's converts in visiting the far west to barter their hair-cloths for the useful metal of Britain may have brought the first knowledge of Christianity to their fellow Celts.

This is at least as likely as any of the ten different agencies to which the introduction of Christianity into that island has been ascribed. These are (1) Bran, the father of Caradog; (2) S. Paul; (3) S. Peter; (4) S. Simon Zelotes; (5) S. Philip; (6) S. James the elder; (7) S. John; (8) Aristobulus; (9) Joseph of Arimathea; (10) missionaries sent by bishop Eleutherius of Rome at the request of Lucius, a British king.* But these are mere legends which arose after the sixth century from the natural desire to trace the origin of churches to the apostolic age.

The only one of them which deserves a passing notice is that which makes Paul the apostle of British Christianity, and which has found such respectable advocates as Ussher and Stillingfleet, but is now almost entirely abandoned with the rest as a pious fancy. It is supposed that Paul, between his first and second captivity in Rome, visited the island which is meant by "the extreme boundary of the West" (*τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*), according to the famous passage of Clement of Rome (Ep. ad Cor. i. 5). But this must be either Rome itself or Spain, whither Paul intended to go (Rom. xv. 24, 28).

The first clear trace of Christianity in Britain is furnished in the last half of the second and the beginning of the third century by Tertullian, who speaks of the haunts of the Britons as "inaccessible to the Romans, but subjugated to Christ,"† and by Origen, who alludes to the fact that the far-reaching power of the Gospel has penetrated even to Britain, notwithstanding its isolation from the continent.‡

* Hadon & Stubbs, *Concilia*, 22-26. PRYCE, p. 31.

† *Adv. Jud.* VII.: "Brittanorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita."

‡ *Homil. VI. in Luc.*, I.-24; comp. *Homil. IV. in Ezek.*

The book before us is confined to the ancient British Church. It goes especially into the legendary history of Wales, where British Christianity lingered longest after the Anglo-Saxon conquest and the introduction of Roman Christianity under Pope Gregory the Great. It gives the early history of the Sees of Bangor, of S. David and Llandaff. It enters on the conflict between British and Anglo-Roman Christianity after the landing of S. Augustine and his thirty fellow monks from Rome. It is well known that the conflict ended in the triumph of Roman Christianity, but British Christianity never was entirely extinguished, and traces of its influence may be found in the triumph of Protestantism and in the subsequent prevalence of dissent in Wales.

P. S.

GESCHICHTE DER CHRISTLICHEN SITTENLEHRE IN DER ZEIT DES NEUEN TESTAMENTS. Von ALBRECHT THOMA. 8vo, pp. 380. Haarlem, 1879.

The Teyler Society, one of whose prize essays is published in the volume before us, may be safely trusted to make its awards in the spirit of modern criticism. Neither are its honors given to feeble productions. The character of our author's work justifies in both these respects the distinction which it gained for him from Prof. Kuenen and his associates of the Society.

The times are somewhat weary of religion, and call for ethical views of the world (p. 2). The moral ideas and aims of the Scriptures, especially the New Testament, are claiming and gaining attention beyond the dogmatic; and now, at length, most of all in regard to Christ himself, amends are to be made for the long error of theology and the Church in magnifying dogma and ecclesiasticism, and overlooking the moral, which was the paramount, purpose.

Our author, a Mannheim pastor, evidently a man of ability and scholarship, distributes the books of the New Testament in accordance with the most advanced criticism,—agrees with its conclusions in respect to authorship, occasion, and purpose,—with it makes ideas and theories dominate over the most explicit and repeated statements of fact,—finds tendencies and contrasts and antagonisms in the different forms of statement which appear in its different parts, and therefore must find in it different and conflicting moral conceptions and aims. The teachings of Christ, Paul, and the post-Pauline Church are interpreted and exhibited in this interest.

Detailed illustration and criticism are excluded by our limits. Taking an entirely different view of the N. T. and the beginnings of the Church we read hardly a page without dissent from what is argued, asserted, or assumed. Yet we readily acknowledge indebtedness to the essay for many important suggestions in detail, and much material for thought in respect both to the individual themes which the essay treats, and the tendency which it illustrates.

C. A. A.

HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE HUGUENOTS OF FRANCE. By HENRY M. BAIRD, D.D., Professor in the University of the City of New York. Vols. I., II. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879. pp. 577 and 681, 8vo.

The marvellous story of the rise and progress of the Reformation in France has waited long for a competent historian. As early as 1512, five years before Martin Luther had challenged, by his immortal theses, the papal hierarchy, Jaques Lefèvre published at Paris his commentary on the Pauline epistles, in which he presented and advocated the same views of divine truth that afterward were so ably defended by the great German reformer at Wittemberg. In 1521 the Gospel was proclaimed by Lefèvre, Farel, Roussel, Mazurier, and other godly preachers, from the pulpits of the episcopal city of Meaux, scarcely more than twenty miles from Paris. The common people heard them gladly, and not a few also of the nobler sort. Through all the region round about the blessed infection spread. Even Briçonnet, the Bishop of Meaux, himself favored at first the work of the reformers. All over the land adherents sprang up and converts were multiplied. The palace of royalty was pervaded, and Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre, and sister of Francis I., the

King of France, very early lent her valuable sympathy and powerful aid and defence to the cause of the Reformation.

The papacy took the alarm. The fires of persecution were kindled. No mercy was shown to the adherents of the Reformation. The Church and the State combined by fire and sword, and by every imaginable torture, to root out the new doctrine. Neither age nor sex was spared. The struggle was fierce and prolonged. In spite of the machinations of priests and princes the blessed work of regeneration went on, until at the end of not more than forty years the whole land was filled with converts to the Gospel. "There was not a corner of the kingdom where the number of incipient Protestant churches was not considerable." Admiral Coligny presented to the queen-mother (1560) "a list of more than two thousand one hundred and fifty churches, which petitioned for liberty of religion." He averred that "in Normandy alone fifty thousand signatures could be obtained to these petitions, so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed." They became at length a power in the land, and took up arms in their own defence. Not even the wholesale slaughters of St. Bartholomew's Day (1572), sufficed for their suppression. They struggled on, increasing still, with varied fortunes, until by the Edict of Nantes (1598), they were accorded civil rights and religious liberty. Yet the following century witnessed the continuation of the fierce struggle, until by the revocation (1685) of the Edict of Nantes they were driven from the land of their fathers and scattered to the ends of the earth.

The story of this heroic conflict is one of the most marvellous and exciting in the world's history. Brief and inadequate accounts only have hitherto been attempted. Browning, in his "History of the Huguenots during the Sixteenth Century" (3 vols., 1829), says: "Among the many works which relate to the Huguenots there is scarcely one that comprises the whole in a connected narrative, and not one, in the English language at least, that is exclusively historical." The difficulty of obtaining authentic material for such a history was seriously felt. "Before the revolution of 1789 a succinct history of the Huguenots would assuredly have been branded as libellous, and the few works composed in reference thereto were printed either clandestinely or in foreign countries."

The same difficulties existed and must have been felt in the case of the Rev. Edward Smedley, while preparing his work on the "History of the Reformed Religion in France. London, 1832." 3 vols., 12mo. Even so late as 1841, when Merle d'Aubigne wrote, for his "History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century," his chapter on France, he said, "The printed materials for a history of the Reformed opinions in France are few and scanty, owing to the state of continued trial in which the Reformed congregations have existed." Prof. G. De Felice, in the preface to his "History of the Protestants of France from the Commencement of the Reformation to the Present Time" (1850), a Frenchman himself, and familiar from his childhood with the history of his people, was more fortunate than Browning in his resources. "It would have been easy," he says, "to fill entire pages with what the Germans call the literature of the subject." But though he could say, "No work exists in our language which traces this history complete," he attempted "only a simple abridgment of the rich and diversified annals of the French Reformation." His work was clearly open to the criticism of being "too objective, a *recital*, rather than what modern science calls a *history*."

It is true that Prof. Baird's honored father, the late Rev. Robert Baird, D.D., in commending De Felice's History, said: "I am quite sure that after it has appeared, the religious world will not soon desire another history of Protestantism in France." We make bold to say that he was mistaken, and lived long enough to confess it. Another, fuller, more exact, more thorough, more scientific, more scholarly, more classical history of that grand movement was a *desideratum*, which not even the sprightly and valuable work of Dr. Merle d'Aubigne, "The History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin" (8 vols., New York, 1862-74), could supply.

Deeply impressed with this conviction, and impelled by an ardent love both for the cause of the Reformation and for the pursuit of historic truth, Prof. Baird years ago set himself, and has devoted in the interval such time as he could spare from his laborious profession and other pursuits, to the preparation of the work that he has now given to the public. He has availed himself of all accessible material in the prosecution of his noble purpose. A vast amount of documentary information on the whole subject has but recently come to light.

"The last twenty-five or thirty years," he says, "have been remarkably fruitful in discoveries and publications shedding light upon the history of France during the age of the Reformation and the years immediately following. The archives of all the principal, and many of the secondary, capitals of Europe have been explored. Valuable manuscripts, previously known to few scholars, if indeed known to any, have been rescued from obscurity and threatened destruction. By the side of the voluminous histories and chronicles long since printed, a rich store of contemporary correspondence and hitherto unedited memoirs has been accumulated, supplying at once the most copious and the most trustworthy fund of life-like views of the past."

A specification of these new resources, quite extended and interesting, follows, and he then adds:

"Of the new light thrown upon the rise of the Huguenots by these and similar works it has been my aim to make full use. At the same time I have been convinced that no adequate knowledge of the period can be obtained save by mastering the great array of original chronicles, histories, and kindred productions with which the literary world has long been acquainted—at least by name. This result I have accordingly endeavored to reach, by careful and patient reading. It is unnecessary to specify in detail the numerous authors through whose writings it became my laborious, but by no means ungrateful, task to make my way, for the marginal notes will indicate the exact line of the study pursued."

The result is a work so thorough, so full, so exact, so fortified by authorities, cited by chapter and verse, and withal so scholarly, that it cannot fail to take its place among the classic literature of the language, and to be henceforth regarded as both authentic and final within its range. It comprises a period of only about fifty-nine years—from the accession of Francis I. (1515), to the death of Charles IX. (1574), including the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (1572). It is a period of intense interest, almost unparalleled in the world's history, and Prof. Baird has given us, so far as concerns France, a record thereof, not only of thrilling interest, but wholly without a rival in all that gives history its value. The table of contents and the index are to be commended for their fulness. The typography, we may add, is every way worthy of the text. E. F. H.

HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS. By A. T. NORTON. Vol. I. St. Louis. 735 pp., 8vo.

Dr. Norton's book deserves much more than a passing notice. To gather up, arrange, and perpetuate in print the annals of a town, county, or State; of a church, or a denomination of churches, is a work deserving of the utmost encouragement. It demands great patience and persistence, as well as the expenditure of a vast amount of time and labor, for which ordinarily the pecuniary compensation is utterly inadequate. It can be undertaken and prosecuted successfully only by one in whom, other things being equal, the antiquarian spirit has been well developed, and to whom the pleasure of pursuit and discovery affords an ample return for the outlay of time and property and labor. With all this, the compiler must himself have been, in order to the best results, a dweller in the scenes, a partaker in the deeds, a familiar among the people, to be recorded and described, with a life-long interest in all that pertains to them.

The Presbyterian Church, not only in Illinois, but throughout the land, is to be

congratulated that in the compiler of the volume now before us these requisitions have been so fully met. That Dr. Norton possesses peculiar qualifications for the work, of which the first instalment has just issued from the press, cannot be questioned. A native of Cornwall, Conn., where he was born nearly seventy-two years ago, a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1832, he migrated, at the instance mainly of his cousin, the Rev. Theron Baldwin, D.D.—whose praise is in all the churches—in the autumn of 1835 to Illinois, as a missionary of the cross. With the exception of a year of pastoral work in St. Louis, Mo., he has passed the whole of the intervening time in Illinois, mostly at Alton, where he now resides. The office of "District Secretary of Church Extension and Home Missions," which he held more than ten years, and afterwards of "Synodical Missionary of the Synod of Illinois South," gave him peculiar facilities for the acquisition of full and reliable information in regard to the churches of that section. In addition, special opportunities of acquiring and formulating this information were afforded him by the publication of the *Presbytery Reporter*, a monthly of which he was the editor, from May, 1845, for twenty-three years, and in which the passing history of the churches of Illinois is recorded in detail.

Of all men, therefore, he was the man to do this work, and to command the confidence of the Christian public as a compiler of the humble annals of the churches scattered over the prairies and through the forests of his adopted State. In the prosecution of his work he has laid under contribution not only his personal recollections of four-and-forty years, but all accessible material in the *Reporter* and other productions of the press, and in manuscript documents, such as the records of churches, presbyteries and synods, and epistolary communications, together with the personal remembrances of the pioneers, who in considerable numbers yet survive. Hear him :

"The labor of preparing this volume has been immense. I have read twenty-nine volumes of presbyterial and synodical records, and about two hundred volumes of sessional records. The correspondence necessary to secure the sketches of about three hundred and fifty individuals has been wearying to the flesh. I have purchased and consulted numerous books of reference. Complete sets of the minutes of both the assemblies have been at my disposal. About forty of the first volumes of the *Home Missionary*, the volumes of *Presbytery Reporter*, *Presbyterian Monthly*, and divers other publications have been consulted. The accumulated recollections of forty-four years of ministerial labor have been pressed into this service. But it has been a labor of love."

"A labor of love," and so it is a labor of untold value. We have been deeply interested in his sketches of the pioneer preachers who laid the foundations of Christianity through all that region. The story of their self-denying labors, privations, and sacrifices is of thrilling interest in cases not a few, as also of the gathering of a few scattered sheep here and there in the wilderness; the log-house period of worship through which nearly all of them passed; the struggles for the erection of better and better edifices; the self-denials of the people, and their heroic sacrifices for the Gospel's sake; the graphic descriptions of the vice and immorality that prevailed, particularly in the river towns, and the marvellous changes there wrought by the simple preaching of the Gospel. It is a wonderful story, and all this the fruit of Home Missions; of the benevolence and efforts of the churches during the present century. What hath God wrought? what not only in Illinois, but all over the land, by the humble and oft-despised missionaries of the cross? Read and learn.

We trust that Dr. Norton may be spared to prosecute to completion, for the remaining part of the State, the work that he has so well begun. Nay, more. We hope that a similar work may be performed by other well-qualified amateurs for the Church in other States of the United States, especially in the West, while as yet some of the pioneers, and lively memories of those gone yet remain.



We are glad to learn that Dr. Norton's book is meeting with a ready sale. Edition after edition should be called for to supply the churches, not only at the West, but at the East, whence the greater part of the missionaries and founders of the Western churches went forth, and whence came so large a part of the means for accomplishing the work commemorated in this volume.

The book is not on sale by the trade. It can be ordered, by addressing Rev. A. T. Norton, D.D., Alton, Ill., who will send the book, charges paid, to any address in the United States. It should be added that the eight portraits with which the work is illustrated are good specimens of the engraver's art, and, to our certain knowledge, admirable likenesses.

E. F. H.

THE BIBLE FOR LEARNERS, by Dr. H. OORT, Professor at Leyden, and Dr. J. HOOYKAAS, Pastor at Rotterdam, with the assistance of Dr. A. KUENEN, Professor at Leyden. Vol. III. **THE NARRATIVES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT**, prepared by Dr. HOOYKAAS. pp. 760. 12mo. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

This volume purports to be an "authorized translation," which was executed in England by Philip H. Wicksteed. It is chiefly remarkable as a first attempt to put in popular form for general circulation those views of Scripture which have heretofore been confined to scholars, and have received the title of "destructive criticism." There is nothing particularly novel in the matter of this volume or its predecessors, but the form and method of statement are unusual. There is little or no discussion of any one point. The authors do not pretend to represent both sides of disputed questions, but simply give their own view and the reasons for it, without any reference to what may be or has been said by others in opposition. It is this which renders the book dangerous. Inconsiderate readers, beguiled by the courteous and respectful or even religious tone assumed by the authors, might easily be led to think that the work was a serious contribution to the true interests of Christianity. Yet such persons, when properly informed, would find the work unsound from beginning to end; playing fast and loose with the most serious matters, assuming at the outset its most important positions, and exhibiting as settled what has always been most vigorously contested.

The key-note of the volume is given in this sentence (p. 119): "To us it seems necessarily to follow from the laws of human nature that man's spiritual development must be gradual in every case, including that of Jesus, and cannot proceed by leaps or supernatural gusts of inspiration." This utterance is not a casual exaggeration or a momentary slip, but one the substance of which crops out everywhere. Direct interposition from heaven never occurred, and the progress of the race in religion is simply the result of man's own endeavors. Even *salvation* and *Saviour* do not mean what they have always been supposed to mean. They have no reference to the life after death or the bliss of heaven (p. 61), but relate only to deliverance from the judgments of God, which were to precede the founding of the Messianic kingdom. An inexperienced person would wonder how the Bible is made to teach such notions as these. The solution is easy. The author of the volume knows beforehand what the Scripture ought to teach, and whenever anything occurs which is contrary to his notions he sets it down as an error—for the most part involuntary, but sometimes intentional. Hence only a small portion of the Gospel is genuine. They are not productions of the apostolic age, but of later date. Miracles are mythical exaggerations. Demoniacs were epileptics. The feeding of thousands with a few loaves and fishes meant that Jesus with slender means fed the souls of countless multitudes. The restoration of deceased persons in three cases was the translation of a word of the Holy Spirit into a material prodigy.

The rest of the New Testament is subjected to the same heroic treatment. One-half of Paul's Epistles are declared to be spurious. But the author, like all the others of the same school, is very emphatic as to the genuineness of the Epistle to the Galatians, apparently because it is thought that Paul's account of his proceed-

ings after his conversion is in flagrant contradiction to the statements given in the Acts of the Apostles. The seven General Epistles are all unhesitatingly ascribed to a later age than that in which they purport to have been written. Nor was the Apocalypse written by John, but by one of Paul's Ephesian opponents, who, we are told, "emphatically denies the title of Apostle to Paul." But it is needless to go into further details. The book is made with very considerable literary skill. Its author well understands how to group the salient features of a narrative, and how to present in brief compass the lines of an argument. But no skill, native or acquired, can redeem the volume from the charge of utter worthlessness. Professing to be scientific, it is not scientific at all. It does not weigh evidence and follow truth at all hazards, but continually indulges in a boundless license of conjecture. Indeed, the author describes himself in the words with which he sets forth the character of the author of the Acts of the Apostles. "The preconceptions of those among whom he lived were so ingrained in him that he saw everything through a colored glass." The glass through which Dr. Hooykaas examines the New Testament is the bald and senseless affirmation that the supernatural is impossible, and therefore always and everywhere unhistorical.

T. W. C.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE PRESENT TIME. By W. M. BLACKBURN, D.D., Professor of Church History. Chicago.

It is among the wonders of this age and country that a city which many persons, still not very old, remember as a dirty village by the side of a stagnant little bayou, should now contain a theological seminary—two of them—with corps of learned professors, writing books which all past experience associates with long and gradual growth, learned leisure, and ample libraries. Professor Blackburn has furnished us with a history of the Christian Church covering the whole ground from the beginning to our own times, in one large and handsomely executed volume. The work is every way unique; the life of its birth-place breathes all through and through it; it is big; it is vigorous; it is original in style and method; it is strongly practical and realistic; it is written for the times; and though the author, in speaking of Augustine, affirms that "men who write for their time, are not often read in the future," we hope the result in this case will falsify the canon, in itself sufficiently doubtful.

Professor Blackburn is master in a high degree of a crisp, sententious, vigorous eloquence. The sentences are short, terse, epigrammatic. We should almost imagine he had been a student of the French school of writing, of Michelet and Victor Hugo. Without making any parade of his acquaintance with the original sources, Professor Blackburn shows great familiarity with the modern literature of Church history, from which he often interjects brief quotations. In short, the work is eminently readable. It is rapid, sketchy, dramatic. While we should be sorry to have it divert attention from more discursive and thorough works in our theological seminaries, for popular use we know of nothing to compare with it. We only add, that we are sorry to see so handsome a volume disfigured by such wretched maps. In any future edition we hope they may be reformed altogether.

S. M. H.

JONAS KING: *Missionary to Syria and Greece*. By F. E. H. H. 12mo, 372 pp. American Tract Society, New York.

An unpublished letter lies before us which was written at Athens, Oct. 2, 1832, to Rev. William Goodell, of Constantinople, by Rev. Jonas King, a little more than two years after his first visit to the Greek capital. He had entered Palestine, the scene of his first missionary labor, early in 1823, and was now forty years of age. Death closed his missionary work nearly thirty-seven years later, in May, 1869, at Athens.

We quote two sentences from this letter: "I have long been expecting a companion

in labors, from America, but like the King of Greece, I am always expecting him, but he never comes." "If I could see you, I should tell you a great many strange and curious things, which I dare not put on paper, and that for the sake of peace."

The first of these sentences has been in its substance more frequently repeated in missionary correspondence than almost any other. Helpers came, but in consequence of the peculiar religious, political, and social difficulties of the field, were soon withdrawn, so that Dr. King's missionary work was for the greater part of a generation a solitary work. The second sentence, if we could unfold its meaning, would interpret to us his isolation, and exhibit the complicated and obstinate difficulties with which he contended with the sturdiness, courage, wisdom, and fidelity, which were his eminent characteristics.

The memoir before us, while less felicitous in its execution than we could wish, sketches with a thoroughly interested and sympathizing hand the character and work of one of the most deservedly honored of our American missionaries.

C. A. A.

III.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

SYSTEM DER CHRISTLICHEN GLAUBENSLEHRE, I. Band: Grundlegung oder Apologetik.
Von Dr. I. A. DORNER. Berlin, 1879.

At last Dr. Dorner has yielded to the requests of his pupils and friends, and given them the first volume of that system of theology which, for so many years, in the University of Berlin, has attracted students from all parts of the world, in preparation for the ministry of the Gospel. It is the masterpiece of the author's life, who has already given to the world at least two other masterpieces of his genius, in his "History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ," and "History of Protestant Theology," so that he has long been recognized as a prince among theologians, if not the greatest divine of the present age. This work gives us his ripest and best thoughts in a compact, concise, and yet full and comprehensive form. The thought has been fused in the soul of one burning with zeal for truth so that it is one massive production, and yet it is so pregnant and suggestive that every word and sentence is alive as component and essential parts of an organized and armed host, invincible in defence, and in attack upon the enemies of the truth.

It is not scholastic, though a model of scholarly workmanship. It is not rationalistic, though in the highest sense speculative. It is evangelical and alive throughout with the impulses of a reverently humble, believing, and earnest child of God. Those who would pass lightly over the problems of dogmatics, or have them made plain and easy, need not approach the writings of Dr. Dorner. He writes for those who would enter upon the close and patient study of the sublime mysteries of our religion, and would grapple with difficulties with the ardor of youth and the firm, steady grasp of trained men, determined, by the grace of God, to overcome them. To those who would thus put themselves in the hands of an experienced guide, Dr. Dorner ever proves himself a master to be loved and followed with enthusiasm. His conception of dogmatics will be novel to most of our readers, and they may be interested in an outline of his train of thought.

Systematic theology is that part of theological encyclopædia that would present Christianity as the truth. It embraces the Christian doctrine of God and His works as dogmatics, and the Christian doctrine of morals as ethics. The point of union of the two is in Christian experience or faith. The aim is to bring the immediate and actual assurance that faith has of its contents to recognition in a scientific form, in their internal connection and their objective confirmation. The doctrine

of faith or *Pisteology* is fundamental. It is necessary, however, to follow the steps of faith from its earliest beginning, in its historical development to the point where union with objective Christianity is reached in its centre, and from this immediate religious assurance is gained. Christianity differs from all other religions, in that the person of its Founder is an essential, yes, the central thing in it; and faith cannot become Christian faith until it has united itself with this central point, Jesus Christ, as the personal unity of the divine and human life, in whom are embraced all the powers of redemption and perfection. Religious assurance differs from the scientific, in that the latter is mediate, derived from reflection and discursive thinking; the former is immediate. In the knowledge of finite things immediate contemplation and contact is impossible at all times; but the omnipresent God is the object in religion, and contact with Him may be sought every moment in prayer and contemplation, so that we may live and move in Him as the perennial and omnipresent fountain of our existence. Christian faith has gained three things that no other faith enjoys: enlightenment respecting our own imperfection and sin, or the need of reconciliation; enlightenment respecting that which must be the kernel and centre of Christianity; and, finally, an open eye to see where the spirit of reconciliation and peace of God lives in a person and work. We must distinguish between an accepting and grasping faith, and a faith that possesses and experiences the power of its object. Only the latter is the joyous faith, that is divinely assured of salvation. Such a faith knows that it has part in Him who is personally the principle of union of all the contrasts in the universe. He knows that He is united with the centre of all truth in heaven and on earth, and has now found the highest good, the religious assurance of Christian redemption, the *fides divina*. *Gnosis*, in its charismatic sense, is the prerequisite of theology, especially systematic theology, which takes its place, when the gift of instructive statement is joined to the glance, or higher intuition of *Gnosis*. The highest object of Christian faith is God, from whom, as the highest unity and centre of truth, all the expressions of the Spirit, with all the truths of Christianity, are to be immediately and mediately derived.

The system is divided into a fundamental part, whose object is to establish the scientific knowledge of Jesus Christ as the God-man, and is apologetic, and a special part that will build up the various doctrines of faith on this basis. Everything that, in the older systems, came in awkwardly in the *prolegomena*, now takes its place in the system, on the basis of *Pisteology*. The Apologetical system includes: I. The doctrine of God, His being, attributes, internal and manifested trinity. II. The creature, especially man in his original character as a holy being. III. The union of God and man, in religion, revelation, and their completion in the God-man. In Jesus of Nazareth, the historical fulfilment of religion and revelation has been historically confirmed by His holy person, His own testimony, and His work, and the creation anew of the humanity He has assumed. And He also continually proves Himself to every one who believes in Him, as the all-sufficient and complete Redeemer.

The doctrine of sin is excluded from the fundamental part. The divine Being, human nature in its highest sense, and the union of God and man in religion and revelation, culminating in the incarnation, are the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. From the very nature of God and of man, the union of both in incarnation is possible, without the conception of sin. We here give the author's own concluding language: "So, at last, we have again come to faith, in whose intuition is embraced all fundamental knowledge; yes, a totality that is of a divine and human, a subjective and objective character. But this immediate contemplation of faith we have endeavored to unfold scientifically, and to adjust it with knowledge, through the consideration of the doctrinal and historical movement of the matter, which essentially correspond with one another; in order thus to add to religious assurance the scientific assurance of the God-man as the firm objective principle of the Christian religion. This

principle now awaits, from the second part of the doctrine of faith, its unfolding with special reference to sin, and therewith the concrete establishment of the fact that life and light are indissolubly united in the incarnate Logos, and stream forth from Him in order by illumination, reconciliation, and redemption from sin, to accomplish the perfection of the individual and of the entire kingdom of God."

We should like to lay before our readers some extracts from the invaluable chapters on the attributes of God, miracles, and inspiration, especially, but want of space forbids. We wish this work even a warmer reception and a wider circulation than its predecessors. We trust that the author will not only fulfil his promise of the speedy issue of the second volume; but also add a third volume upon the subject of ethics, that his system may be completed in print. We understand that the translation of the first volume is now in competent hands and will, ere long, be issued in English by T. and T. Clark, of Edinburgh. But no one can give Dorner completely in English dress; those only who read him in German become fully acquainted with the energy and strength of his massive style, and compact, thorough method.

C. A. B.

ANTI-THEISTIC THEORIES: THE BAIRD LECTURE FOR 1877. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D. Crown 8vo., pp. xi. 555. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1879.

This is a sequel to the ably written volume on "Theism," published two years ago, and should be read in connection with it. There the author dealt constructively and in an apologetic way with the theistic argument; here he deals destructively and polemically with the various anti-theistic systems. The present volume lacks the unity which marked its predecessor; and unless it is remembered that in each lecture the author is dealing with some theory in which the conclusion arrived at in "Theism" is denied, the volume will have the appearance of a series of independent discussions unrelated to each other, and in the aggregate constituting no logical whole. But the method which the author adopts has its advantages, for it gives him opportunity to say fully what should be said on the topics treated, and at the same time to deal with subjects that could not be so conveniently introduced had he undertaken to weave the materials of this discussion into a single treatise, and under the constructive method that shaped the previous volume. Besides, there is a very marked logical distinction in the purpose of the two courses of lectures; but it is one thing to show that there are strong reasons for believing in Theism; and it is another thing to show that there are no reasons or no good reasons for accepting any of the anti-theistic theories. And having presented the theistic side of the argument, the true apologete must subject the anti-theistic side so far as it professes to offer a substitute for Theism to rigid scrutiny. He must carry the war into Africa, and offer battle to the Atheist, the Materialist, and the Pantheist on their own ground. This is what Professor Flint has very effectively done in the present course of lectures. It is likely that some will not coincide with the concessive manner in which he has dealt with some mooted questions in the sphere of physical science. Thus he would not be ready to say that a man is a Pantheist because he holds some of the current opinions respecting the constitution of matter. But the most conservative thinkers may well stop and inquire whether Professor Flint is not wise here. It is one thing to say that a given theory is difficult to reconcile with Theism or has a Pantheistic tendency, and another thing to say that the man who holds it is a Pantheist. Professor Flint limits the controversy to those views which are professedly or necessarily anti-theistic, and thereby gains considerable advantage in the debate. Some of the lectures are historical and give an interesting *resumé* of the development of the great materialistic and pantheistic movements, though, of course, they cannot be expected to add much that is of permanent value to the literature of these subjects.

The seventh lecture is a very successful attempt to furnish a negative answer to

the question: "Are there tribes of Atheists?" It is a detailed reply to the affirmations of Sir John Lubbock in his "Pre-historic Man," and Professor Flint shows very clearly that the author not only ignored the evidence that taught the opposite of what he affirmed, but that some of the very evidence cited by Sir John will not bear the construction which he put upon it. Positivism and Secularism, the scientific and the popular ideas respectively of the same atheistic philosophy, are the subjects of Lectures V. and VI., the latter being the more interesting, as being a fresher topic, though the author's treatment of Positivism is very discriminating, and particularly where he shows that philosophical scepticism is the necessary conclusion of Positivist premises. Lecture VIII. is devoted to Pessimism, which the author treats with the seriousness which it deserves. For Pessimism is the practical outcome of a godless philosophy. There is but one system that comes to men with words of hope, and the despairing utterances of Pessimism are giving emphasis to the Gospel's offer of eternal life. It is a subject with which evangelical thinkers must deal, and which can be turned to very practical account, for says Professor Flint:

"I entertain not the least hope that it will soon entirely disappear. Those who regard it as a merely transient and superficial fashion of thought, as a touch or shade of speculative disease which will speedily vanish away, cannot perceive what is, however, manifestly the truth, that, with all its defects, it has the great merit of distinctly raising a question of enormous importance, which has been strangely overlooked even by philosophy; and further, that it is neither an inconsistent nor an unreasonable answer to that question, certain widely prevalent principles being pre-supposed. The question to which I refer is, What is the worth of life?" (Page 292.)

But it is in Lectures III. and IX., on Materialism and Pantheism, that the finest thinking of the volume is to be found, and perhaps the most characteristic reasoning in these lectures consists in the refutation of the claim to be *monistic* systems which is made by their respective advocates on behalf of Materialism and Pantheism.

It has been said that the discussion both of Theism and Anti-Theism has proceeded too much from a metaphysical point of view, and that scientific objections have not been sufficiently dealt with on scientific grounds. Possibly there is weight in this objection, although it must be remembered that the anti-theistic theories do not arise out of the facts of observation and experiment with which scientific men have to deal, but out of the underlying metaphysics which scientific men profess to discard, but with which, nevertheless, they are forever meddling. The author gives some promise of another volume, to be devoted to the discussion of "Agnosticism." It is to be hoped that he will carry out his purpose. The three volumes would be a contribution to the literature of Natural Theology which no one interested in the movements of religious thought could afford to do without. F. L. P.

INGERSOLL AND MOSES. A Reply by Rev. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, D.D., etc. 12mo. pp. 118. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. 1880.

While we by no means maintain that there are no honest doubters, we by no means concede that there are no malignant doubters and assailants of others' faith. The notorious skeptical rhetorician of the West is not in other things so ignorant after professed investigation, so absurd in misapprehension or misrepresentation. He does not, in other things, assume his hearers to be such fools as they must be if they accept his stale caricatures of the Bible as true delineations. His audacity and venom seem to be "set on fire."

Dr. Curtiss, as one of "the young men of the Northwest," to whom he dedicates this book, has judged it needful and timely to reply somewhat in detail to Mr. Ingersoll's "Mistakes of Moses." His scholarship is ample, and is abundantly indicated even in this brief and pointed criticism. We confess that for effect on many minds we prefer Dr. Gibson's calmer and more constructive method. Yet there are undoubtedly many to whom the shorter, sharper method of Dr. Curtiss will be useful, with his telling and indignant exposure of the skeptic's sophistries.

Dr. Knob~~le~~, as he is uniformly called, would, as a German, hardly recognize his name; and in too many other instances the typographical execution of the book is inaccurate.

C. A. A.

FAITH AND RATIONALISM, with short Supplementary Essays on Related Topics. By GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D. 12mo. pp. 188. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879.

This volume consists of an address delivered at Princeton, in the Spring of 1879, before a society connected with the Seminary, together with a number of papers on themes which the address could touch but lightly in passing. Prof. Fisher gracefully absolves his Princeton brethren from responsibility for what he uttered among them. Few men would be less likely to abuse the hospitalities of such an occasion, and few (we fear no contradiction from Princeton when we say it) would be listened to with more of affectionate esteem and satisfaction. In the departments of the Philosophy of Religion, the History of Doctrine, and Specific Apologetics (and it is from the author's thought and study in these departments that the address and appended papers derive their characteristics) there is especially a field for that appreciative and judicial faculty and temper, which are able frequently to render services more necessary and valuable than those of rare genius. When reading his characterizations of the views of other writers, we often wish that they could have set forth their own views with as much clearness of conception, felicity of expression, and apprehension of the relation of their own thought to the thought of others.

Prof. Fisher's alternative statement of his theme in his opening paragraph—the ascertainment of Religious Truth—shows in what light he contemplates Faith and Rationalism. The volume is characterized by those excellent qualities which we have above ascribed in general to its author. The "obsolescent" juridical conception of the atonement, and other incidental points in which we might not agree with him, we need not discuss here.

C. A. A.

OLD FAITHS IN NEW LIGHT. By NEWMAN SMYTH, author of "The Religious Feeling." 12mo. pp. 391. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879.

The author (Bowdoin College, 1863; Andover Theol. Sem., 1867; present pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Quincy, Ill.) has, by this work and its closely related predecessor, made for himself an honorable place among our vigorous writers upon the theological and scientific questions of the day. He has studied and thought, abroad and at home, wisely and well. His style is clear, vigorous, and full of purpose. His books are apologetic in their aim. In the first ("The Religious Feeling," New York, 1877) he was occupied with the apologetics of Theism. His inquiry was (p. 15): Are we capable of coming to a knowledge of God, even if there is a God? His answer is affirmative. He finds "the perennial source of religion" in religious feeling, as the feeling of finite being and also of moral dependence (Ch. ii. and iii.), which feeling "involves perception, and is, therefore, the valid source of theology" (Ch. iv.) The knowledge gained by the immediate perceptions which grow out of it is real knowledge (p. 128).

His second work, resting on the theistic basis established in the first (although not necessarily on the method by which its conclusions were reached), and recognizing the necessity that our Christian thinking, both for ourselves and for others, should take account of the mental and spiritual conditions of our times, proposes to test faith in the Bible, the Christ, and immortality, under the light of the idea of development, which he takes to be the dominant idea in modern thought (p. 19). The Bible he examines in its historical growth (Ch. ii), its morality (Ch. iii.), and its scientific relations and tendency (Ch. iv.) The points in respect to Christ which he selects for the test that he is employing, are, "The Uniqueness of Jesus" (Ch. v.) and "The Naturalness of Christ" (Ch. vi.) The two remaining chapters discuss the unseen universe and the resurrection.

This outline will show how many of the burning questions of modern apologetics come within the author's field. Both in refutation of error, and in constructive work, he does good service. His constant aim is to show the absolute impossibility of doing justice to indisputable facts, unless full recognition is given to that development on which the Christian philosophy of history insists. Thus he says (p. 58): "Through the whole manifold development of a Divinely selected national life, as well as through the sacred literature which flows out of that life, or carries it on, we find the special presence and power of the self-revealing God of history;" and (p. 81): "Whence came, and of what manner of spirit is this *anti-historic* power in Israel and the Bible;" and (p. 231): "May we not have in the person and life of Christ the very culmination, the highest union, of two great processes of God's activity, of two evolutions, which have been working from the beginning toward one far-off and glorious consummation?"

The vitality and strength and steady progress of the author's discussion command a pleased and close attention; and few will take up his book who will not find their confidence confirmed in the objects and articles of faith with which he deals, and the advocacy or defence of them helped.

At times we may need to supplement or correct his argument. For example, his discussion of the "rough, hard work" of the O. T. dispensation as toward the interests and peoples that stood in Israel's way, with which roughness and hardness, difficulty and fault are so often found, seems to us inadequate, and possibly seriously misleading. He says forcibly (p. 121): "The right of the individual to life is an undeniable principle of morality; but, at times, the right of a race to its redemption may be more sacred." But the case of the Ammonites and Canaanites, who are immediately mentioned, is not fully covered by this principle. And, surely, in view of their monstrous iniquity, something more is needed than we find either here or in the principle stated in this form, among others: "All who, at any stage of the process, contributed to the result, or who have been under temporal exigencies severely used by the course of Providence, have their recompense in the final issue." Now, the right of a race to redemption, and the amends to be made to providential sufferers, are not the only things demanding acknowledgment. We miss clear recognition of punitive justice.

And wherever inspiration, and questions closely implicated with it, are touched, we are left too much in doubt as to the author's position. He is construed by some as taking quite liberal ground; most, if not all, of his expressions on these points may be construed as indicating the most advanced position which the Church in its apologetic work can occupy. The author's work would please us better if none found in it an uncertain sound.

C. A. A.

IV.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

CONFERENCE PAPERS; OR, ANALYSES OF DISCOURSES ON SABBATH AFTERNOONS TO THE STUDENTS OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, Princeton, N. J. By CHARLES HODGE, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879. 8vo. 373 pp.

Cicero says that not to mention the instructors of distinguished men, is the height of literary injustice. How many eminent for usefulness in the Church of Christ at home and abroad, the living and the dead, recall with pious gratitude the instructions imparted to them by the author of this volume! The establishment of our older theological seminaries synchronises with that practical evangelism which was developed in many forms at the beginning of the present century. It will ever be an occasion for gratitude that the first men called to teach in these seminaries, thus giving direction to theological education, were men of such peculiar character. In par-

ticular excellencies they had equals and superiors; but in that rare combination of qualities which fitted them for their specific work, they were unrivalled. At Andover was Moses Stuart, flaming with enthusiasm in the study of the original Scriptures, and imparting that enthusiasm to others, who have subsequently been employed in translating the Bible into so many languages on missionary ground. Associated with him was Dr. Woods, sound, cautious, and devout; and Dr. Porter, combining exquisite taste, deep sensibility, and fervent piety. At Princeton was Dr. Alexander, simple ("How great learning," said Archbishop Usher, "it takes to make these things simple"), learned, well-read in theology and human experience; and Dr. Miller, ornate, dignified, a pattern of clerical life and manners. To these is to be added the brilliant name of Charles Hodge, the erudite theologian and devout Christian, giving his entire life to the education of Christian ministers.

Whatever may be true of transatlantic seminaries, all the seminaries with which we are acquainted in this country, are accustomed to devote certain hours to religious conference and prayer, when professors and students meet together to consider "the common salvation." Never may it be that in any of these seminaries the alternative should be presented of pious ignorance, or frigid scholarship.

The volume before us consists of the outlines of addresses made by Dr. Hodge to the students at Princeton Seminary on successive Sabbath afternoons. It seems to have been the good habit of Dr. Hodge to put upon paper the points to be used in these addresses. These are now collected and published. The words used by others on similar occasions have proved, in too many instances, ephemeral, passing away with the hour in which they were uttered, or if subsequently any are recalled, they are like the few insects of a swarm, now and then caught and embalmed in amber. But here is a full volume of valuable material in permanent form. These addresses are, in fact, analyses of texts fitted for pulpit discourse; they are what are familiarly called plans or skeletons of sermons. As might have been expected, they are exegetical, doctrinal, and logical. We would never advise any minister to use this or any other compilation for the purpose of providing himself with plans for his own discourses; but every minister will find here ample instruction as to the right mode of analyzing and unfolding Biblical texts. The making of the model is the test of the artist. Congratulating those who were favored with the privilege of listening to these conference addresses when originally delivered, in their expanded form, by the voice now hushed in death, we subjoin, as the best method of describing their general character, the following example, the first that comes under our eye on a casual opening of the volume:

"CLI., *Humility*. 1 Pet. v. 5.

"It is said that the heathen have no word for humble in the religious sense. It is not 'humilis,' nor 'modestus,' nor *σώφρων*, nor *ταπεινός*. In Hebrew עֲנִי means

to suffer; עֲנָה, suffering, and hence עֲנִי, poor, humble.

"I. *The Christian graces are inseparable*. One cannot exist without the other. There cannot be faith without hope, or repentance without love, or love without meekness. This finds its analogy in physical life. Respiration, arterial action, digestion, cannot be conducted independently of one another. Though this is true, yet one grace may be more prominent than others.

"II. *The graces are in themselves distinct*. That is, the state of mind which they express is not simple, but complex, various graces entering into its composition. Thus hope includes faith and desire and love; faith includes love, and love includes faith; repentance includes faith and love, etc.

"III. *Humility is not a separate grace*. It is that state of mind which arises from a proper appreciation of the truth in regard to ourselves. 1. A due appreciation of our insignificance as creatures. In this sense it is opposed to self-importance, to self-reliance, to pride of intellect. 2. A due appreciation of ourselves as sinners, in—

cluding a sense of guilt and of pollution. It is opposed, therefore, to self-righteousness and to self-complacency. 3. A due appreciation of our weakness. Hence, a sense of inability for self-conversion, for sanctification, for usefulness.

"IV. *Manifestations*. 1. A disposition to appreciate others, or not to despise those around us. 2. Not to seek after honor or praise. 3. Not to be impatient under contempt. 4. Not to refuse to associate with the lowly. 5. Not unwilling to be least, and to obey.

"V. *Benefits*. Without it there is no religion, no communion with God, no inward peace, no outward power.

"VI. *Means*. 1. Comparison of ourselves with God and His law. 2. Contemplation of our guilt, of our pollution, and of our uselessness." W. A.

MOSES THE LAWGIVER. By the Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D. 482 pp. New York, 1879.

The distinguished Bowdoin College professor, Dr. Thomas C. Upham, used to say he was never quite so happy as when correcting proof-sheets. If this is Dr. Taylor's idea of happiness, he has certainly had his full share of it since taking charge of the Broadway Tabernacle Church in 1872. Besides "The Ministry of the Word," 1876, and occasional minor publications, he has given us, in rapid succession, "David, King of Israel," 1874; "Elijah the Prophet," 1875; "Peter the Apostle," 1876; "Daniel the Beloved," 1878; and now "Moses the Lawgiver," 1879. These five volumes are all of them collections of biographical discourses, preached to large Sunday-evening congregations in the Broadway Tabernacle Church. Three of the courses ("David," "Elijah," and "Daniel") had been preached before, on the other side of the Atlantic, or the five volumes could not have followed one another so rapidly. In each case new materials have been gathered, critical questions have been more carefully considered, and every discourse rewritten, not for the eye this second time, but for the ear again, and then at last for the eye. Such revision for the pulpit, preceding final revision for the press, is one of the secrets of highest homiletic success.

This latest series has been the most thoroughly studied, and will generally be considered the ablest of them all. Its theme is greatest. No Hebrew king, or prophet, could rival the great founder of the Hebrew nation and polity. Perhaps no apostle even, surely not Peter, could rival him. The subject has also far wider and more varied relations. It enters the rich field of Egyptian history and archæology. It has to do with geographical questions of much interest. And then there are problems of society and government, of institutions, customs, laws, and penalties, which have engaged the attention of the deepest thinkers. These questions, outside of the average clerical range, have been neither timidly avoided nor rashly met. The best authorities have been consulted, difficulties have been frankly recognized, and some points left open for further investigation or debate. If mooted questions were always handled thus judiciously and fairly, skeptics might be no less skeptical, but they would certainly be less scornful.

In this volume, as in its predecessors, Dr. Taylor is first of all a preacher, and a very magnetic preacher. The ring and movement are distinctively those of eloquent discourse. The eye is clear, the touch sure. Statements of doctrine are sharp, statements of fact are graphic. Illustrations are abundant, and singularly apt and pleasing. The salient points are instinctively seized upon, and pressed home with quick, nervous, rousing energy. Whoever has heard Dr. Taylor preach will catch the key-tones of his voice all along, from sentence to sentence, and from page to page. The 'spiritual throb' is also strong and stimulating. A congregation accustomed to such appeals can hardly fail to be solidified and toned up in Christian character. Frequently there is a happy terseness of expression which reminds one of Matthew Henry: as when, speaking of the hymns sung after crossing the Red Sea, our author says: "But to sing deliverance, you must accept deliverance."

On critical points, while there is no affectation or parade of learning, its results are well appropriated. For example, reference is made to the "Aperiu" of the monuments (Brugsch, however, thinks they were not Hebrews); to the Egyptian origin of the name of Moses; to the required identification of Jethro with Reuel, and especially to the recent attacks on the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy. Great good sense is shown in choosing between rival theories: as in regard to the place of crossing the Red Sea; which end of Sinai the Law was given from; where Rephidim and Kadesh-Barnea were. In opposition to some recent English explorers, Robinson is wisely followed in his identification of the last two places, as well as in regard to Suez and Sufsafeh. The descriptions of scenery, for one who has never visited the localities, are charmingly clear and vivid, showing us what wealth of material has come in from recent explorations, and what use may be made of it by a man of creative imagination. Our author's flat-roofed tabernacle would, however, hardly endure the winter rains and snows of the Sinaitic peninsula.

Of the twenty-six chapters which compose the volume, the thirteenth and twenty-fifth, on the *Intercession*, and on the *Death and Burial of Moses*, and above all, perhaps, the twenty-sixth, on the *Characteristics of Moses*, are particularly impressive and thrilling. In the fourteenth chapter, the construction and symbolic uses of the *Tabernacle* are well set forth; and, in the fifteenth chapter, the *Mosaic Legislation* is admirably explained and justified. But the volume is full of brightness and vitality throughout. And it is calculated to be of great service to young preachers especially, in teaching them how to handle the Old Testament History.

R. D. H.

THE AGES BEFORE MOSES: a Series of Lectures on the Book of Genesis. By J. M. GIBSON, D.D. 12mo. pp. 258. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

The object of this course of lectures is twofold. While incidentally defending the Book of Genesis against the negative and destructive criticism which has made it a chosen object of attack, the author aims to exhibit the real, and especially the evangelical, import of its narratives in respect to its main themes, characters, and events. Lecture XII., on "Genesis as the foreground of the Bible," supplies the explanation and the justification of his view. Seeking to be just and even liberal toward science, Dr. Gibson ably maintains the reliableness of the revelations and histories which the book records.

One need not agree with the author in all his concessions and adjustments to science, or in all his doctrinal conceptions—*e. g.*, that the narrative of the creation suggests the Trinity—to estimate highly the vigor of thought and expression, the scholarly resources, and the rich and evangelical suggestiveness of his book. The good service done to his people and the community by the original delivery of the lectures is confirmed to them and extended to many more by this timely publication.

C. A. A.

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY ATLAS, etc. New edition (the 6th). With 31 maps, a chronological chart, etc. 8vo. pp. 151. London: Church Missionary House, 1879.

This valuable work first appeared in 1857, and has increased many fold in compass and completeness as it has passed through successive editions. No edition has shown a greater advance upon its predecessors than the present. While the work is designed to illustrate the missions of the Church Missionary Society of Great Britain, all of its general maps and papers are of common interest and of great value. For acquaintance with the specific work of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in India, China, Japan, Persia, and, to some extent, Syria and Western Africa, much important information and illustration may be gained through the use of this Atlas, which is to be commended for wide circulation and diligent use.

C. A. A.

DIE GEGENSEITIGEN BEZIEHUNGEN ZWISCHEN DER MODERNEN MISSION UND CULTUR. AUCH EINE CULTUR-KAMPFSTUDIE. Von Dr. GUSTAV WARNECK. 8vo. pp. 326. Gütersloh, 1879.

We have here from a very competent hand a valuable book on a most important subject. "The mutual relations existing between modern missions and civilization" have been a subject of thought to every thoughtful friend of missions, as well as to missionary workers, and no less to those who decry missions or denounce Christianity. The material, however, for a comprehensive and sober judgment is very widely scattered in missionary and in secular literature. The pages of our author's work, especially his more than four hundred notes, show how wide and patient has been his research, how thoroughly he has endeavored to survey the whole field, and how careful he has been to find a foundation of attested fact for his judgments.

Though now a quiet country pastor Dr. Warneck's former connection with the Mission-house at Barmen prepared him to become the editor of the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, as well as of such works as that now before us.

Of the three divisions of the book, the first contains a few needful preliminary explanations; the second, the discussion of the relations of missions to civilization; the third, the exhibition of the relations, favorable and unfavorable, of civilization to missions. Even to glance at the questions raised, the views maintained, and the evidence adduced in their support, would require an article rather than a brief notice. One cannot read the book without new views of the superiority and divine right of Christianity as the world's civilizer. While recognizing the valuable aid given in many ways to missions by civilization, one must gain new impressions of the great hindrance thrown in the way of the world's evangelization by much of the private action and the public policy of the civilized and the missionary nations. And very sober judgments are suggested in regard to the danger both to civilization and evangelization if the results of ages are demanded of a day, and peoples dazzled and bewildered by the glitter and rush of our modern culture are to be bereft of originality and independence by the injudicious and impatient methods of our working.

Both knowledge and wisdom, we think, would be promoted, if this volume or its equivalent could be put into the hands of our pastors and churches. C. A. A.

AT THE BEAUTIFUL GATE—UNTO THE DESIRED HAVEN—THE PALACE OF THE KING. Sq. 16mo. pp. 176, 174, 174. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1880.

This is a threefold collection, the separate parts of which, under their several titles, may be had in neat 18mo volumes. The announcement that the poems are compiled by the same accomplished hand that gathered and arranged the contents of "The Changed Cross," "The Shadow of the Rock," and "The Chamber of Peace," makes ready a welcome, and creates an expectation of gratification to taste, and refreshment and profit to mind and heart. Some Christian statesmen, and many of Christ's nameless ones, have been cheered, soothed, steadied on their way by these unassuming collections, which show the watchful eye, the nice poetic instinct, and the practised skill of the compiler. The muse is not always at her best; yet while such waifs as are gathered in these new volumes may still be found, this useful work is not done. C. A. A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN MISSIONS, held at the Conference Hall in Mildmay Park, London, in October, 1878. 8vo, pp. viii. 434. London, 1879.

For practical knowledge of the methods and details of missionary work, few volumes can be consulted to so great advantage as the Proceedings of the Missionary Conferences that have been held at Bremen in 1866, 1868, 1872, and 1876, at Calcutta in 1855, Benares in 1857, Ootacamund in 1858, Lahore in 1863, Allahabad in 1872, Shanghai in 1877, Liverpool in 1860, and most recently in London in 1878.

Of the meetings most interesting to us, the two last named differ from the others in that they were not held on missionary ground,—that they were not carried on so largely by missionaries, but to a considerable extent by the officers and members of the supporting societies,—and that a larger number of societies was represented. Thirty-four societies united in this London Conference, half of them being represented by present or former workers in the foreign field.

Different fields were presented in their claims, their actual state, the helps and hindrances to Christian work characteristic of them, and the relations of auxiliary agencies of various kinds,—while details were never allowed to crowd out of sight the great aim and the great warrant of all missionary endeavor.

Pastors could hardly make better provision for the Monthly Concert and the missionary sermon than by securing access to one or more volumes of this class, bringing them to a direct grapple with the problems of the work. C. A. A.

SIEBENTE HAUPTVERSAMLUNG DER EVANGELISCHEN ALLIANZ, gehalten in Basel, September, 1879. BERICHTE UND REDEN HERAUSGEGEBEN IN AUFTRAG DES COMITE DER ALLIANZ, durch C. J. RIGGENBACH, D. and Prof. I. BAND. 8vo. pp. 402. Basel, 1879.

This first volume of the Proceedings of the Seventh General Conference of the Alliance appeared promptly in November, and the next was advertised to see the light in the following month. The book is well edited and printed, and will constitute an excellent and enduring memorial of one of the most useful conferences the Alliance ever held. The recorded names of the members amount to 1,572, of whom there were from Great Britain, 252; Holland, 63; America, 63; Greece, 2; Turkey, 6; Africa, 5; East India, 3. The editor's preface gives an interesting account of the origin of the undertaking, of the difficulties in the way (one of which was a tendency to confound the Alliance gathering with certain "Holiness-Meetings" of questionable tendency), of the way in which they were surmounted, and of the general character of the sessions and exercises. Due notice is taken of the remarkable *fête champêtre* at Riehen, and of the admirable sacred concert in the Minster.

The volume opens with a report of the exercises at the grand reception on the evening of August 31st, in the great hall of the Vereinshaus, a meeting which will never be forgotten by any of those so happy as to be present at it. This is followed by the reports of the state of religion in the different countries represented in the Alliance, viz: Switzerland, by Dr. Güder; Germany, by Prof. H. Cremer; France, by Pastor Babut; Great Britain, by Hon. and Rev. E. V. Bligh; Holland, by Dr. Van Oosterzee; America, by Dr. Schaff; Austria-Hungary, by Dr. Von Tardy, and Scandinavia, by Prof. Von Scheele. After these thoughtful papers comes a translation in German of the extremely interesting article prepared by Dr. Stoughton, of London, on the relations between Basel and England at the time of the Reformation, and read by him on the evening of the first day of September, to the great delight of the English-speaking portion of the Conference. The next pages contain the brilliant addresses of Professors Von Orelli and Godet, on the unchangeableness of the Apostolic Gospel. An English condensation of the former appeared in the *Catholic Presbyterian* of November last. It is to be hoped that the latter will in like manner be translated and published. The remainder of the volume is occupied with reports on evangelization in France, Belgium, and Italy (including a statement on McAll's work in Paris, by the Rev. R. S. Ashton, of London), and a conference upon the preparation of ministers of the Word, by Professors Gess and Porret and Pastor Baur.

A careful examination of these various papers, together with those of the second volume, will show, we think, that the recent Conference has not fallen behind any of its predecessors (except perhaps the one held in New York), in the variety and timeliness of the topics considered, and in the freshness and grasp of the subject with which they were handled. The great Council held at Basle in 1431 to

reform the Church and secure uniformity miserably failed. This one, held in the same historic city, to express and promote unity, and to contribute to the defence of the common faith against embittered foes, has been a signal success, the beneficent effects of which are likely to be felt in long years to come. Each of its members, on returning to his distant home, must needs have carried with him at least some sparks of the sacred fire there enkindled by the blessed Spirit of all grace.

T. W. C.

V.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

THE RELATION OF MIND AND BRAIN. By HENRY CALDERWOOD, LL.D. 8vo. pp. xvi, 455. Macmillan & Co., London, 1879.

Professor Calderwood has done a very important service to the cause of truth in the publication of this volume. The subject is one of great moment at the present day, and the treatment of it has been left too much to the positivists. That a very close connection exists between the mind and the body, no one ever denied; and that the objective study of brain as well as the introspective study of mental states is necessary to a complete philosophy of mind, cannot very well be called in question, though the physiological psychologists, like Maudsley, are prone to magnify their office by overestimating the former and undervaluing the latter branch of inquiry. Professor Calderwood devotes a few pages of his instructive volume to a reply to the charge that metaphysicians have not followed the scientific method of induction, and that they have ignored physiology.

He shows that the charge is not well founded, and that it is especially untrue of the Scottish school of philosophy; and that, as for physiology, the neglect of it is simply due to the fact, that until recently there was little in that department that called for special notice. Now, however, the case is different; for there is "a large body of ascertained facts calling for some deliberate attempt to harmonize results with the facts of mental experience." The present volume is a valuable contribution to this very desirable object. The author's thesis is, "given a physiology of brain and nerve, to ascertain whether this constitutes a philosophy of the phenomena commonly recognized as 'mental phenomena.'" This should be kept in mind; for, though it may be regretted that the author did not assign himself a larger and perhaps more difficult task, this regret should not prevent the reader from estimating the present work solely by reference to the question, whether what the writer set out to accomplish has been done.

The earlier chapters are occupied with an account of the structure of the human brain and the physiology of the nervous system. This is followed by some very interesting discussions in the department of comparative anatomy and physiology; so that the lay reader who follows the author in his luminous exposition, and particularly with the help of the accompanying plates, will have no difficulty in acquiring a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the salient facts pertaining to the physiology of the brain, and will be able to read with advantage the metaphysical discussions which are to be found in this volume and elsewhere.

The book is a practical refutation of the charge, that metaphysicians do not know physiology, and that the believers in the doctrine of the soul as a separate entity are not aware of what is going on in the department of cerebral experimentation. It is probable that the metaphysicians are more generally acquainted with these researches than they are supposed to be; but Dr. Calderwood may be safely pointed to as one, at least, who is not contented with "a mere skimming of physiological text-books" (Maudsley, "Physiology and Pathology of Mind," p. 24), but who has industriously made himself acquainted with the literature and the latest results of

cerebral investigation, though still maintaining that the "somatists," as he calls the men of this materialistic school, have as yet brought forward no theory adequate to the explanation of the genesis of thought. The brain as the seat of sensori-motor action is then considered, and the facts regarding the localization of functions as discussed by Ferrier and others, are adverted to, with the comment that no light has hitherto been thrown upon the question as to the seat of intelligence. The homologies of brain structure throughout the animal kingdom are discussed, and the conclusion to which the author arrives is, that the convolutions of the brain stand related to the *muscular strength* of the animal, and not to its intelligence; and that the greater complexity of the human brain, as compared with that of the lower animals, is called for by the greater variety and delicacy of muscular action of which man is capable.

The author's argument to the effect that nerve tissue will not explain mental action—that it is impossible to express thought in terms of motion—that however true it may be that a series of molecular changes may attend a series of mental experiences, it is impossible to identify the one with the other, is very satisfactory, and in many cases, as in the chapter on the "higher forms of mental activity," is put admirably and with great force.

The psychological reasoning on the basis of which a person is proved necessary as the subject of the individual sensation, as the central thread upon which a series of sensations is strung, as exercising a power of will whereby sensations are controlled and motor activity is inaugurated, or "reflex action" inhibited, is very forcible; and the author may well challenge the "somatist" to explain those phenomena by reference to molecular changes in nerve-tissue. And yet the reader feels that he would have been better satisfied, had Dr. Calderwood dealt polemically with those who maintain the opposite view; and interesting as his chapters are which describe the pathological conditions of mind and body, the reader who knows that one of the arguments against the existence of the soul is based on the pathology of the mind, must close Dr. Calderwood's volume with some regret that this phase of the subject was not made a matter of more extended argument. There is a noticeable omission to deal with Pflüger's celebrated experiment with the decapitated frog. The action of this brainless frog under the influence of acetic acid is so suggestive of intention, choice, and intelligence, that in all treatises which touch the metaphysics of the brain, it has become an unfailing allusion. Is the will in man no more than the apparently purposive act of the brainless frog? Is the act of the frog a really volitional act? And so is the spinal cord as well as the brain a seat of sensation and intelligence, as Lewes (and Pflüger) has so ingeniously argued. ("Problems of Life and Mind," pp. 468-555)? Or, do we have here only an illustration of the fact, that in speaking of the intelligence of animals we are only fallaciously inferring that what exists in us exists in them? Ferrier, speaking on this subject, says: "The existence of consciousness in others is only an inference from our own experience, and we are inclined to attribute to consciousness such actions as necessarily imply distinct sensation and intelligent action on our part." ("Functions of the Brain," p. 21). How far does this give us a clew in the discussion of the question respecting the intelligence of the brutes? It is important to show—and Professor Calderwood has succeeded in showing, in a most satisfactory way throughout his eminently fair, judicial, and learned volume—that the phenomena of mind cannot be explained by physiology. But there are other questions quite as important. What is meant by a mind? How does intelligence in man differ from intelligence in other animals? How is the dualism of Mind and Matter to be defended? for a monism—a doctrine of Body-Mind in place of Body *and* Mind, is being taught and pressed upon the notice of men; and whether it be the monism that comes through the Hegelian Philosophy, or that which comes through the Positive Philosophy, it is equally hostile to the idea that the personal soul is a separate

finite entity related to a particular corporeal organism. And though the discussion of this question did not fall, perhaps, within the scope of Professor Calderwood's volume, it is a question of great moment to-day, and it is to be hoped that some one will deal with it. F. L. P.

RECHERCHES ARCHEOLOGIQUES SUR LES COLONIES PHENICIENNES SUR LE LITTORAL DE LA CELTOLIGURIE, PAR M. L'ABBE BARGES. Paris, 1878.

This is a scholarly book. The Abbé is Professor of Hebrew at the Sorbonne, an Orientalist of distinction, and the author of numerous treatises upon Phœnician, Aramaic, and Arabic subjects. While he does not claim much originality for the present volume, but modestly says it is composed in the main of existing materials, and is the fruit of his leisure hours, we are inclined to put a high estimate upon it as a skilful and eminently readable *résumé* of information scattered through many volumes and inaccessible to the general public. It is concerned with the monumental remains of the Phœnicians in the south of France, and more particularly those either formerly or now in Marseilles. A fitting tribute is paid to the antiquary Grosson (p. 84), whose great work, published in 1773, contains accurate drawings and descriptions of a number of these remains which are now unhappily destroyed or lost. Two of the seven plates in this book are taken from Grosson's, and represent very curious Phœnician altars. In 1863 some workmen, who were pulling down old buildings in Marseilles, unearthed forty-seven stones hollowed in the form of niches, each containing a statue of a Phœnician divinity (p. 112). There are engravings of three of these steles. One represents Baal Chamman (Baal Solaris). He stands erect, a veil falls down from his head upon his right shoulder; his arms are raised, and rest upon the sides of the niche; his tunic is gathered up about his waist. The other two are representations of the goddess Tanith; in one (p. 125) she holds a bird in her lap. There is also an engraving of a Carthaginian Baal Chamman. But the most interesting plate in the volume is that of the famous Phœnician tablet, which originally was in the vestibule of the Baal temple at Marseilles. It was discovered in the foundation of an old building; as it now exists it is imperfect, but the Abbé believes the missing pieces will be found when the building is demolished. The inscription upon it relates to the Baal sacrifices, and strangely thrills us, as it seems to call up the ghosts of departed faiths.

Besides this archæological there is considerable philological and other information in connection with those towns upon the south coast of France which have Phœnician names, which are traced and explained. Thus Rascius, *capital of the gulf*, Caccabaria, *head of a lion*. Marseilles is said to be Celtic and to mean *the abode of the Salyens*. Much space is given to the history of this city before the advent of the Phœnicians. The book closes with a quotation from Ezekiel's prophecy in relation to Tyre (chaps. 26, 27), and a hint that the day may come when the French and the English will be robbed of their commercial supremacy by a war or a revolution, and thus pass away like the Phœnicians of old! S. M. J.

HARPERS' LATIN DICTIONARY, founded on the translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon edited by E. A. Andrews, LL.D. Revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten by CHARLTON T. LEWIS, Ph.D., and CHARLES SHORT, LL.D. Royal 8vo. pp. 2033. New York: Harper & Brothers. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1879.

It is a tribute to the thoroughness and completeness of this revised and enlarged American edition of Andrews' Freund's Latin Lexicon, that it is adopted and published simultaneously by the Directors of the Clarendon Press, at Oxford. It is thus, without a rival, the standard work in Latin Lexicography in the English language; nor does any other so fully, or indeed at all, comprise those most recent results in the various departments of philological research which demand condensed statement in a complete Latin Lexicon. The "dead" languages and literatures have been still, as of old, a field in which the ablest scholars have wrought,

not only critically perfecting and completing past results, but producing abundant and valuable fruits that are new. These have so greatly accumulated at the hands of the present generation of scholars, as the largely increased number of Philological Journals and Transactions, Monographs, critical and annotated editions of classical authors and earliest remains of the language, histories, and great works, containing the most comprehensive and minute research into the comparative and special history of the classical, as of other languages, abundantly testify, that the need had become a pressing one, to gather up the well-settled facts and views from these manifold sources and compact them in lexical form. Such conclusions, therefore, of investigations in Latin, Orthography, Etymology, Archæology, Definitions, Syntax, and Literary Usage of words and phrases, are presented by the new editors of this Dictionary, with a concise completeness, a critical skill, and a scientific classification which will command, we are sure, the heartiest approval and thanks of those most competent to judge of such work.

The enlarged extent of citations from Latin authors is seen in the fact that more than thirty names are added to the list found in the previous edition. Turning to some of the earlier articles upon important words, for the sake of comparison with the previous edition, we find the treatment of *ago* and its uses expanded by nearly three columns; that of *amplus* from two to seven columns; *anima* and *animus* in like proportion; that of *capio*, from three and a half to eight columns; that of *apud* from one and a half to nearly seven columns, while *contra*, instead of two and a half, has seventeen; *cum*, instead of three, twenty-one; and *volo*, instead of two, more than twenty compact columns of that microscopic analysis and subtle development and rich illustration of their meanings and uses, which one familiar with Dr. Gustav Fischer's Latin Grammar easily recognizes as his without the statement of the prefatory advertisement. Examination of the largely expanded articles upon the letters *a* and *f*, and of the revision the others have been subjected to, shows that phonetic and orthographical changes and relations have received careful treatment. The whole typographical arrangement and execution of the Dictionary is very perfect and adapted to aid the eye in quickly finding, among the minute subdivisions, any special object of its search.

W. A. P.

WILHELM GESIENIUS' HEBRÄISCHES UND CHALDAÏSCHES HANDWÖRTERBUCH ÜBER DAS ALTE TESTAMENT. Achte Auflage, neu bearbeitet von F. MÜHLAV und W. VOLCK, ord. Professoren d. Theologie an der Universität Dorpat. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel. 1878. 8vo, pp. xl. 982.

This last edition of Gesenius' Manual Lexicon ought to be commended to the attention of earnest students of Hebrew outside of Germany, who, relying upon translations made from the early issues, have neglected to follow the later development of Hebrew lexicography in that country. In some important respects this edition is a decided improvement upon any of its predecessors. The fifth, sixth, and seventh editions (7. Aufl. Leipzig, 1868), edited by Prof. F. Dietrich, of Marburg, had not essentially changed the form of the Lexicon as left by Gesenius, the editor's additions being simply appended to the old articles. This, as the present editors rightly say, does not answer present requirements, and there is scarcely an article of importance which has not been treated entirely anew. In this brief review we shall simply mention the departments in which most advance has been made, with a few examples and qualifications.

A Hebrew lexicographer of the present day has to bestow more labor upon the etymological than upon the exegetical portion of his work. Hence the necessity of getting the hometyma of each form, and hence also the primary importance of a sound theory of the constitution of roots in general. In attempting to reduce, as they are right in doing, the current triliteral "roots" to more early biliteral forms, the present editors have, we think, been more successful than any who have yet written

on the subject. The proof of relationship in any given case is afforded by comparison with similar forms, not only in Hebrew itself, but also in the cognate languages. In such investigations they have been largely aided by the laborious investigations of Fleischer in the most copious of the Semitic idioms, the Arabic. The result of their labors is seen in the entirely different treatment of vast numbers of roots from that which appears in the old editions. In most cases we think they have, by their wider groupings, given a better account of the origin of the forms in question. But there are two important strictures which we must make upon their work in this department. First, they have not a sufficiently discriminating or consistent theory of the way in which the trilaterals are developed. Their general assumption is that, with a few exceptions, the first two letters of the trilateral indicate the primitive elements. This holds very well in most cases; but when they assume that in some of the ק and פ roots the middle radical is primary and the third determinative, they fall very easily into error. To give an example of this from many cases, they connect the root קח of the word מִחְזֵז harbor with a supposed

biliteral קח , appearing also in חור , חור , חור , with the meaning *bind around, enclose*. The true root is much more probably קח , to *cleave, open* (connected with a multitude of similar sound in the Semitic), so that a harbor was regarded as a large cleft or opening in the shore. Our second stricture is that they are too fanciful in their attempts to bring together remote meanings in similar sounds. For example, the root קח is assimilated to קק (with the primary sound ק , to *beat, crush*), קק is connected with קק , the two senses of קק are absurdly unified, as well as those of קק , one of which is so clearly onomatopoeic. The Assyrian language has become available since the time of Gesenius, and some use is made of it in comparisons, especially in proper names, the meaning of many of which is thus cleared up, though they do not seem to have noticed that קק may have its first number explained (cf. the Syr., Old-Egypt. and Arab. forms) from קק

city related to *Ur* of the Chaldees, itself an Assyrian word. In common names, however, and in roots, they have drawn from this source very little, and even omit to cite the Ass. *idu* as akin to קק , so long supposed to be without a Semitic homonym. We notice also that they omit the Syr. and Chald. cognates of קק . Quadrilaterals are usually developed rightly from single instead of double trilaterals.

In the exegetical matter we notice that the treatment of several important words, such as some of the particles, אם , אם , אם , is much more thorough and satisfactory than in the old editions. In rare words they have gained much by consulting such men as Franz Delitzsch and Wetzstein. They certainly ought to cite, more frequently than they do, those passages in which the use of the given word is ambiguous, e. g., 1 Kings xxii. 34, at אם , and Psalm cv. 22, at אם . The defects of

the earlier editions in this respect are still far from being supplied. Among a number of similar shortcomings we notice that *sword* is the only meaning for קק

that is mentioned. It may mean that; but it is a guess suggested to the Targ. and Jerome by the Gr. $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\rho\alpha$ which has no connection with it. J. F. MCC.

WILHELM GESENIUS' HEBRAISCHE GRAMMATIK; nach E. ROEDIGER völlig umgearbeitet u. herausgegeben von E. KAUTZSCH, ord. Prof. an d. Universität zu Basel. 22 Auflage. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1878. 8vo. pp. 371.

The twenty-first edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, edited by Roediger, was issued in 1872, two years before the death of the latter. In the present edition considerable improvement has been made as detailed by the editor in the preface. The

merit of this grammar as a "schulgrammatik" is that it does not offer to the learner merely rules and results of investigation, but labors also to explain (as is mostly done successfully) the facts of the language succinctly. Its main defect in this regard is that the explanations are not separated sufficiently from the statements of the facts themselves, which for the practical purposes of beginners should always be presented in a form readily taken in by the eye.

The Introduction is an admirable presentation of facts, interesting to the student with regard to the Semitic languages in general and the Hebrew in particular. With regard to the treatment of the Sounds, we are particularly pleased with what is said of the vowels, their relations to one another, and their changes. In this much is done to explain to the beginner what is undoubtedly to him the most puzzling part of Hebrew Grammar. Under orthography more should have been said of the Accents, in spite of the editor's defence of his omissions, and the laws of their consecution, in prose at least, should have been given in a grammar the size of the present one. The treatment of the Forms is the most valuable part of the book, and much has been gained from the labors of grammarians later than Gesenius, as Ewald, Olshausen, and Böttcher. The terminology of Ewald has been largely adopted, and the misnomer declension no longer appears. The fulness and clearness of this part do not leave much to be desired for practical purposes. We note, among other things, the brief instructive remarks on the relations of q^{y} and y^{y} verbs. Among errors retained from Gesenius is the connection of the relative וְ with וְאֵלֶּיךָ .

The Syntax is the most defective portion of the work. More use should have been made of the exhaustive treatise of Ewald. Particular attention should be directed to the absence of all reference whatever to the special mode of expressing an imperfect and pluperfect, by introducing the subject between the *vav* conjunctive, and the verb in the perfect, as distinguished from the use of *vav* consecutive—a distinction of constant applicability; and exemplified even in the first three verses of Genesis.

J. F. MCC.

THE HUMAN SPECIES. By A. DE QUATREFAGES, Prof. of Anthropology, in Paris. 12mo. pp. x. 398. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This book reminds us, by its charming style, of Darwin's "Origin of Species." Every page is full of striking scientific facts, so that even if we care not for the arguments, we are thankful for the information. Its main design is to serve as a counterblast to Mr. Darwin's books, by showing that species are true and not transmutable; that man, whilst closely agreeing in many respects with animals, is raised above them by the possession of moral and religious faculties; and that the more thoroughly we follow mankind in all variations of color and race, and the further we trace him back in geology, the more are we convinced of the unity of all nations as of common blood, and of their complete separation from monkeys and from other animals.

The author is careful to deal with his subject not as a question of theology, but purely as a matter of scientific observation and experiment, whilst recognizing (as he ought to do) the force and significancy of the arguments which have been arrayed on the side of evolution, he sets over against them a host of scientific facts which have already prevailed (in common with similar contributions by St. George Mivart) to check, in some measure, the evolution fever that was coming over the study of science.*

The author disposes of the views of Louis Agassiz and others, as to a plurality of human stocks, by tracing out the dissemination of all nations from a common centre somewhere in Asia. He shows that all races are able to accommodate themselves

* Mr. Huxley's recently published work on the "Anatomy of Invertebrate Animals" contrasts, by its moderate tones, with the author's sensational lectures before a New York audience.

to new conditions of life; that mixed races do not tend to die out (as is the case with hybrids between distinct species); that negroes and whites suffer (though in different degrees) from the same diseases. In discussing the subject of acclimatization, he shows how, among the lower animals, sheep in Africa lose their wool and get hair, while swine on the Andes have a woolly fleece; dogs and horses, in some parts, are naked; Egyptian geese, when brought to France, after some years have learned to change their time of rearing their young; and among human beings, "white" races have got a black skin in some parts of Africa; the fair Caucasians, long deemed the typical white race, seem rather to be a whitened offshoot of the yellow race; and here in America we have the "Yankee" type growing up before our eyes. As to social conditions there are savage whites in some parts of the world, and there have been civilized negro communities in Africa. The negroes in America are well acclimatized, and show no tendency to die out.

M. Quatrefages ascribes to mankind a very great antiquity. He thinks it proven that men lived in France and other parts of Europe before the great Ice age, and even as far back as the Later Tertiary geological age, and probably earlier. We remind our readers that this question was discussed at a conference of English anthropologists in 1877, and that in the opinion of the majority, there is no evidence (in Britain at least) of man's existence earlier than post-glacial times. It is also to be remembered that we have no knowledge whatever of the absolute date or duration of the Ice age, and there are indications that the estimates of many are extravagant. M. Quatrefages himself brings up the record of the ancient races of France to the Roman period, a few centuries before Christ, and he dates the arrival of the red men on the Mississippi in the eighth or ninth century of the Christian Era.

A few thousand years before these dates would afford scope for the social and geological revolutions which can be traced since man's appearance on the scene; but the anthropological mind is prone to magnify its demands on time. G. M.

GLEANINGS OF PAST YEARS, 1843-78. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. 7 vols. 16mo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

"These occasional productions extend over the long term of thirty-six years," says Mr. Gladstone in the opening sentence of his preface. They are more than forty in number, gathered mainly (more than three-fourths of them) from the ten different Reviews in which they originally appeared. They are grouped in volumes according to the general nature of their theme. They bear on their face remarkable testimony to the high culture, activity, versatility, and rare ability of their author, who is surely one of the most many-sided of men. The only group of papers which fills more than one volume is the Ecclesiastical (Vols. V., VI.) Some of the best papers in Vols. II., III., and VII., derive their chief interest from their religious and theological bearings and relations.

Few important discussions have taken place in England for these nearly forty years, in which Mr. Gladstone has not borne an active and influential part. We should not know to what other body of essays to point, that should indicate so fully what subjects have during this long period engaged public attention in Great Britain. And we recall no prominent non-partisan topic in the discussion of which Mr. Gladstone's part has been prominent, except the Vatican Council and the political events of the last three or four years, that is not represented in the papers of this series. Indeed the articles on Greece, Montenegro, and Egypt, in Vol. IV., lie close about the burning questions whose solution is not yet reached.

Mr. Gladstone's is an uncommonly generous and catholic type of manhood. Not many ardent Churchmen could have written as he does in his paper on Dr. Norman Macleod (Vol. IV., p. 349). "As respects government, the Presbyterian communions have derived very great benefit, in some important respects, from their regular

and elaborate internal organization. It has given them the advantages which in the civil order belong to local self-government and representative institutions ; orderly habits of mind, respect for adversaries, and some of the elements of a judicial temper ; the development of a genuine individuality, together with the discouragement of mere arbitrary will, and of all eccentric tendency ; the sense of a ' common life ; ' the disposition energetically to defend it ; the love of law combined with the love of freedom ; and last, not least, the habit of using the faculty of speech with a direct and immediate view to persuasion."

C. A. A.

HOME LIFE IN SONG WITH THE POETS OF TO-DAY. 8vo. pp. 271. New York : A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

The initials attached to the brief prefatory "Note" which opens this volume, show that the publisher's work did not begin with the publishing. His quadrilateral finger-marks have been seen on many good things before, although his modesty has often led him to use invisible ink when the name of the compiler or author was to be written. The contents are gathered under the headings : Babyhood ; Childhood and Youth ; Home Life ; Grandparents ; Looking Backward. It need not be said to those who know the compiler and his work, that nothing questionable in tone or inferior in quality will gain a place in his collections. The new theme that he has now chosen, and the wider range of magazine and newspaper literature thereby opened for his gleanings, prepare the way for the conferring of a new pleasure and the rendering of a new service. Access to many homes and many hearts is secure for this volume even before its refined and precious flavor of home has been tasted, and its welcome will not soon be worn out.

C. A. A.

THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

No. 2.—April, 1880.

I.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

SMITH'S Dictionary of the Bible, in the article on the First and Second Books of Kings, by Lord Arthur C. Hervev, publishes a good many statements like the following :

"It must, however, be admitted that the chronological details expressly given in the books of Kings form a remarkable contrast with their striking historical accuracy."

"When, therefore, we find that the very first date introduced is erroneous, and that numerous other dates are also certainly wrong, because contradictory, it seems a not unfair conclusion that such dates are the work of an interpolator trying to bring the history within his own chronological system ; a conclusion somewhat confirmed by the alterations and omissions of these dates in the LXX. As regards these chronological difficulties, it must be observed they are of two essentially different kinds. One kind is merely the want of the data necessary for chronological exactness. Such is the absence, apparently, of any uniform rule for dealing with the fragments of years at the beginning and end of the reigns." "And this class of difficulties may probably have belonged to these books in their original state, in which exact scientific chronology was not aimed at. But the other kind of difficulty is of a totally different character, and embraces dates which are *very exact* in their mode of expression, but are erroneous and contradictory. Some of these are pointed out below, and it is such which it seems reasonable to ascribe to the interpolation of later professed chronologists."

"Now, when to all this we add that the pages of Josephus are full in like manner of a multitude of inconsistent chronological schemes, which prevent his being of any use, in spite of Hales' praises, in clearing up chronological difficulties, the proper inference seems to be that no authoritative, correct, systematic chronology was originally contained in the books of Kings, and that the attempts to supply such afterwards led to the introduction of many erroneous dates, and probably to the corruption of some true ones which were originally there. Certainly the present text contains what are either conflicting calculations of antagonistic chronologists, or errors of careless copyists, which no learning or ingenuity has ever been able to reduce to the consistency of truth."

Abundant similar statements, in regard to either the chronology of the Israelite and Judaite kings as a whole, or to particular dates in this chronology, may be found in other ar-

ticles in Smith's Bible Dictionary, in the pages of the Bible Commentary, and of the commentaries of Lange, of Keil and Delitzsch, and in other equally respectable works. It is alleged, not merely that an occasional error of transcription has crept into the text, but that these errors are so numerous and glaring as materially to impair the credit of the Old Testament as a witness to facts of chronology. And these allegations are made, not by some low-bred, ignorant infidel, but by men of whom it is claimed that they are the leading Christian scholars of Europe and America. They are propounded, not as questions for learned men to puzzle over and settle, but as received matters of fact, to be circulated in the most widely-known "helps" to Bible study. They are in the volumes which are issued by the evangelical publishing houses, and commended by all the evangelical churches, and used by hundreds of thousands of the most intelligent of evangelical Christians in the preparation of Sunday-school lessons and Bible-studies and sermons.

Even many scholars who claim to be pronounced defenders of the numerals of the Bible—such scholars, for example, as the Rawlinsons and George Smith—yet defer to them with a defence, which to many lovers of the Bible seems like an attack. Smith says, for example ("The Assyrian Canon," page 154):

. . . . "and, although there are undoubtedly some errors in the numbers given in Books of Kings, yet I believe that the Biblical chronology of the period following death of Solomon is in the main correct, or very nearly so; for this reason I can agree with the school of Bunsen and Brandes, who reduce the Biblical dates by forty years." "In common with several other chronologists, I read fifty-one years instead of forty-one for the reign of Jeroboam II., and thirty instead of twenty for reign of Pekah, but this makes no difference to the general scheme of chronology."

Is such a defence as this the best that is available? we shut up to the alternative of supposing that the Bible, it now stands, is either remarkably untruthful in this class of statements, or else somewhat untruthful, though not remarkably so? The former of these views is the one most widely promulgated and studied.

In this state of things, these dates have an interest entirely different from that which attaches to them as matters of chronological fact. *If our present copies of the Scriptures are untruthful in their numerical statements, to the serious ex-*

thus charged upon them, then how much is their testimony worth as to other matters of fact, and as to matters of morals and religion? Even on this supposition, it is worth something; but it is far from being the unimpeachable evidence that we who believe in plenary inspiration are accustomed to consider it. Most of the prominent events in these narratives are dated. Remove the dates, and the accounts become largely unintelligible. The dates are essential parts of the history. But it is alleged, that in our present copies, errors of number are so frequent that they even constitute the rule rather than the exception. If this be the case, and if our present copies are accurate transcriptions of the originals, then can the originals be said to be as trustworthy as the inspired Word of God ought to be? And if the errors be charged to transcribers, and not to the original documents, then what reliance can be placed on copies so badly transcribed, as evidence of the contents of the originals?

These questions are of grave import. If the views maintained in the standard religious works above mentioned are to prevail, they require a definition of inspiration and a defence of the Word of God, considerably different from those laid down in the creeds of most of the Churches. It is useless for us to maintain, in general, the marvellous supernatural credibility of the Scriptures, if we must then deny this credibility, in detail, in hundreds of important instances. There may be sufficient defence of the Bible as the rule of our faith, even if all these charges of historical inaccuracy are made out; but it will be a defence puzzling to plain men, and materially unlike that which has most currently been made by evangelical apologists.

If such a change of base is necessary, we certainly ought to be about it, with all diligence and thoughtfulness. *But it is not necessary.* Demonstrably, it is these modern scholars that are mistaken, and not the writers or the transcribers of our Old Testament books.

It is the purpose of this article to vindicate the Bible chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah, subsequent to the death of Solomon.

The statements cited above, and other statements of the same sort, lay great stress upon the alleged falsity of the date

given in First Kings, for the building of Solomon's Temple. We must not now, however, discuss that date, because it belongs to an earlier period than the one we are considering. Within this period, among all the chronological numbers given in the Hebrew or English texts, we shall find very few that can fairly be called either erroneous or doubtful.

The evidence for this assertion is contained, partly in the records in which the Hebrew chronology is handed down to us, and partly in sources external to those records. That found within the records is partly contained in the current accounts of the affairs whose dates are given, and partly in certain "long numbers" independent of those dates. The whole body of the evidence warrants us in affirming the following propositions :

I. The current narratives which contain these dates are of such a character as to render certain the detection of numerical errors, if they contain any.

II. In recording dates, these narratives evidently follow a simple and consistent system.

III. An analysis of the dates given, in the light of this system, proves their entire trustworthiness.

IV. This result is corroborated by the "long numbers."

V. What exceptions there are to it, are of the sort that "prove the rule."

The limits of this article forbid us to discuss the abundant, striking, minute, and decisive corroborations of the view herein advocated, to be found in the Ptolemaic Canon, the Assyrian Eponym Canon, and other external sources. Yet a brief statement concerning these will introduce our discussion of the fourth of the above propositions.

I. First, the current accounts in which the Hebrew chronology is transmitted, afford quite abundant facilities for checking and testing the dates given, and determining their value.

These dates have been transmitted, not in a single literary work, but in several literary works. A very large proportion of them appear in each of the three distinct historical sources, Kings, Chronicles, and Josephus. A considerable number are additionally given in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other Old Testament books. Comparatively few of the dates depend on the testimony of one author only. Most of them are supported

by the testimony of two, three, or more authors. It may be true that these authors have copied from one another, or from some common source, so that they are not, in the highest sense, independent witnesses. But independent witnesses they are, at least, as to how any given statement stood as long ago as when they copied it.

The number of witnesses is increased by the fact that the Old Testament was transmitted in the Septuagint and other versions, as well as in the Hebrew. The citation made in the beginning of this article speaks of "the alterations and omissions of these dates in the Septuagint" as disparaging to the dates given in the Hebrew. Curiously enough, the passages adduced in Bishop Herve's article in proof of this assertion are all either inapplicable, or else taken from what the same article calls the "apocryphal" additions to the Vatican copy of the Septuagint. It would not have been difficult, however, to adduce instances that would really have been to the point. Several such instances will presently be mentioned. The copies of the Septuagint differ somewhat, in this matter of dates, both from one another and from the Hebrew text. And whether or no this fact has any weight against the Hebrew chronology, it certainly has no small weight in accrediting the Greek copies, as distinct from the Hebrew, with something of the character of independent witnesses.

As to the relative value of these several lines of evidence, we might be entitled, at the outset, to claim superior credibility for the Scriptural books in the Hebrew text, both on the ground that the Scriptures are inspired, and on that of their known reputation for historical fidelity. It is simpler, however, to waive all such claims, and to credit all the witnesses to the same extent, until, in the natural course of our investigation, we find reasons for making a difference between them.

Of Josephus we shall find it to be true, as affirmed in the citation at the beginning of this article, that his pages "are full" of a "multitude of inconsistent chronological schemes." Instances of this will presently be given. We shall also find reason to believe that the numbers in our present editions of Josephus have been carelessly copied. It does not follow, however, that these defects "prevent his being of any use, in spite of Hales' praises, in clearing up chronological difficulties."

This very state of things proves that Josephus used chronological materials not found in the Scriptures. It also proves that the person or persons to whom our copies of Josephus owe their present form, were inadequate to the task of accurately computing numbers. When, therefore, we find numbers in Josephus that cannot be accounted for either as careless transcriptions of the Bible numerals, or as parts of some evident chronological scheme, we have a strong presumption that such numbers are data from some independent historical source. And if such numbers are found to agree with and *check* other numbers, in the most unexpected and surprising ways, it must be because both sets of numbers are correct. It cannot be because the numbers have been manipulated. Such results are utterly beyond the reach of such manipulation as everywhere appears in the pages of Josephus. When we come to consider the "long numbers" given by Josephus, we shall find instances sufficiently illustrating these statements.

The evidence of the Bible dates is thus made the more decisive by its being given by several witnesses, who are, to a degree, independent one of another. Still further opportunity for testing it is afforded in the circumstance that most of the dates are given in parallel lines, so that the items of one line may be used to check and prove those of another. Thus the dates of the kings of Israel are parallel with those of the kings of Judah. And when this parallelism ceases, at the close of the kingdom of the ten tribes, it is replaced by lines of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Tyrian dates, and of dates in the lives of individuals, Jeremiah, for instance, and by other similar materials.

Again, the dates in the Hebrew chronology are given in several different modes of statement. They are presented, though vaguely, in the form of genealogical tables. They are occasionally given, as we shall see below, in the form of years of an era. They are currently stated, in the Bible, in cardinal numbers. Jehoshaphat was thirty-five years old when he began to reign, and reigned twenty-five years. Similar data are currently given in Josephus, in the form of a cardinal number and the difference between that and a greater. Jehoshaphat lived sixty years, of which he reigned

twenty-five. This difference of statement diminishes very materially the chances for the existence of undetected errors. And what is of chief importance, the dates given in cardinal numbers are constantly repeated in ordinal numbers of altogether different value. One statement is that Nadab reigned two years. Another statement of the same fact is that he began to reign in the second year of Asa, and gave place to his successor in the third of Asa.

With all this material for cross-examining the witnesses, and severely testing the evidence, it is scarcely credible that we should fail to break it down, if it is untrustworthy. Certainly it did not come into its present form by collusion. Those who are in such haste to pronounce it contradictory in its present form, are surely precluded from claiming that it has been thrown into its present form in order to give it the appearance of truthfulness. If, therefore, the evidence agrees with itself, it is conclusive, even without the additional corroborations to be hereafter introduced. Beyond a doubt there is enough of it. The only question is whether it harmonizes. If it can be made to harmonize, even by some effort, it is probably true. If, on the establishing of an intelligent point of view, it falls, without effort, into substantial harmony, its truth will thus be placed beyond reasonable doubt.

II. We thus reach a second proposition. In recording these narratives evidently follow a simple and consistent system.

In the quotations made at the beginning of this article, the unsatisfactory nature of what is described as the original chronology of the books of Kings, as distinguished from the contradictory nature of what are asserted to be the later interpolations, is partially attributed to "the absence, apparently, of any uniform rule for dealing with the fragments of years at the beginning and end of the reigns." Now, such absence of rule has certainly characterized most of the views that have been presented on the dates given in the Scriptures. Just as certainly, it does not characterize the Scriptures themselves. The following rules are obeyed, with entire uniformity, in all the dates of the period under consideration.

1. All the years mentioned are current years of a consecutive system. The first year of a king is not a year's time, be-

ginning with the month and day of his accession, but a year's time, beginning with the preceding or following new year's day. New year's day was doubtless at the new moon before the Passover. See Ex. xii. 2, and similar passages.

2. When a reign closes and another begins, during a year, that year is counted to the previous reign. A less accurate statement of the same fact would be that the closing reign is counted as extending through the year. Still another statement of this fact, less accurate though more frequently repeated, is that the fragment of a year is counted as an entire year.

3. Regularly in the case of the earlier kings of the ten tribes, and occasionally in other cases, the broken year is counted to the following reign as well as to the previous reign. This, too, might be less accurately stated by saying that the reign is counted as beginning with the previous new year, or that a fragment of a year, at the beginning of a reign, is counted as an entire year. For distinction, the mode of counting which gives a broken year to both the preceding and the following reigns may be called the *Israelite* mode; and that which gives it to the preceding reign only, the *Judaite* mode.

4. When we use the ordinal numbers which date the beginning or end of a reign, to check the cardinal numbers which denote its duration, we must, of course, count both sets of numbers as designating complete years. That is, we must count the date given in the ordinal as being either the opening or the close of the year designated by the ordinal. Otherwise the units represented by the two sets of numbers are of different sorts and cannot be numerically compared. If Asa began to reign the twentieth year of Jeroboam, his actual accession may have occurred at any time during that year. But the year which is counted the first of Asa and that which is counted the twentieth of Jeroboam alike begin at the new year's day of some current year. Hence the year which is counted as the first of Asa must begin either at the beginning or at the end of the year which is counted as the twentieth of Jeroboam. In other words, the ordinal number represents, *for purposes of comparison with the cardinal*, the point of time between two years. The year following this point of time is the one denoted by the ordinals in somewhat more than half the in-

stances that occur. But the year preceding this point of time is denoted in nearly half the instances. The usage is not at all decided. It probably follows somewhat the actual order of events. If an accession actually occurred during a given year, but was counted from the following new year, it was more likely to be described by the ordinal number of the current year than by that of the new year. The Bible usage is precisely like current usage in this respect. If some event took place at the point of time between the years 90 and 91 A.D., we might describe it as taking place either in the ninetieth or in the ninety-first year of the Christian era. Which number we used would be quite likely to depend on some accidental association.

Now these four rules are just as simple and just as difficult as any other rules in ordinary practical arithmetic. Scarcely any one will master them by a single desultory reading. Scarcely any one will fail to master them, who will take the trouble to work out a dozen examples by them. Little else than the simple application of them is needed, to reduce all the numerals of the period following the death of Solomon to an orderly and intelligible system.

This circumstance alone sufficiently demonstrates the correctness of the rules, and the correctness or incorrectness of particular numbers as tested by them. The reaching of such a result, in the case of any system of dates newly deciphered from ancient inscriptions, would be taken as establishing the correctness, not alone of the system, but of the deciphering process also. The fact that the key opens the lock is sufficient proof of its adequacy to open the lock.

Before proceeding, however, to turn our key in this lock, let us notice that it opens many other locks. The rules which have just been laid down, derived as they are by induction from the Bible and Josephus, are yet precisely the same which George Smith and others have derived, by induction, from the Assyrian documents, and applied to the interpretation of the chronology of those documents. This, of course, has great weight to prove that both systems have been correctly analyzed. Our rules are likewise confirmed by the familiar testimonies of the Jewish fathers. "The numerals for the kings are not counted otherwise than from

Nisan." "This is taught only of the kings of Israel." An again: "Nisan is the beginning of the year to the kings, and one day in a year is counted a year." "One day in the end of a year is counted a year." Statements like these evidently agree with the four rules formulated above. They are commonly cited to establish those rules in some of the crude forms in which they are sometimes given; but they are equally applicable to the riper forms as to those which are less perfect.

In computing dates, under this system of rules or another, we need carefully to guard against certain very common vicious processes.

For example, it is an incorrect mode of reaching results, to take the numbers given in any Biblical list of monarchs, and simply add them together. This mode of operation takes no account of the broken years at the changes of reigns. It takes no account of possible interregna. It takes no account of instances in which two kings reign together as associates, so that the years assigned to one overlap those assigned to another. Moreover, since some of these items can only be obtained by comparing the dates themselves, we cannot use the items to correct any results we may have obtained by adding the dates. Still further, since any conclusions thus reached are positive mistakes, and not mere inaccuracies, we are precluded from correcting them by making averages, or computing mean results. All processes of this kind are utterly and hopelessly vicious. If such processes have sometimes reached correct results, it has been by accident.

Again, the process of reducing these ancient dates, before comparing them one with another, to years of the Christian era, or of some other era now in current use, is one that leaves room for very considerable errors. To begin with, the years of the Christian era, as we now compute them, begin the 1st of January; those of the chronology of the Hebrew kings began in March or April. Two events might be in the same year, by our present count, and yet in different years, by the count, or the reverse. And even if the years were the same yet, when we reduce the dates of one system to the numerals of another, we often reach only proximate results. We are uncertain whether our conclusion may not be erroneous, by

year or two. And if there are errors, they may neutralize one another, when we come to combine the numbers, or may augment one another. Hence, in a long computation, errors amounting to many years may be introduced, merely through this vicious method of reduction. And the method affords no opportunity for either correcting or detecting such errors.

It is, indeed, convenient to have a common standard for comparing the different sets of dates. But until these different sets of dates are adjusted to one another, the common standard, to be of any real use, must have the same unit with the dates themselves, and must afford a measure to which the dates can be accurately reduced. None of the modern eras satisfy these conditions.

It is possible, however, to arrange a table, in which will appear the years of the successive kings, in parallel columns with a succession of numbers representing units of the same sort, in which the parallel numerals will check one another, and will leave no room for omissions or doublings.

The year when the two separate kingdoms came into existence, beginning with its New Year's day, is counted as the first year, alike of Jeroboam and of Rehoboam. To secure a homogeneous standard of comparison, let us call this the year One of the Disruption, that is, *Annus Discidii* 1, that is, A.D. 1.

Now write in a column, headed A.D., the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., up to 450 or more. Write in a parallel column the numerals of the successive reigns of the kings of the ten tribes; and in a third column, those of the kings of Judah. Add a fourth column, to be filled up, when you reach the time of Cyrus, with the years B.C.; and a fifth and a sixth, if you please, for Assyrian, Babylonian, or other parallel dates. In writing your numerals, be careful to make the parallel dates check one another. If you do the work correctly, you will thus tabulate, in the methods of written arithmetic, a solution of our problem. The following division of this article gives the same solution, in terms of mental arithmetic.

III. We turn, then, to the examination of the dates themselves. In this examination we shall simultaneously accomplish three things: First, we shall find complete inductive proof of the validity of the four rules above given. Secondly, we shall ascertain the correct interpretation of the dates, under the

rules. Thirdly, we shall establish, with substantial conclusiveness, the remarkable accuracy of the dates themselves. Simply by applying the rules, without a word of further explanation, nearly all the dates given in the Hebrew text and in the English Bible, including a large majority of those that have been disputed, fall into their places, and are shown to be undoubtedly correct. All those which remain, with not more than two or three exceptions, are easily explicable as correct; and that, in most instances, not merely by a hypothetical explanation, but by one that can be shown to be true, in preference to all others. And the two or three mistaken dates are shown to be mistaken, by marks so clear that the absence of these marks from the other dates is proof, of some weight, in their favor.

The induction now to be entered upon is designed to include all the chronological numerals given, for the period under consideration, both in the Hebrew text of all the Scriptural books, in the variant readings of the Septuagint, and in Josephus. Inadvertent omissions have doubtless been made, but probably none that affect the final conclusion. Such of these numerals as are not explicitly mentioned in the analysis, will be described and accounted for at its close.

According to Chronicles, Josephus, and 1 Kings xiv. 21, Rehoboam reigned seventeen years. These are evidently the first seventeen years A.D., and the first seventeen of Jeroboam.

He was succeeded by Abijah, who began, according to Chron., Jos., and 1 Kings xv. 1-2, in the 18th year of Jeroboam, and reigned three years. His three years are evidently the years 18, 19, 20 A.D. Since the ordinal number here is 18 and not 17, that is, since his reign is dated from the beginning of the eighteenth and not from the close of the seventeenth, we may infer that it actually began with the new year, and that Rehoboam's life extended through the whole, or substantially the whole of his 17th regnal year.

According to 1 Kings xv. 9, Asa came to the throne in the 20th year of Jeroboam. Since the year 20 A.D. is already counted as the 3d of Abijah, this is likely to mean that Asa's first year is the one which begins at the close of the 20th year of Jeroboam; or, in other words, is the year 21 A.D. This conclusion is made certain by the subsequent dates. This

dating of Asa's first year from the close of the 20th of Jeroboam, and not from the beginning of the 21st, doubtless indicates that his actual accession took place within the 20th; that is, that Abijah died and was followed by Asa, at some time during the year that is counted as the 3d of Abijah.

The Roman copies of the Septuagint date the death of Asa, and in a separate place, the accession of Abijah, in the 24th year of Jeroboam. This is certainly a mistake, for it contradicts all the other witnesses, and also the subsequent dates, as given by this witness in common with all the others.

According to Jos. and 1 Kings xiv. 20, Jeroboam reigned twenty-two years. According to Jos. and 1 Kings xv. 25, Nadab followed him in the second year of Asa. The second of Asa is the year 22 A.D. Therefore this year is counted both as the 22d of Jeroboam, and as the 1st of Nadab.

Nadab reigned two years, according to Jos. and 1 Kings. Baasha succeeded him in the 3d year of Asa, as we are informed in 1 Kings xv. 28, 33. The 3d year of Asa is the year 23 A.D. Therefore Nadab's two years are the years 22 and 23 A.D.; and the latter of these two years is counted both as the 2d of Nadab and as the 1st of Baasha.

According to Jos. and 1 Kings xv. 33, Baasha reigned twenty-four years. According to 1 Kings xvi. 8, Elah took the kingdom in the 26th year of Asa. Therefore Baasha's twenty-four years are from the 3d to the 26th of Asa, that is, A.D. 23-46; and A.D. 46 is counted both as the 24th of Baasha, and as the 1st of his successor.

According to Jos. and 1 Kings xvi. 8, Elah reigned two years. From 1 Kings xvi. 10, 15, we learn that he was followed by Zimri, in the 27th year of Asa. Therefore, Elah's two years were the 26th and 27th of Asa, A.D. 46, 47.

From Jos. and 1 Kings xvi. 15, 23, we learn that Omri succeeded Zimri, after only seven days, and reigned twelve years. The passage in 1 Kings xvi. 29 affirms that Ahab succeeded him in the 38th year of Asa. Hence Omri's twelve years were from the 27th to the 38th of Asa, 47-58 A.D. The 27th of Asa, A.D. 47, is counted both to Omri and his predecessor; and the 38th, A.D. 58, both to him and his successor. This is confirmed by the addition to the Roman copies of the Septuagint, mentioned below, which identifies the 11th of Omri with the 37th of Asa.

But 1 Kings xvi. 23 dates the accession of Omri from the 31st year of Asa; and Jos. Ant. 8, 12, 5, dates the same event from the 30th of Asa. An entirely satisfactory explanation of these numerals is found in the view that from the close of Asa's 30th year and the opening of his 31st, Omri was recognized as sole king, the previous years of his reign having been disputed by his rival, Tibni, 1 Kings xvi. 21, and Jos.

According to Chron., Jos. and 1 Kings xv. 10, Asa's reign lasted forty-one years. His last year, therefore, was A.D. 61. According to 1 Kings xxii. 41, Jehoshaphat followed him in the 4th year of Ahab, which was likewise A.D. 61. Are we to count Jehoshaphat's accession from the beginning of this year, or from the end of it? Evidently from the end of it, both because this is a case in which the *Judaite* mode of counting should prevail, and because only this mode of counting can be reconciled with the dates given below for the accessions of Ahaziah and Jehoram of Israel. Jehoshaphat's first year, therefore, is the 5th of Ahab, A.D. 62. This is dated at the close of the 4th year of Ahab, and not at the beginning of the 5th, because the death of Asa and the actual reign of Jehoshaphat began during the year that is counted as the 41st of Asa, 2 Chron. xvi. 13.

The addition to the current text of 1 Kings xvi. 28, found in the Vatican copy of the Septuagint, says that Jehoshaphat became king in the 11th year of Omri, and Ahab in the second of Jehoshaphat. If these numerals are understood as contradictory to those above given, they are worthless; for on that supposition they are the self-contradictory testimony of a single witness, opposed to several better witnesses. But if we understand them as indicating that Jehoshaphat reigned along with Asa, during the five years before his own twenty-five years began, we find in them a statement quite probable in itself, and altogether in agreement with all the other statements. These co-reigns were pretty frequent, and are not made any the less so by using such adjectives as "absurd" and "gratuitous" in regard to them. Bishop Hervey says: "The whole notion of these joint reigns has not the smallest foundation in fact, and unluckily does not come into play in the only cases where there might be any historical probability of their having occurred, as in the case of Asa's illness and .

Uzziah's leprosy." "Unluckily" for this statement, the notion of a joint reign does come into play, as we have just seen, in explaining a part of the evidence "in the case of Asa's illness." There is no question as to the *fact* of frequent co-regency. This is explicitly mentioned in the case of Uzziah's leprosy, and in half a dozen other instances. The only question is whether the years of a joint reign shall be counted to one king, or to the other, or to both. Here the usage differs. Sometimes they are counted in one way, and sometimes in another. Something may have depended on the degree of formality with which the junior regent assumed royal titles and prerogatives.

We have seen that Ahab came to the throne in the 38th year of Asa. He reigned twenty-two years, according to Jos. and 1 Kings xvi. 29. These twenty-two must have been the last four of Asa and the first eighteen of Jehoshaphat, that is, A.D. 58-79.

But we are informed in 1 Kings xxii. 51, that Ahaziah of Israel came to the throne in the 17th year of Jehoshaphat, and reigned two years; and in 2 Kings iii. 1, that Jehoram succeeded him in the 18th year of Jehoshaphat. The two years of Ahaziah must therefore be the 17th and 18th of Jehoshaphat, A.D. 78-79, the same with the 21st and 22d of Ahab. The latter of these two years is also counted as the first of Jehoram. In other words, Ahaziah reigned with Ahab during the whole or a part of the 21st year of the latter, and during the small part of the 22d year which elapsed before the death of Ahab. Then he reigned alone for some months, but died and was succeeded by Jehoram before the end of the year. In this case, the time of the co-reign is counted as a part of that of the reign.

According to Jos., Chron., and 1 Kings xxii. 42, Jehoshaphat reigned twenty-five years. Since, as we have just seen, his 18th year was the first of Jehoram of Israel, his 25th was the 8th of Jehoram, namely, A.D. 86.

But in 2 Kings viii. 16, we are told that Jehoram of Judah came to the throne in the 5th year of Jehoram of Israel. The text, however, explicitly calls this a co-reign; the first four years counted to Jehoram are coincident with the last four counted to his father.

According to Jos., 2 Kings iii. 1, vii. 25, ix. 29, Jehoram of Israel reigned twelve years, that is, A.D. 79-90.

According to 2 Chron. xxi. 18-19, Jehoram of Judah died just at the end of a year, doubtless living over a few hours into the new year. Hence, the usual reckoning, as found in Chron., Jos., and 2 Kings viii. 17, assigns that year to him, making him to have reigned eight years, from the 5th to the 12th of Jehoram of Israel, A.D. 83-90. In pursuance of the same reckoning, Ahaziah is said to have succeeded him in the 12th year of Jehoram of Israel, in 2 Kings viii. 25. But in 2 Kings ix. 29, a different mode of reckoning is used. The small fraction of time by which Jehoram survived the new year is disregarded, and the reign of Ahaziah is dated from the close of the 11th year of Jehoram of Israel.

If we follow this last reckoning Ahaziah reigned one year by the *Judaite* mode of counting. If we follow the other, he reigned one year by the *Israelite* mode of counting. In either case, his one year, Jos. and 2 Kings viii. 26, coincides with the 12th of Jehoram of Israel, A.D. 90.

The nearly simultaneous death of these two kings, during the year 90 A.D., probably near its close, terminates a distinct period in the chronology of the kings. From this point, what we have hitherto known as the *Israelite* mode of reckoning falls into disuse, save in a few exceptional instances. The *Judaite* mode of reckoning is used for the kings of both lines.

Athaliah, according to Chron., Jos., and 2 Kings xi. 3, 4 and xii. 1, reigned six years, and was succeeded by Joash, in the 7th year of Jehu. Her reign, therefore, is A.D. 91-96. A few copies of the Vulgate in Kings make her reign seven years. The Vatican copy of the Septuagint, in 2 Chron. xxiii. 1, assigns the accession of Joash to the 8th year of Jehu. If these numerals deserve any attention, they indicate merely a variant method of counting, in which the last part of A.D. 90 is counted as the first year of Athaliah and Jehu. But as Athaliah reigns in Judah, her first year should naturally be counted, according to the *Judaite* method, as the year A.D. 91. And as the reigns of the immediate successors of Jehu are counted according to this method, it is natural to suppose that his is so counted also.

According to 2 Kings x. 36, Jehu reigned twenty-eight years. According to 2 Kings xiii. 1, Jehoahaz succeeded him in the 23d year of Joash. The twenty-eight years of Jehu, therefore, must coincide with the six of Athaliah and the first twenty-two of Joash, A.D. 91-118.

According to Jos. and 2 Kings xiii. 1, Jehoahaz reigned seventeen years. This makes his last year coincident with the 39th year of Joash, and the first year of his successor, Jehoash of Israel, coincident with the 40th year of Joash. This is confirmed by the statement of Chron., Jos., and 2 Kings xii. 1, that Joash reigned forty years; together with the statement of Jos., and of 2 Kings xiv. 1, that he was followed by Amaziah in the 2d year of Jehoash of Israel.

But Jos. and 2 Kings xiii. 10 declare that Jehoash began to reign in the 37th year of Joash of Judah. If both these sets of numerals are true, and they both seem beyond dispute, they prove a co-reign of Jehoahaz and Jehoash, during the last three years of the former, which were the 37th, 38th, and 39th of Joash of Judah, which were 133-5 A.D. These years of co-reign are not included in the sixteen years of the reign of Jehoash.

Jehoahaz, therefore, reigned seventeen years, A.D. 119-135. Joash of Judah reigned forty years, A.D. 97-136. After Jehoahaz, according to Chron., Jos., and 2 Kings xiii. 10, Jehoash reigned sixteen years. These, according to the dates given in the Bible, were A.D. 136-151. Amaziah reigned twenty-nine years, according to Chron., Jos., and Kings, beginning the 2d year of Jehoash of Israel, according to Jos. and 2 Kings xiv. 1, 2. The 29 are A.D. 137-65.

Jeroboam II. succeeded Jehoash of Israel in the 15th year of Amaziah, according to Jos. and 2 Kings xiv. 23, and, according to the latter, reigned forty-one years. Hence, his years were A.D. 151-191, and the first of these years is counted both to him and to his predecessor.

Instead of the numerals thus given, Jos. 9, 8, 1 assigns but twenty-seven years to Jehu, and Jos. 9, 8, 5 dates the accession of Jehoahaz in the 21st year of Joash of Judah. The closing year of Jehoahaz is thus made to synchronize with the 37th of Joash of Judah. This can be made to agree with the following numbers by making the first year of Jehoash

to begin at the close of the 37th of Joash; and counting the 40th year of Joash as also the first of Amaziah, which would thus begin at the close of the 2d year of Jehoash. Then the 16th year of Jehoash would fall the year before the first of Jeroboam II., in the 15th year of Amaziah. The dates, expressed in years A.D., would thus be considerably changed from those given above, between A.D. 133 and 150, and the dates above 150 would be lowered one year.

Josephus, moreover, Ant. 9, 10, 3, assigns forty years to Jeroboam II., instead of the forty-one given in Kings; and says that Uzziah came to the throne in the 14th year of Jeroboam, the date given in the Kings being the 27th of Jeroboam. To make these numerals consistent with those just given, we must suppose that Josephus counts the reign of Uzziah beginning at the close of the 14th year of Jeroboam, which was the 28th of Amaziah. On this supposition, the next year counted both as the 29th of Amaziah and as the 1st of Uzziah.

These numerals, therefore, date the 1st year of Uzziah A.D. 164, which is thirteen years earlier than the date apparently assigned to it in Kings. It is an argument of some weight in favor of the numerals of Josephus, that they make, in the part of the chronology, a continuous list, without interregnum or co-reign; while those of Kings apparently make Jehoash and Jehoahaz to have reigned together for three years, and allow an interregnum of eleven years between Amaziah and Uzziah. The received chronology of the margins of our English Bible counts this interregnum so improbable, that it is necessary to get rid of it by supposing, instead, a co-reign for eleven years of Jeroboam and Jehoash.

But, on the other hand, it is against these numerals of Josephus that they need so much explanation. Too many adjustments are required in order to harmonize them. It is further against them, that they can readily be accounted for as a somewhat complicated attempt to reconcile seeming discrepancies in the chronology, while those of the Bible cannot. It is further against them, that the Bible is, on any estimate of evidence, decidedly a better witness than Josephus. It is also against them, as we shall see, that they require some very clumsy readjustments a little further on; and, finally, as we shall also see, that they do not fit the long numbers given

by Josephus and others, nearly as well as do the dates given in the Bible.

The chronologists are, doubtless, correct when they say that we have no right to assume an interregnum. But to *assume* the existence of an interregnum is one thing, and to *infer* it from a comparison of well-established dates is quite a different thing. To avoid such an inference by the hypothesis of a co-reign, of which there is no other evidence, is, at best, inconclusive reasoning. If Uzziah came to the throne in the 27th year of the reign of Jeroboam II., counted from the death of Jehoash, then the interregnum of eleven years is easily accounted for by the anarchy that characterized the last half of Amaziah's reign; 2 Kings xiv. 17-20, 2 Chron. xxv. 25-28, Jos. Ant. 9, 9, 3. We are, therefore, justified in accepting, provisionally, at least, this understanding of the date, and fixing the fifty-two years of Uzziah as the years 177-228 A.D. This view, as opposed to that of Josephus and the received chronology, will be hereafter established by yet more conclusive proof.

According to 2 Kings xv. 8, Zechariah followed Jeroboam II. in the 38th year of Uzziah, A.D. 214. There was, therefore, an interregnum of twenty-two years. The view of the received chronology as to the accession of Uzziah, admits the interregnum before Zechariah, but, of course, shortens it to eleven years. Josephus gives no dates.

From 2 Kings xv. 17, we learn that Menahem came to the throne of Israel in the 39th year of Uzziah. His ten years, mentioned by Kings and Josephus, are counted from the close of the 39th, and are, therefore, the 40th to the 49th of Uzziah, A.D. 216-225.

The two years assigned to Pekahiah by Josephus and Kings, are, according to 2 Kings xv. 23, the 50th and 51st of Uzziah, A.D. 226, 227.

The twenty years assigned to Pekah by Josephus and Kings began, according to 2 Kings xv. 27, with the 52d year of Uzziah, and are, therefore, A.D. 228-247.

The first of the sixteen years assigned to Jotham by Kings, Chron., and Jos., was, according to 2 Kings xv. 32, the 2d year of Pekah. The sixteen years, therefore, were from the 2d to the 17th of Pekah, A.D. 229-244.

Ahaz began to reign, according to 2 Kings xvi. 1, *Judaite* count, at the close of the 17th year of Pekah. According to Kings, Chron., and Jos., he reigned sixteen years, namely, A.D. 245-260.

According to 2 Kings xvii. 1, Hoshea of Israel began to reign in the 12th year of Ahaz. In order to make his nine years, as given by Kings and Josephus, reach to the 6th of Hezekiah, we must date the beginning of his 1st year from the *close* of the 12th year of Ahaz, and make his reign to have been 257-265 A.D. This gives an interregnum of nine years, A.D. 248-256, from the time when he smote Pekah, at the beginning of the 20th year from the accession of Jotham, 2 Kings xv. 30, and the close of Pekah's 20th year, 2 Kings xv. 27, and Josephus. The received chronology allows this interregnum. Josephus avoids precise dates.

This interregnum of nine years, together with that following the reign of Jeroboam II., which the received chronology fixes at eleven years, accomplish, it will be noticed, precisely the same ends which George Smith, in the passage cited above, seeks to accomplish by adding ten years to the reign of Jeroboam II., and ten to the reign of Pekah. And certainly it is better to accomplish the end by following the evidence, as we have done, than by interpolating arbitrary rectifications of the evidence, such as he proposes. And if these two interregna are admitted, who can interpose any reasonable objection to admitting, on evidence exactly similar, the interregnum of eleven years between the reigns of Amaziah and Uzziah?

Hezekiah came to the throne in the 3d year of Hoshea, according to 2 Kings xviii. 1; the 4th, according to Jos. Ant. 9, 13, 1. His 4th year was the 7th of Hoshea, according to 2 Kings xviii. 9. The close of the siege of Samaria was in Hoshea's 9th year, according to 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 10; Jos. Ant. 9, 14, 1. This was the 6th year of Hezekiah, according to 2 Kings xviii. 10; the end of the 6th, according to the Septuagint of the same passage; the 7th, according to Josephus. These numerals are all entirely according. Hezekiah's reign is counted, in the *Israelite* mode of reckoning, from the close of the 3d year of Hoshea or the beginning of the 4th; his 1st year being also counted the 16th of

Ahaz, and his twenty-nine years being A.D. 260–288, and the deportation, at the end of his 6th year, being at the close of the year 265 A.D.

At this point the dates of Josephus again coincide with those of the Bible. But if we add the years of the kings of Judah, as given by him, from the 1st year of Uzziah to the 6th of Hezekiah, we can hardly make them less than eighty-nine years. A similar addition will not give more than sixty-nine years for the corresponding reigns of the kings of Israel. Either his numbers are contradictory, or else they imply the existence of co-reigns among the kings of Judah, or of interregna among the Israelitish reigns. Doubtless the most feasible disposition of the matter is to say that these statements of Josephus are to be interpreted by the ordinal numbers given in the Bible, and that they therefore imply the two interregna mentioned above, one of nine years between Pekah and Hoshea, and one of eleven years between Jeroboam II. and Zechariah. This brings the taking of Samaria, according to Josephus, just at the close of A.D. 252. The difference between Josephus and Kings at this point is precisely the difference between the two numbers given for the 1st year of Uzziah, namely, the 14th and the 27th of Jeroboam II. All the other differences have been balanced, by the different reckonings of the ordinal numbers, that became necessary in order to make the numerals of Josephus intelligible.

Manasseh reigned fifty-five years. So say Chron., Jos., 2 Kings xxi. 1. The years were 289–343 A.D.

Amon is said by Jos., Chron., and 2 Kings xxi. 19 to have reigned two years. Since the long numbers hereafter to be considered, as well as the Assyrian and Babylonian Canons, require the number of years between the captivity of Israel and that of Judah to be two years less than a full count of the reigns, according to the *Judaite* reckoning, would make it; and since the three accessions of Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah, are the only ones which are not fixed by check numbers; and since a short, troubled reign, like that of Amon, is more likely than the longer reigns to be counted after the *Israelite* manner; we assume that this reign is so counted, and that A.D. 343 is at once the 55th of Manasseh, and the 1st of Amon; and A.D. 344 the 2d of Amon and the 1st of Josiah. Let it be noticed, however, that this is the only point *assumed* in this whole analysis. All other points used have been proved.

Then Josiah's thirty-one years, see Chron., Jos., and 2 Kings xxii. 1. are A.D. 344-374.

Since Jeremiah prophesied twenty-three years from the 13th of Josiah to the 4th of Jehoiakim, Jer. xxv. 3, 1, Jehoiakim's 1st year was what we should naturally suppose it to be, the year after the last of Josiah, A.D. 375; and his eleven years ended A.D. 385.

Since Jehoiakim's 4th year was Nebuchadnezzar's 1st, and Zedekiah's 11th year was Nebuchadnezzar's 19th (see Jer. xxv. 1; 2 Kings xxv. 8, and many other references), Zedekiah's eleven years are A.D. 386-396. Of course, it is through inadvertence that Josephus calls the 11th of Zedekiah the 18th of Nebuchadnezzar. The burning of the temple was A.D. 396.

The first year of the captivity of Jehoiachin was the 8th of Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Kings xxiv. 12, A.D. 385. Therefore, the 1st year of Evil Merodach, which was the 37th of the captivity of Jehoiachin, was A.D. 421. This computation follows the usual Biblical method, in such cases, counting the 8th of Nebuchadnezzar as the first of the thirty-seven. Ezekiel apparently computes by this method when he intends to speak principally of duration of time, as in xxxiii. 21. But when he uses a numeral to date an event, rather than to describe duration of time, he counts the years of the captivity of Jehoiachin as beginning with the following new year, thus making them the same with the current years of the reign of Zedekiah. This is proved by comparing Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2, for example, with 2 Kings xxv. 1, and Jer. lii. 4. This latter way of speaking of these dates is certainly the one most used by Ezekiel. It is difficult to decide whether his book shows more than one exception. But it must be that in xxxiii. 21, at least, he counts "the 12th year of our captivity" as including the year in which Jehoiachin was carried away, and not as beginning with the following new year; for on the latter supposition, the news of the smiting of the city would have been an entire year longer than the usual time in reaching him.

On these principles, the "fifth year" of Ezek. i. 2 is the same with the 5th of Zedekiah, namely A.D. 390. The "thirtieth year" of Ezekiel i. 1, whatever this numeral may indicate, counts back to A.D. 361, the famous 18th year of Josiah. The

dates in Ezekiel viii. 1; xx. 1; xxvi. 1; xxix. 1; xxx. 20; **xx** xii. 1, 17; xl. 1, and xxix. 17, may be similarly estimated.

If the seventy years of the captivity be counted from the 3d of Jehoiakim, when Daniel and his companions were carried away, Daniel i. 1, they are A.Di. 377 to 446, including the whole of the year of the first of the final deportations, and the whole of the year of the first return. It is also just seventy years from the close of the year A.Di. 396, in which the first temple was destroyed, to that of A.Di. 466, in which the second temple was finished.

Besides the numerals which present special difficulties, and which are reserved to be examined by themselves, this analysis has omitted a few which are mere repetitions; and a few others as irrelevant, as, for instance, those denoting the ages of kings at their accession, or the duration of the desolation of Tyre or of Egypt; and yet a few others, which are hardly intelligible, except by the aid of profane chronology, or of the long numbers.

The year counted in the Bible as the first of Cyrus is B.C. 536. This corresponds, as we have just seen, to A.Di. 446, and thus enables us, if we choose, to reduce the dates we have fixed, to terms of the Christian era.

IV. It would greatly facilitate a compact presentation of the whole subject if we were now to turn from the Israelitish records to those of other history. Our limits forbid this, but an assertion or two in regard to these foreign chronologies will be of value in introducing our discussion of the "long numbers" of Josephus and the Scriptures.

The impression is prevalent that the numerals of the Ptolemaic Canon, of Berosus, of the Assyrian Canon, and of the other Assyrian records are discrepant among themselves and decidedly in conflict with those of the Israelitish records. But, if we are to judge by the evidence now before the public (which seems to be both abundant and explicit enough for the purpose), both parts of this impression are mistaken. The agreement between all these old chronologies is probably closer than the most sanguine antiquarian has dared to claim. A large number of supposed discrepancies are wiped out, and, with them, a great many ingenious reconciliations proposed by experts, by merely establishing a correct understanding of the Biblical numerals.

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For illustration, the chronology given in the margins of our reference Bibles agrees more nearly than that of other schemes with that proposed in this article. The most important single difference is, as we have seen, that the chronology as given in our Bibles omits the interregnum of seven years before the reign of Uzziah, thus shortening the whole period by that amount. Then, with an evident consciousness that the period thus shortened is too short, it lengthens it again by a year at a time by giving the longest possible interpretation to particular numbers. These differences, slight as they are, have marked importance when come to compare the numerals of the Bible narratives either with those of the foreign chronologies or with the long numbers. Coincidences which, on the one scheme, are mere general and vague and pointless, become, on the other, minute and striking and full of evidential value.

The argument from the long numbers of Josephus does not greatly depend on the question whether Josephus himself is a trustworthy witness. It turns rather on the improbability of such coincidences as are now to be enumerated, except in condition of the truth of each of the coinciding statements. But it happens to be a fact that all the numerals found in the present copies of Josephus, which belong exclusively to the period of which we are now treating, and to Hebrew chronology as distinguished from foreign chronology, are either trustworthy or else too clumsily untrustworthy to mislead any one. The following is designed as an exhaustive list of the Josephan long numbers which neither depend on foreign dates nor on dates outside this period.

In Ant. 10, 4, 4, he says of Josiah: "And he burnt the bones of the false prophets upon that altar which Jeroboam had first built. And as the prophet who came to Jeroboam when he was offering sacrifice, and, when all the people heard him, foretold what would come to pass, namely, that a certain man of the house of David, Josiah by name, should do what is here mentioned; it also happened that those predictions took effect after 361 years." Turn to the analysis given above and notice that the 18th year of Josiah—the year in which he overthrew the altar in Bethel—was the year 361 A.D. Can the coincidence be better accounted for than

on the supposition that Josephus in this instance told the truth and that our interpretation of the dates is correct?

In Ant. 10, 9, 7, he says: "But the entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be a hundred and thirty years, six months, and ten days." Now the burning of the temple occurred, according to the Bible, in the fifth month of the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar—that is, A.D. 396. It probably extended through several days. Jos. Ant. 10, 8, 5 dates it on the first day of the month; 2 Kings xxv. 8, the seventh; and Jer. lii. 12, the tenth. Take the last as properly the date of the most important event in the captivity of the two tribes. From 395 years, 5 months, and 10 days subtract 130 years, 6 months, and 10 days, and we have as remainder 264 years, 11 months,—that is, the closing month of the year 265 A.D.; the same as the date given above for the taking of Samaria, the most important event in the deportation of the ten tribes. For the period covered by this long number, the dates of Josephus agree with those of the Bible, except that he makes the burning of the temple to have been a year earlier. It would, of course, be possible so to readjust the dates of the period as to make the long number correspond to the 18th of Nebuchadnezzar instead of the 19th. But such readjustment would be unnatural, and would not agree so well with either the preceding or the following long numbers.

In the subtraction just made, we took the numbers as they are given. As Josephus, however, constantly uses the fraction six months and ten days in this connection, it is probable that for some reason, good or bad, he has substituted this for the five months and one, seven, or ten days, and then neglected all other fractions of a year. In that case we should have, instead of the above subtraction, the following: 130 years, 6 months, and 10 days subtracted from 395 years, 6 months, and 10 days, leaves 265 years. At all events, this form of computation will be most convenient for the numbers that follow. If it is inaccurate, the inaccuracy is yet too small materially to affect the result.

In Ant. 10, 8, 5, in the section where he dates the burning of the temple in the 18th of Nebuchadnezzar, he says: "Now

the temple was burnt four hundred and seventy years, six months, and ten days after it was built." According to the mistaken reckoning of Josephus, which he uses in this section, the temple was burnt (if our computation of the Bible dates be correct), 394 years, 6 months, and 10 days after the Disruption. Add to this the eighty years which Josephus mistakenly assigns to Solomon (Ant. 8, 7, 8), and we have 474 years, 6 months, and 10 days. Subtract from this the four years of Solomon's reign which elapsed before the building of the temple, and we have the 470 years, 6 months, and 10 days.

Add to this again these four years of Solomon's reign and the forty years of the reign of David, and the result will be 514 years, 6 months, and 10 days—the sum given in Jos. Ant. 10, 8, 4,* as that of the reigns of the twenty-one kings of the house of David.

In Ant. 10, 8, 4, Josephus assigns twenty years to Saul, and eighteen years to Saul, before the death of Samuel, in Ant. 6, 14, 9. Add eighteen to the number just given, and we have the 532 years, six months, and ten days assigned, in some copies of Ant. 11, 4, 8, as the entire duration of the kingly government, including the reign of Saul.

Josephus is doubtless mistaken in giving eighty years to Solomon, and twenty or eighteen to Saul. But that does not change the fact that each of the three instances just given assumes that the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar was the year 395 of the Disruption. There can hardly be any doubt of this, because it can hardly be doubted that the numbers were made up in the way that has been described.

In Ant. 20, 10, 1, it is said that there were eighteen high-priests during the 466 years, 6 months, and 10 days from Solomon to Josedek, whom Nebuchadnezzar carried captive. Comparing this passage with Ant. 10, 8, 5, and 6, we conclude that this list includes Zadok at the beginning, and Josedek at the end. As we know the dates neither of the accession of Zadok, nor of the deposition of Josedek, we can compare this numeral with the preceding, only so far as to notice that there is no contradiction.

* Sixteen days are given in some copies.

Nor is there any necessary contradiction between the numbers given and the 477 years 6 months mentioned in the Wars 6, 10, 1, as the interval between the settlement of Jerusalem by David and its entire demolition by the Babylonians; though this latter number, if correct, is doubtless differently made up from the previous numbers.

In Ant. 9, 11, 3, it is said that Nahum, in the time of Jotham, foretold the destruction of Nineveh, 115 years before it happened. In Ant. 11, 1, 2, Isaiah is said to have prophesied 140 years before the destruction of the temple. Both data agree with the views taken in this article, but are too general to be of great use in confirming them.

In Ant. 9, 11, 1, Josephus says: "Now this Pekah held the government twenty years, and proved a wicked man, and a transgressor. But the king of Assyria, whose name was Tiglath Pilezer, when he had made an expedition against the Israelites, and had overrun all the land of Gilead, and the region beyond Jordan, and the adjoining country, which is called Galilee, and Kadesh and Hazor, made the inhabitants prisoners, and transplanted them into his own kingdom." In the next chapter, and apparently later in chronological order, is the account of the invasion of Judah by Pekah and Rezin, and of the interference of Tiglath Pilezer in behalf of Ahaz. This account states that Tiglath Pilezer "transplanted the people of Damascus into the Upper Media, and brought a colony of Assyrians, and planted them in Damascus. He also afflicted the land of Israel, and took many captives out of it." Now, the first of the two events thus described is evidently the beginning of the deportation of the ten tribes, and is either identical with the second or antecedent to it. Hence it occurred before the death of Pekah, which the received chronology places at A.D. 236, but which a more correct computation of the elements used in the received chronology, or of the numerals of Josephus, would fix at A.D. 234.

Now, in Jos. Ant. 9, 14, 1, we read: "So the ten tribes of the Israelites were removed out of Judea 947 years after their forefathers were come out of the land of Egypt, and possessed themselves of this country, but 800 years after Joshua had been their leader, and, as I have already observed, 240 years, seven months, and seven days after they revolted from Reho-

boam." Perhaps none of these numerals deserve much consideration. But so far as they are worthy of notice, it is certain that the 240 years cannot refer to the deportation when Samaria was taken; for that, according to Josephus and the received chronology, was at least as late as A.D. 252; and according to the numerals given in this article, checked, as they are, by long numbers already examined, was A.D. 265. And if we refer the 240 years to the deportation under Tiglath Pilezer, it disagrees with what we have just found to be the dates given by Josephus and our marginal Bibles; but is entirely consistent with those claimed in this article. According to these dates, if this first deportation occurred 241 A.D., it preceded, by a few years, the interference in behalf of Ahaz.

Hales, Vol. I., p. 103, lays great stress on this date, which he calls "another genuine date of 240 years," and "this curious and admirable date;" and ascribes to Josephus as "the greatest proof" "of his great skill in adjusting this period of his chronology." Hales deals with this marvel of chronological skill, by first adding together all the reigns of the kings of *Judah*, without regard to the fact that some of them were co-reigns up to the 6th or 7th of Hezekiah. This aggregate he makes to be 271 or 272 years. Then he subtracts from it 32 years for *Israelitish* interregna, and, wonderful to tell, the result is about 240! As if Josephus here professed to give an aggregate of the reigns of Israelitish kings, instead of the duration of their residence in the country! And as if a remainder, varying by a unit or two from the one required, and produced by adding six or seven to the minuend, were a marvel of chronological coincidence!

We speak of what took place in "sixty-five," or in "seventy-six," or of the presidential election that is to take place in "eighty," thus briefly designating some year of the present or some other well-known century. The same usage, according to Hales, Vol. I., p. 14, prevails among Jewish chronologists. "Thus the epoch of the *Deluge*, is written contractedly 656, instead of A.M. 1656; *Abraham's* migration to *Charran*, 18, instead of A.M. 2018." This usage may be very ancient. With this in mind, one feels tempted to translate Is. vii. 8, "And within *the year sixty-five* shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people." The year sixty-five of the century then current

was A.D. 265, the year when Samaria was taken. If this translation were accepted it would meet, remarkably well, all the requirements of the context. The usual explanation of the passage, however, is equally well adapted to our present purpose. The prediction was doubtless spoken in the first year of Ahaz, which our numerals make to be A.D. 245, and the deportation of the ten tribes is supposed to have been completed by Esar Haddon, the year of his great expedition to Egypt, exactly sixty-five years later.

In Ezek. iv. 5, we read, "For I have laid upon thee the years of their iniquity, according to the number of the days, 390 days: so shalt thou bear the iniquity of the house of Israel." This seems to be dated, Ezek. i. 2, in or a little after the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity. Of this George Smith says: "The latter date will fall in B.C. 594 or 593, and if Solomon died B.C. 981, there will be 388 years difference between the two events, which is very close to Ezekiel's statement." If, instead of this approximation, we turn over the dates advocated in this article, we find that the 5th year of Jehoiachin's captivity is A.D. 390.

Now about half the instances thus given are either vague, or else not very intelligible. These have only a negative weight in our argument. Their evidence being in, all the evidence of this class is in, and we know that none of it is inconsistent with our view; but, so far as these instances are concerned, it is worth little for establishing either our view or any other. But the other half of the instances are entirely pointed and definite. How does it happen that, different as they are, they all alike fit the current numerals, as we have worked them out? They do not thus fit any possible adjustment of the numerals given by Josephus himself. They do not fit the chronology of Usher, and they fit still less any of the more recent schemes. We paid no attention to them, except in dating the single reign of Amon, while we were working out the current dates. We simply took the dates as they were given, and adjusted them according to certain rigid rules of arithmetic. Even in regard to the reign of Amon, we only used the long numbers to enable us to choose between two adjustments, otherwise equally tenable. How does it happen, then, that these different long numbers fit our dates,

all along the line, and that without explanation or manipulation? If both sets of numerals have been accurately handed down from some one who knew them to be true, the whole is accounted for. Can it be accounted for in any other way?

V. Our subject loses interest as we turn to the numerals which yet remain to be disposed of. They are so few in number, and so unimportant, that one might easily conceive them all to be mistakes of transcription, merely to save himself the labor of looking them up. Whatever becomes of the instances which remain, the remarkable accuracy of the Biblical numerals is already vindicated, and vindicated with other explanation of any numeral than the simple pointing out of its natural meaning.

There are two instances of evidently mistaken numbers.

One of these is that for the age of Jehoiachin at his accession. In the Hebrew text, and in the Vatican copy of the Septuagint of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, this is given as eight years; but in 2 Kings xxiv. 8, and in the Alexandrian copy of the Septuagint of 2 Chron., and in 1 Esdras i. 43, it is eighteen years. Certainly, one of the two is mistaken. The preponderance of proof is clearly in favor of the numeral eighteen, and this view seems to be placed beyond a doubt by the exploits attributed to Jehoiachin in Ezek. xix. 5-9, 2 Kings xxiv. 9, and elsewhere.

The other evidently mistaken numeral is in 2 Chron. xxi. 2, where Ahaziah is said to have been forty-two years old at his accession, instead of twenty-two, as in 2 Kings viii. 26. There can be no doubt as to which number is correct, for if he was forty-two, he was older than his father, as the numerals for the age and reign of Jehoram show. The oldest Greek copies here make the numeral to be twenty. It looks as if the translator began to correct the number, and in the excitement of making the correction, forgot to put in the "two." Some of the recent Greek manuscripts and editions have completed the correction, making the number twenty-two, to agree with that in the Kings.

These two instances have many points in common. The mistakes are both in Chronicles, and not in Kings. In both instances, some or all of the Greek copies differ with the Hebrew, in regard to the mistaken reading. Yet, in both in-

stances, the very oldest Greek copies seem to recognize the mistaken reading as already in the Hebrew text. It is a very ancient blunder, and not a modern one. This is confirmed by the fact that Josephus, in both instances, omits the numeral, as if he found the discrepant numbers in existence, and was unwilling to take the responsibility of deciding between them. Neither instance is particularly encouraging to the wise men who explain numerical difficulties by guessing that some ancient copy must have expressed the numerals by letters, and some copyist have mistaken one letter for another. On this theory the change from eighteen to eight would require the dropping of a letter, and not the mere changing of one. If the change, in the other instance, had been from forty-two to twenty-two, instead of the opposite, it might be plausibly explained by this sort of conjecture. An imperfect Mem might easily have been mistaken for a Kaph; but a Kaph would hardly be taken for a Mem in any alphabet in which Hebrew was ever written. The same mental and physical condition which caused the copyist to write "forty" in 2 Chron. xxii. 2, instead of the "twenty" he meant to write, also caused him to write "Azariah" for "Ahaziah" a few lines further on. In 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, the transcriber doubtless intended to write "sh'moneh esreh," but having written the final *h* of the first word, he carelessly mistook it for the final *h* of the second, and proceeded to write the following words, and thus wrote the *eight* and omitted the *een*.

This comment would, perhaps, be trivial were it not that the practice of emending Bible numerals has intrenched itself so elaborately behind this theory of a supposed alphabetical notation of the numbers in the ancient copies. On this account, it is worth noticing, that just in the places where, if at all, we should expect to find evidence of the truth of this theory, what little evidence there is, all favors the contrary view.

In distinct contrast with these two genuine instances of mistaken numerals, let us turn to the alleged mistake concerning the age of Rehoboam when he became king. In 1 Kings xiv. 21, and 2 Chron. xii. 13, this is said to have been forty-one. But on the current assumption that he succeeded Solomon immediately, or after an interval of only a few months, this

numeral is beset with difficulties. In the accounts of the disruption, Rehoboam certainly appears to be hardly more than a child in age. The men of his own years are represented as equally crude and rash with him. In 2 Chron. xiii. 7, Abijah affirms that the revolt occurred "when Rehoboam was young and tender-hearted, and could not withstand them." Both the Scriptures and Josephus contain statement after statement to the same effect. Moreover, it is not easy to reconcile the character assigned to Solomon at the beginning of his reign, with the notion of his having then been for some time married to an Ammonite wife, with a boy already a year old.

The Bible Commentary proposes as "the best way of removing the whole difficulty" to read "twenty-one" for "forty-one." It says, "The corruption is one which might easily take place, if letters were used for numerals." "It is evident that an ill-written Kaph might be mistaken by a copyist for a faded Mem." Lange's Commentary on 1 Kings, says that twenty-one "is indisputably the right reading."

But if laws of evidence are worth anything, if historical testimony of any sort is anywhere to be depended upon, then these learned commentators are "indisputably" mistaken, and the forty-one "is indisputably the right reading." They do not pretend that there is a particle of evidence worth noting in favor of the emendation, except the difficulties of the present reading; for the few manuscripts that have the number 21, would not be claimed as representing anything more than the opinion of some puzzled scholar, trying to clear up the text by emending it. And on the other side, all the known trustworthy copies of the Hebrew, Septuagint, Syriac, Chaldee, and Vulgate texts testify that this numeral, in the book of Kings is 41. The same witnesses testify that the numeral in the Chronicles is 41. Josephus says that Rehoboam lived fifty-seven years, of which he ruled seventeen. Certainly, we are not at liberty to set aside such a body of testimony, without an atom of conflicting evidence, merely for the purpose of obviating difficulties, no matter how real or how great the difficulties may be.

Besides, if Rehoboam was but twenty-one at his accession, then he was less than thirty-eight at his death. But for some time before this, his son Abijah had been known as a vetera

warrior and statesman, the husband of many wives, and the father of a growing family. If Rehoboam was less than thirty-eight at his death, how old was Abijah when he made that speech in regard to his father's youth and tender-heartedness at twenty-one years of age? If Rehoboam was but twenty-one at his accession, then in less than forty-one years from his birth, his grandson Asa was already engaged in carrying out those broad, mature plans by which he built up the kingdom. According to 1 King xv. 23, and 2 Chron. xvi. 12, Asa "was diseased in his feet" "in his old age," in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. Josephus says that he attained to "a long and blessed old age." Suppose him to have been only sixty when he reached this period of marked old age, and, therefore, only twenty-one when he began his reign with such an appearance of veteran wisdom and vigor, and even then, according to our *improved* text, he was born when his grandfather was but twenty years old, and a year before the time when the extreme youth of that grandfather is mentioned, to account for his failure in public affairs!

Rehoboam was forty-one at his accession, just as certainly as Jehoiachin was eighteen, and Ahaziah but twenty-two. The only semblance of proof to the contrary is that found in the long addition to the Vatican copy of the Septuagint, which says that Rehoboam was sixteen years old when he began to reign, and reigned twelve years. Beyond a doubt, this is either entirely untrustworthy, or else marks a double accession of Rehoboam, and a long interval between the death of Solomon and the completed disruption.

We turn to an instance of more doubtful character. The numerals given for the ages of Hezekiah and of Ahaz, 2 Kings xvi. 2, xviii. 2, and 2 Chron. xxviii. 1, xxix. 1, and Josephus, are such as make Hezekiah to have been born when his father was not more than eleven years old. If the numbers are correct, either here is a case of precocious paternity, or else Hezekiah was son to Ahaz in the sense of being his kinsman and heir, and not lineally. The evidence in favor of the dates is weaker than that in the case of Rehoboam, for there is one point that is relatively vulnerable. In 2 Chron. xxviii. 1, one Hebrew manuscript, the Vatican copy of the Septuagint, and the Syriac and Arabic versions give twenty-five instead of

twenty for the age of Ahaz at his accession. If this we counted the true number, it would solve the difficulty. With this exception, all the numerals concerned have the combined evidence of all the copies and versions both of Kings, Chronicles, and Josephus. On this showing, can any one write against this numeral any stronger verdict than doubtful? In view of the marked accuracy which we have found characterizing the numerals of the Hebrew text for this period, one may be pardoned if he holds that a modified use of the word so as applied to Hezekiah, or even precocious paternity on the part of Ahaz, is less improbable than a numerical mistake in the passage.

In view of the same characteristic accuracy, we can hardly discredit the numerals in 2 Chron. xv. 19, and xvi. 1. According to prevalent usage, indeed, we should expect the phrases "the 35th year to the kingdom of Asa," "the 36th year to the kingdom of Asa," to denote the 35th and 36th years of his personal reign over the kingdom; but there is nothing to prevent the meaning the 35th and 36th years of the separate existence of the kingdom over which he reigned. Such a mode of expression, though unusual, is entirely consistent with the current chronological nomenclature of the time. It is easier to suppose that an accurate witness uses a word in a modified though natural sense, than to suppose that he makes a downright mistake.

In 2 Kings i. 17 it is said that Jehoram of Israel acceded to the throne in the second year of Jehoram of Judah. This statement is omitted in the Vatican and Alexandrian copies of the Septuagint, which add, instead of it, the statement made in 2 Kings iii. 1, that Jehoram's reign began in the 18th year of Jehoshaphat. In 2 Kings viii. 16, Jehoram of Judah is said to have come to the throne in the 5th year of Jehoram of Israel. These latter dates we have found to be established by checks and tests that are conclusive. We have also found that the first four years of the reign of Jehoram of Judah, dating from the beginning of the 5th of Jehoram of Israel, were years in which he was co-regnant with Jehoshaphat.

Now if the date in 2 Kings i. 17 be also correct, it shows that Jehoram of Judah had two separate accessions, both in the same position, the second dating from the 1st

of Jehoram of Israel, and the first from the year before the 1st of Jehoram of Israel, which was the 21st of Ahab, and the 1st of Ahaziah of Israel. Is this theory more tenable than that of an inaccurate numeral?

It is believed to be an entirely new view of the case. It differs from that sometimes held, that the first date marks Jehoram's accession to co-regnancy with Jehoshaphat, and the second the beginning of his sole reign. This latter hypothesis cannot stand for a moment. But its fall is no disproof of the very different hypothesis that Jehoram of Judah was made co-king shortly before the battle of Ramoth Gilead, was deposed shortly after that battle, and was again elevated to the same position several years later. If such a double accession as this be assumed, it gives fresh meaning to Jehoshaphat's famous visit to Ahab. It shows how his having "made affinity with Ahab," a dozen years before, in the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah, became, just at this time, the subject of special divine rebuke. It explains the peculiar administrative changes made by Jehoshaphat immediately after the battle of Ramoth Gilead. It suggests the existence of a Baalite influence in his court and kingdom, centring in Jehoram and Athaliah, causing general treachery, distrust, and consequent weakness; and something of this sort is needed to account for the fact that such an invasion as that described in 2 Chron. xx. should be so peculiarly to be feared by a monarch of the military resources of Jehoshaphat. It accounts for the remarkable statement in 2 Chron. xxi. 3, 4, that, at his final accession, though his father had given him the kingdom, he yet "*rose up upon* the kingdom of his father, and strengthened himself, and killed off all of his brothers with the sword, and also some of the captains of Israel;" thus obtaining the kingdom by violence, and keeping it, doubtless, by compromise and intrigue. In short, it illustrates a multitude of other particulars in the history, which are otherwise somewhat difficult to understand. Additional evidence may at some time overthrow this view; but it is, in the present condition of the evidence, at least probable enough to obviate any necessity for changing the text.

The only remaining instances of alleged difficulty are those which are supposed to be in conflict with Assyrian or other

profane dates. These, of course, we cannot now discuss. We can only reiterate the affirmation that there is no conflict of this sort which disturbs the validity of the Biblical numerals.

Here, then, is the final verdict. For the chronology of the period covered by the present article, the Books of Chronicles contain two mistaken numerals, and probably no others—certainly not more than two or three others. In the Kings and the other Books there is probably not a single mistaken number; certainly not more than one or two.

WILLIS J. BEECHER.

II.

THE CHINESE IN AMERICA.

IT is not the object of this article to discuss directly any of the political, social, or economic questions springing from the fact that the Chinese are in America. As a preface to what is to be written, it may be well to state that after opportunity for careful and extended observation I have much sympathy with the prevalent sentiment in California, where these people are more numerous than elsewhere in our country, that serious evil may result unless some limit shall be placed upon their immigration, and some more rigid treatment of them shall be adopted while they are here. The danger arises from the degrading and heathenish habits and modes of life of most of them; from their unwillingness, if not their inability, to accept our views of civilization and identify themselves with our interests; and from the practically boundless ocean from which the streams are fed that flow to us, and which may swell these streams and multiply the evils by which they may be burdened, till they may inundate and sweep away much of what we cherish as valuable and sacred.

Still, the door through which the Chinese are coming, to change the figure, was opened by Providence. May it not be that we do not yet regard it as one of those wide and effectual doors through which God designs that His kingdom shall make progress over the whole earth? The fact that they are among us is a Providential fact. May it not be that we do not yet interpret it as having all the significance attached to it by God in the historic movements by which the nations are changed?

The purpose now before us will be realized, if some approach shall be made to an intelligent answer to these questions.

I. Let us note some general facts respecting those now in our land. The most trustworthy estimates of their number reckon this at about 100,000, those who come from month to month being about the same number as those who die here, or return to China. The large majority of them are young; the average age does not, probably, exceed twenty-five years and, of late, a much larger proportion of boys, not more than twelve or fifteen years old, has been observed than in earlier times. A very large part of them have vigorous health and the prospect of long life, since their habits of living are so simple that they in good measure check the inroads upon their strength made by the vices which prevail among them. They have no purpose to remain here, much less to become subjects of this Government, for their attachment to their own country is proverbial, and is everywhere and by all classes distinctly avowed. Whether with the rapid increase of population upon their limited territory, until multitudes shall be forced to seek somewhere the space in which to live, the question of finding that space on some portion of our wilderness domain may not at some future time become practical with them, is properly within the range of our thought when considering the problem they offer; and whether, even then, they could be citizens until some generations should pass under the necessary preparation for that privilege, is a prominent factor in that problem. But for years to come, at least, they will have no desire to reside here, and they will continue to come, as they come now, only that they may obtain from us in payment for their labor the money which may enable them to live with some comfort in their own land. The average time they spend here is from three to five years, and they have a clause in the contract which most of them make with the transportation companies which bring them, binding these companies to carry back their bodies within a stipulated time, if they should die before their portion of the contract is fulfilled. So controlling is their anxiety to maintain their connection with the land of their fathers, both in life and death: and the stream of emigration is like an endless chain, on which as many are borne back as are borne out.

They are very observing and accurate in their conclusions, within the range of what they are able to understand, so that

were they not to learn our language they would absorb many new ideas, as the result of only passing their allotted time among us. And when they do learn our language and increase their knowledge by its help, all that they absorb in addition becomes a commentary on this knowledge and adds to its worth to them. There are many facts which illustrate this, and occasion surprise at the correctness of their judgment, oftentimes, when of necessity the basis for it from either conversation or reading must have been very narrow. I had in my family a boy with whom I often talked, after he had learned to speak and understand a little. One day when passing a joss-house, I saw that through carelessness in digging a cellar on the adjoining lot, a corner of the house had fallen. When I reached home, I told the boy what I had seen, and after joking with him a few minutes about it, I made the fact a text on which to base some instruction about the folly of idol-worship, and the certainty that Joss himself would fall after a time, when the Chinamen should realize that he could not give them what they need. With great earnestness he replied, "That's so, old Joss velly good for China,—no good for Amelica." He recognized the difference between the nations, and he had traced this difference, in large degree, to the religion of each; the one being stimulated and helped in its constant progress by its God, the other being kept in its state of repose, unchanged for ages, by its god; and the inference he could draw as well as I, that if China is to become like America, Joss must be thrown down and God accepted.

This explains why most of those who attend the schools manifest great desire to learn about our religion, and invariably take the Bible for their reading book when they begin to read. It is not at first with any purpose to become Christians, for often those who read and understand the Bible best, and are the most constant attendants at school, do not become Christians. But they are anxious to know the truths and precepts that have such power upon Americans, and seem to furnish the key to that in our enterprise and civilization which they cannot comprehend; and with a portion of them this opens the way for that spiritual effect which results in their conversion. They welcome instruction respecting anything which interests them, or from which they hope

to gain any profit. They are the most inquisitive people of all who come to our shores, more inquisitive than Yankees themselves, who are distinguished everywhere for their inclination to ask questions, and they seek thorough knowledge. Chinese smatterers and shams are very rare, and the extent and accuracy of their information upon subjects of which it might be supposed they would know nothing, will often excite surprise. If a boy undertakes to commit to memory and repeat a passage of Scripture, he will not forget a portion of it, nor for any reason fail in the attempt. If he desires to know the meaning of a passage, he will not cease to inquire until he has gained his object; as he will not half-way learn to make bread, if he is a cook, but will make it precisely as does his mistress, whose mode he has studied; as he will not poorly make shoes, or blankets, or cigars, or unskillfully cultivate a garden or prune trees, if he has learned to work in any of these departments of industry.

II. Their attraction toward our religion.

For years after they began to come to this country, while they were very desirous to learn our language that they might be more successful in any business to which they gave attention, they only in exceptional cases manifested any interest in our religion, or cared to welcome missionary efforts among them. Reasoning that as all Chinamen are Buddhists, all Americans must be Christians, they inferred that they would gain nothing from Christianity, since most of those whom they believed to be its representatives, with whom they came in contact, were disposed to cheat or injure, rather than befriend them. When, therefore, some rough, half-drunk men would knock down one of their people at night on the street, or enter one of their stores or shops and abuse the inmates, or destroy their property; and a colporteur would pass through the same street or shop the next day, with Chinese Testaments and tracts, and seek to instruct them about Christianity; they replied, "We do not want any such religion. One Christian only troubles us, and another orally seeks some better means of troubling us by professing a desire to do us good."—They would not attend Sunday schools, they would not give heed to missionaries, they would not allow an open way for religion among them, except in

rare cases when individuals, through kindness in families or elsewhere, were induced to heed what the mass refused. At length, however, years after they had been in California in large numbers, they began to learn that there is a distinction between Americans, caused by religion, so that not all are Christians. The radical truth concerning a change of heart began to be comprehended by them, and that our churches were composed of those who had passed through such a change. They learned that as a body these Americans desired to do them good, and would protect them from the injustice of others, being taught by their religion thus affecting the heart to love all men, and to tell them about God and right and salvation and heaven. With a term, of which Christians everywhere should be more worthy, they designated these as "heart-men," because they were thus unlike other Americans, and were ready to give them their confidence and listen to their words. Within a short time after this truth gained prevalence, Chinese Sunday-schools in the churches were largely attended, several hundred being regularly taught in San Francisco alone; and Testaments, tracts, and primers were received by many of them with eagerness. Of necessity the schools were largely devoted to the matter of teaching the pupils to read in English, but the Bible was made prominent from the first, and religious exercises were always associated with the other teaching. The attendants soon learned enough to enter Bible classes, to repeat hymns and the Lord's prayer, and to read simple books explanatory of Christian truth; and the more they learned, the greater was their interest. This prompted them to ask questions in the families where many were employed as servants, the peculiarities to which reference has been made rendering it probable that they would gain as much in this way as possible, and that it would be reasonably accurate knowledge.

During the past fifteen years this kind of work has been in progress among the Chinese, in addition to, and in many cases supplementary to, all the excellent work done by the regular missions which are established for their evangelization; and notwithstanding the prejudice and excited feeling of the mass of our population respecting their residence in the land, and the persecutions and fear which prevent many

Chinamen from availing themselves of such means of knowledge, the number is still very large of those who are now being reached by these general means, and the work was never more successful or profitable than it is now. It is no longer a new thing, affecting by its novelty those engaged in teaching, and for this reason likely to be dropped when the novelty has no further charm, and attracting the pupils through their curiosity, so that they may come no more after this has been satisfied. It is an established part of their work in many churches, and teachers expect to continue it, while pupils attend often as long as they remain in the country. Were any stranger to look upon the school in Oakland, to give an instance from which many may be correctly judged, he could not fail to be interested; and one of the things that would excite his interest would be the manifest disposition of the entire school to respect and value our religion. Of the one hundred pupils, about one-quarter are in well-organized and carefully-taught Bible-classes, and not one listless, or irreverent, or indifferent boy will be found in the number. The rest are in different stages of advance, from the alphabet to those beginning to spell out verses in the Word of God, and with eager tone asking what they mean. The singing is done by all who have even partially learned the hymns and tunes, with one of their own number to play the instrument, and another to lead the singing, assisted by their teachers when the words are English. The prayers are in both languages, some of the converted boys often leading in this part of the service. The remarks are for the most part in English, though not infrequently one of them will speak in Chinese to his fellows with such power that the effect can be seen upon their faces and can be felt by all. All are there to learn, and especially to learn about our Bible and its religion, and every exercise has for its object, directly or indirectly, to interest and instruct them on this subject.

The more permanent results appear in several ways. The general result is to some degree indefinite, yet it is very apparent. Those who attend the schools are different men from those who do not attend. They have a different appearance; and their sentiments upon the chief questions in the comparison of heathenism with civilization are greatly modified. As

all who come to America are by what they only absorb here borne to a higher plane than that on which their countrymen live who have never left their own land, so those who subject themselves to the directly elevating influences of even limited instruction after they come here are borne to a higher plane than that occupied by those who only learn in a general way what changes them. Were this the only result of the efforts put forth to benefit them, it would be a rich reward for all those efforts cost. Every one of these men will, in his measure, be a light in the midst of the darkness, of which he will be painfully conscious when he returns to his home. Every one will be an argument for the civilization, of which he will be the exponent, even though very little of its superiority may be seen in him. Every one will be, in however imperfect a degree, a preacher to his more benighted brethren of the religious truths he has here learned. He can never be as he was ; he can never believe as he did. His natural inclination to talk will oblige him to tell of what he has seen and heard; and to the extent that he makes known the truth, he becomes an educator of his people; to the extent that he represents the real power of Christianity, he becomes as leaven in the community or town in which he lives, stimulating inquiry, correcting wrong impressions, and preparing the way for missionary effort when this may be introduced. This has been demonstrated in many instances, until the testimony is abundant as to the favoring influences which receive and surround those who carry the Gospel into some new locality where they anticipate no such reception, and learn that one, or two, or three of the people have spent some time in America, and have told the rest what they were taught about the Bible and its truths.

Nor is the possible advantage confined to the men, nor is the labor expended only upon them. Women, though chiefly of the most hopeless and abandoned grade, come with the men, and have more recently excited the sympathy and stimulated the efforts on their behalf of American women, with success they did not dare to hope would be their reward. In California, as in the East, woman's work for woman in this great mission-field has received a new impulse. The auxiliary branch of the Woman's Board of our

Church in that State undertook for its special duty the rescue and enlightenment, so far as might be possible, of these sadly unpromising representatives of the sex brought to their doors, while branches elsewhere formed should attempt a like service for those in heathen lands. Finding it of little avail that they went as colporteurs among them, or sought in any general ways to do them good, the women of the Board bought and furnished a home to which they might invite any who were willing to change their life, and in which they might be instructed and treated kindly and possibly saved. This home is now paid for, and about as many girls as it can accommodate are daily taught within its walls the ways of virtue and comfort and eternal life, happy beyond all they ever dreamed could be their lot. Some who have there become Christians have been married to Christian men, and have gone back to China to show by contrast the worth of a Christian home. Some are being more fully educated for usefulness among their sex, as God shall open their way. And all are witnesses to the power of our religion to elevate woman and make her a power for good, even though she may not really accept the religion that brings her such a blessing, and though she be taken from the vilest and most degraded depths to which heathenism can sink her. None see this more distinctly than the Chinese themselves; and in proportion to its extent and cost, no department of labor among them has had more marked influence upon them than this for the salvation of their women.

It is not possible to estimate the good accomplished only in this general way, among such a people. Yet this, by no means, presents the most positive result of what those are taught who come under Christian influence while they are here. A large proportion of these who are thus affected continue to worship idols, and retain most of the religious ideas that prevail in their nation. The power upon them of early education, of family relations, of remaining superstition and national belief, prevents them from renouncing what they are compelled to modify; and while their zeal is diminished, their faith essentially abides, showing that only increased knowledge and changed intellectual convictions have resulted from what they have learned. There is another, though

smaller class, however, of those who are much in advance of *these*. Most of this class are by nature more independent *men*, and more willing to be governed by their convictions *than* those before regarded. They have renounced idolatry, *disavowed* the religious teaching of Confucius, and are *honestly* inquiring concerning the new religion of which they *have* begun to learn in the Bible, though not prepared to *accept* all they yet imperfectly understand, and not transformed *in heart*. These persons become a very hopeful element in Sabbath-schools, and are often greatly helped in Christian families. In some places they are organized into what are called "Young Men's Christian Inquiry Societies," and by frequent meetings they are kept under the influence of American teachers and converted Chinamen, as Aquila and Priscilla took Apollos unto them in Ephesus, and expounded unto *him* the way of God more perfectly. Often there are scores of members in one of these societies, although they must publicly declare that they have abandoned their heathen views and are inclined toward Christianity, as a condition of admission. No doubt a portion of these are induced to make *such* professions because they hope to gain something by the means; supposing that those who thus become interested in *them* will be their friends in any trouble, or help them to secure desirable places in which to work; for selfishness is as fully developed in Chinamen as in ourselves, and they are not outside the number who are willing to make gain of godliness. Still, when tested as we test others, there are many *who* are sincere inquirers in this class, and a good proportion of those who become genuine converts are from their number.

I II. This properly introduces a third point, which should be distinctly presented, viz: the conversion of at least a reasonable part of those who profess to be real Christians is trustworthy. It is often said that we cannot rely on their professions, that they are deceitful as a nation, that they have many reasons for deceiving those upon whose good-will they are dependent, and that as a fact nearly all those who pretend *they* have been converted, lapse into their former condition and belief as soon as they resume their former associations. It is easy to say this, and many persons misjudge Chinamen because they accept what those who do not like them so pos-

itively assert. Yet this is a matter as susceptible of proof as any which it is important we should settle correctly; and our Lord's rule, "By their fruits ye shall know them," may be applied to them as well as to any others. With reference to the frequent statement that as a nation they are deceitful, it may be said with emphasis that it is altogether an assumption. There are many of them who lie, many who are very artful and sharp, many who prove too quick-witted in bargains and schemes for those who undertake to gain the advantage of them. But this is true of any keen, wide-awake race, and will be true so long as such peculiarities bring a rich reward to the selfishness of those who possess them. My observation convinces me that there is no larger proportion of liars and cheats and untrustworthy men among the Chinese than among any other race of those who live in our land. One reason for the impression, so far as it exists, is no doubt, that inasmuch as they are heathen, it was assumed that we could overreach and manage them at our pleasure; but repeated and bitter experience has taught us our mistake, and the charge of deception has been made in some sense an apology for our failure and for their success. Those who have the most extensive dealings with Chinese merchants will testify that no more high-minded and honorable business men sustain commercial relations with our people. And those who have come most generally and variously in contact with the ordinary Chinamen, and have not been warped by prejudice or interest in their judgment, will testify that they are, as a people, more honest and scrupulous in the execution of their promises than are many of those who malign them. This is no more than justice to men who are likely to be treated unjustly by the popular outcry, the declared purpose of which is to force them out of the country.

As to the common application of this charge to those who profess to be Christians, we have abundant opportunity to judge of it in accordance with the Lord's rule just quoted. That we may be able to apply this rule, there must be evidence that they can understand the essential truths and requirements of the gospel, and the best evidence is obtained by an appeal to facts. Those who have been employed as the more advanced teachers in the schools often express the

surprise, not merely because of the accuracy, but also of the range of their knowledge of biblical doctrines. Those who have examined candidates for admission into the church, testify that the Chinese are quite as likely to give an intelligent reason for the hope that is in them, as are the members even of Christian families. There were sixteen young Chinamen who united with the church in Oakland. I often had religious conversations with them, and for a time formed them into a regular class which met in my room once a week for the study of general Christian truth. They sometimes asked questions which exhibited depth of thought that I could not have anticipated, though I knew them so well; and their comparison of Scripture with Scripture; their illustration of their conception of the meaning of such doctrines as repentance, regeneration, sanctification; their simple apprehension of Christian character and life; and the earnest desire ever manifested not to make any mistakes; would have been especially remarked by any pastor, had he observed the same in any class under his particular instruction. Indeed, I doubt whether sixteen white members of that church, in which there was certainly average intelligence, taken without special selection, could have given more satisfactory proof that they understood the fundamental principles of the plan of grace, and the general rules for Christian living. It can hardly be questioned by one who is acquainted with the facts, that at least the majority of Chinamen who profess to be converted know the substance of what that profession implies.

We may, then, apply to them the Saviour's test. Rarely have converts been subjected to more severe trials of their faith, or been more sorely tempted to abjure it. They are practically ostracised by their own countrymen, as to most of the pleasures of social life with them; and often they are distinctly, and with great violence of denunciation, cut off from their own families, which to a Chinaman is one of the heaviest afflictions. They are persecuted in many ways by our people, who seem to hate them all the more if they suppose they have gained something which they greatly prize by coming to this country, and for this reason may be disposed to remain here the longer. By many, a Christian Chinaman is made the object of their bitterest and most relentless spite, and the modes

in which this finds expression are among the meanest and the most rasping which depraved ingenuity can devise. Yet those so persistently tried have rarely manifested any other than a Christian spirit, and sometimes this was so conspicuous that it would be observed and commended by those who dislike them. When redress was possible and clearly just, they have resorted to the courts to gain it, but even in such cases a desire for revenge was less frequently apparent than in many suits at law; and positive injustice would be borne by them sometimes, rather than that they should give an occasion to their enemies to question the sincerity of their piety. Their views of religion are modified in some respects by those before held by them, which had been taught by parents and confirmed by life-long associations, as is true of almost all converts from heathenism; but guided by these views, and willing to allow any change in them which further instruction and a better understanding of the Bible may suggest, they are specially consistent in their lives. They admit the necessity for this, because of their peculiar relations to their own people and to those of our people who distrust them, and there is no reason to doubt that were there no such special stimulus to consistency they would be anxious, for their own sake, to exhibit as well as possess the real graces of a sanctified nature. They recognize the constant necessity for God's help, and therefore have implicit belief in the worth of prayer. They recognize the binding force of God's commands and declarations, and therefore to some Americans seem almost superstitious in their regard for the Holy Book. They recognize their daily need of such a Saviour as God has given them, not only that they may at last gain heaven, but also that they may be sustained in trouble, strengthened against temptation, and made free from sin, and therefore their trust in Jesus, to whom they pray with peculiar fervor, is often a striking illustration of His own exhortation that we have faith like that of a little child. That they should be careful how they live is the natural effect of such sentiments; and having such an experience of religion, they are prompted by it to do all in their power to lead their countrymen to a like knowledge of its value.

Their zeal in this respect is untiring, and the means b

which they seek to impress others are often worthy of imitation. I know one young man who goes every Sabbath afternoon into the midst of the settlement called Chinatown, to preach Jesus to those who are so numerous there that probably more than a thousand may be within the sound of his voice, though not more than ten or fifteen may be around him or in sight. The scene is very impressive, as accompanied by three or four Americans who can sing, and with a policeman at his side to protect him from the violence which has many a time been threatened, Chinese opium dens and gambling tables with hundreds of men engaged in this vice, to which they are largely given, being all around him, this boy so eloquently speaks of his Lord, and so pathetically pleads with them to learn of Him and become good, that one after another will cease his wickedness, at least for the moment, and come out to hear him tell of the new religion. Others are equally earnest in circulating tracts and parts of the Bible, and conversing with their people in their little huts where they live. Others are assembled in the mission chapel, to which more or less have been induced to come by those thus engaged in the settlement, and there, by singing and reading the Bible and conversation, endeavor to win their favor and teach them of the truths they have found so precious. Others go, with some of their teachers, to some large factory, like a jute mill or a shoe shop, where Chinese are employed, in some portion of which they stay evenings and on the Sabbath, and by various arts get their consent to listen while they, directly or indirectly, speak to them of what they have learned. In all this, they are indefatigable and skilful, and sometimes successful.

And not only while they remain in this country do they manifest such zeal, even becoming an example to those of whom they have learned the things they try to make known to others; after they return to China they continue the same zeal, seeking to lead their relatives and old friends to their newly-found Saviour, reading and explaining the Bible, which they ever carry with them, and by punctilious consistency testifying the Gospel of the grace of God. Of course, there are exceptions, for sad instances of apostasy and return to heathenism have been reported, even of those whom they

who knew them thought most likely to be burning lights in the darkness of their early homes. But of these is much less than a knowledge of our nature would predict as probable; and careful which most of the converts have been followed, h those interested in them with the assurance th true to their profession in the midst of all the se ences brought to bear on them, and that they are that none can reckon among those who must be such earnestness and manner of life in illustra strange truths they publish to their neighbors. are they more distinguished than for their anxiet relatives may become Christians. For this they the most tender supplications, and for this they beg of all whom they believe to have access to Go common part of their conversation is respecting ability that those whom they love may be induced idolatry, and when parting with Christian friends accompany their farewell with the expressed hope with whom they part will always pray for their brothers and sisters in China. All these evider cerity, to which we are wont to appeal in other which are marked and prominent in a good pr Chinamen who profess to be Christians, forbid the if not doubt, with which many regard them. Tl we do not find them wanting; and after due, and allowance for the deception to be expected amor among others, we must believe that hundreds of t men have become the servants of God.

IV. Our duty in respect to them.

It has been seen, assuming that the foregoing ments of fact, that there are not far from 100,000 in America; that most of them are boys and y that they, as a body, have no expectation of rem more than from three to five years; that they v struction, and especially concerning our religio Bible as making it known; that many of them are affected and changed by this knowledge, though not become Christians; and that not a few become giving all reasonable proof of sincerity, whether

and character be examined during the time of their stay with us or after they return to their own land. That these facts impose a duty upon us respecting them, made more imperative by all the providential circumstances associated with their sojourn here, will be denied by none but those who are so blinded by prejudice or selfishness that they are unable to read the purpose of God in passing events, or so unwilling to heed what they cannot fail to see, that their vision no longer becomes an index of obligation. What is the nature and extent of this duty is a proper subject for discussion, as here intelligent and good men differ in judgment. Some suggestions upon this point may therefore be pertinent.

They should be so kindly treated that they will carry back the testimony that Christian civilization, at least, is not worse in its influence on those who live under its control than the heathenism of their country. Whatever may be said respecting the other questions associated with our relations to them, our Government should certainly guarantee to them as much as this. While they are here they should be protected in the enjoyment of the rights we have declared to belong to all men and to be inalienable. There should be no conviction among them that they cannot trust the authorities, but in any emergency must care for and defend themselves. There should be no experience to warrant the fear that they can gain nothing from appeal to our laws. The fact that our own people, under the treaty, are not always free from outrage in China, should not be regarded as a sufficient apology for like treatment of them in our country; for our national professions and status are very different from theirs, and we should require them to observe the treaty, not imitate them in the violation of it. Much less should it be manifest to them that the spirit tolerated among us is willing to disregard their welfare, and prove itself unworthy of their respect. A large part of them come here for a legitimate purpose, to labor in some proper service and receive the wages they earn. As is true of men who come from other nations, any who have some other purpose, and to the damage of the public or of individuals endeavor to execute it, should be made amenable to our laws and prevented from such wrong-doing; and in their habits, which may endanger either health or morals, they

should be obliged to make such changes as may be deemed necessary. This is a demand of our own interest, and also a proof to them of the superior civilization they must recognize while living here. But as to what is legitimate and honorable and good, they should feel as much at ease and as safe as does any man who claims the protection of our flag.

Yet this does not exhaust the measure of our obligation as individuals, and especially as Christians, to those whom Providence has brought into the midst of us. Cotton Mather has said, "The opportunity to do good imposes the obligation to do it," and if circumstances can give emphasis to the remark, they may assuredly be found as affecting our duty to Chinamen. They are here, away from the associations and influences which in their own land hinder the effect of what may be taught them, and their interest as well as their inclination urges them to accept, if not to welcome, the communication of anything by which they may be blessed. All facilities, therefore, should be employed for their general instruction, and as many of them as possible should be prepared in some proper manner to represent in their country the advantages they find in America. Christians believe that these advantages result chiefly from our religion, and therefore they should do all they can to give them right ideas concerning religion, and to bring them under its transforming power. The presence of these thousands of young Chinamen, many of them eager to learn, who are to spend their lives, after receiving the impress we may give them during three or four years, among their benighted countrymen, furnishes the only opportunity for wholesale missionary work the Church has ever known. Those at whose doors they are, and who can come personally in contact with them, are not the only Christians who should feel the pressure of this opportunity. The mere question of geography, of proximity, does not determine duty. We do not expect those among whom the freedmen have their homes, for the most part, to be responsible for their spiritual education, unaided by their brethren elsewhere. We do not tell the comparatively few and weak churches in the north-west to care for the Indians, feeling that our duty is done when we bid them God-speed in their work. We do not impose the duty on the pioneer

Christians of the great Western States and Territories, to raise the standard of the cross, and alone hold the fortresses of Christianity against the assaults that are more varied and tremendous than any know who live in the quiet of established churches and means of grace. Obligation in these cases is believed to rest on all who have a common interest in success, and those in the remotest parts of the nation help as earnestly as those in the immediate presence of the need. Why has not this been true in any similar measure respecting the conversion of the heathen on our western coast, when their conversion may have such far-reaching results, both in our own land and in theirs? A blessed work has been done by our mission agencies, and this work has been much extended with great wisdom within the last five years, and it might be much more extended with corresponding profit without delay. Yet much has been done by churches and individuals not associated with the missions, though in full sympathy with them, as we have seen, and much more might be done in this way. It must not be forgotten that these heathen are in a Christian land, within reach of ordinary Christian people, and responding to their efforts to enlighten and save them. Christian work in their behalf must not be limited to the same agencies which are employed in China—stations and the personal labors of missionaries who can speak their own language. As I have just said, here is an anomaly in missions, an opportunity for wholesale prosecution of the work, enlisting the energies and skill of all who have any heart for it. It should enlist our energies on this side of the continent. It should impose responsibility on our churches. It should task the wisdom of all who can appreciate the facts, or who feel any purpose to move as God's finger in Providence points. The personal work of instruction, in various ways, must come on the churches and Sunday-schools that have access to the Chinamen, but the responsibility should be universal to sympathize with them, to pray for their success, and to give what money may be needed for the most extended and complete success. Were this true, very much more could be done on the Pacific coast in this most hopeful field of home-foreign missions than has yet been attempted, and it is difficult to know why the missionary spirit of the American Church has

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permitted the finger of Providence to point so long to this, the most promising and economical arena for its exercise, without any adequate or appreciative response. Suppose, were possible, and who that has been accustomed to trace the great fact in history that Providence and grace co-operate in a manner which seems almost miraculous sometimes, will deny that it is possible, that 10,000 of the whole number should be converted to Christianity during the time they spend here. This would furnish 10,000 native missionaries, each in his own station, every five years, as long as they continue to come to us, who would in living and character, as well as in words, teach Christianity to their people. May not God have such a possibility in mind in opening the way for it to American Christians, and will He not hold us responsible for our apathy respecting it? By what other means is it so likely that more than 400,000,000 of heathen, hedged about with prejudice and barriers, as are the Chinese, will be brought under the power of the gospel of grace? The comparatively few who have been converted demonstrate by what they have done what such a body of earnest Christians could do, were they sent in rank after rank to their native land.

Still, I cannot think that even this result, were it to come from zeal and efforts that might be exhibited at such a great opportunity. I am aware that in the conviction I have about to express many do not sympathize with me, and that were it to become general in the Church it might occasion some changes in the methods now adopted in mission work. Yet I cannot but believe that the changes in methods there would be great advance, and that the changes in methods would be supplemental and co-operative, rather than revolutionary. The views heretofore expressed refer to the general bearing of converted Chinamen as men upon those with whom they will live in the ordinary relations of life. Some of those who come under our instruction and influence are by no means ordinary men. Judged by any standard they are remarkable, and their attainments astonish all who have occasion to test these. It certainly would seem that there should be no reason why some of these, at least, should not be specially prepared to go back, not to fill ordinary

stations, but to be leaders, as missionaries, as pastors of native churches, and defenders of the Christian religion when assailed by those who oppose its spread. Their youth, their marked talents, the fact that they will use their native language, which is always at best quite imperfectly used by foreigners, especially in speaking upon religious subjects, concerning which the tongue supplies but few terms, all suggest that Providence intends that America shall be the school for the training of Chinese missionaries for China, for the most part, in connection with the larger number who will go back to illustrate in private life the truths they here learn. There were four young men in my class in Oakland whom I would select for such special preparation. Other pastors and teachers in Chinese schools could select more or less from their classes. They would like to give them the requisite training, but have not the time, and the young men are occupied with their employments so that they cannot devote themselves to it. Suppose that some theological seminary should be designated (perhaps the San Francisco Seminary, which, in many respects, would manifestly be the proper one, though there might be danger that since it is located in the midst of them it might be difficult to restrict the number of applicants, or to make the best selection), in which a limited number of those who have thus been long and abundantly tested may be placed, for such training, at the expense of the Church in some way. They need not be passed through any general course of study, but, having access to other lectures and general exercises, let them have a professor who shall give them an epitome of Christian doctrine, and of the arguments in its support and defence; an outline of Church history, and the argument for its establishment, and polity, and sacraments, and worth; and whatever other items of preparation may be deemed essential for the work they will undertake in China; the whole to engage them not more than two years.

Then, let it be understood that the Board of Missions will send these men to fields of service in China, to be under the advice of our regular American missionaries on the ground, and to lift up the standard of the Cross as its able and trained defenders. They will be much better prepared than any can be in schools in China, because they will learn much incident-

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Still, I cannot think that even this result, were it to come from zeal and efforts that might be exhibited at such a call from God, would answer all the demand laid upon us by this great opportunity. I am aware that in the conviction I am about to express many do not sympathize with me, and that were it to become general in the Church it might occasion some changes in the methods now adopted in mission work. Yet I cannot but believe that were this conviction universal, there would be great advance, and that the changes in methods would be supplemental and co-operative, rather than revolutionary. The views heretofore expressed refer to the general bearing of converted Chinamen as men upon those with whom they will live in the ordinary relations of life. But some of those who come under our instruction and influence are by no means ordinary men. Judged by any standard, they are remarkable, and their attainments astonish all who have occasion to test these. It certainly would seem that there should be no reason why some of these, at least, should not be specially prepared to go back, not to fill ordinary

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ally which they could not learn there, they will have much more correct and definite knowledge because taught in the English language as well as in the Chinese, and they will have many sources and facilities which would not be possible otherwise. There are a good number of most promising young men, who would gladly accept such an opportunity to serve their new Master as long as they live, and there could be sufficient guards against deception and abuse of the privileges furnished them. Could a class of five be sent out thus qualified every year, none can estimate their power for good; and after the experiment has been proved to be successful, the number could be increased in accordance with the indications of Providence and the liberality and faith of the Church. Were all the agencies to be employed in carrying out such a scheme to enter into it with spirit, there is no doubt that the money needed for its execution would be cheerfully supplied. Indeed, there would hardly be any risk in guaranteeing the endowment of such a professorship in any seminary that might be selected, and the requisite funds for the support during their course, of such a number as might be desired to test the feasibility of the plan.

Whether any of these suggestions are accepted as practicable or not, it seems certain to those who have had best opportunity to judge, that we do not by any means apprehend God's design in bringing such a mass of heathen youth for a temporary stay in our land. The fact, all things considered, is one of the most remarkable in history. Some outcome from it should be commensurate with its peculiarity, and the Christian should expect this to relate to the Kingdom of Christ. We live in days when prophecy is being fulfilled in ways that should not startle, but instruct us. We are summoned to be prepared for events with which Providence is burdened; to be workers together with God, in the execution of the grandest schemes for the redemption of the world. It becomes us, not to be so familiar with what is really marvellous that its quality shall not be discerned by us—not to be so blinded by what we think to be our own interest as not to see the steps of Him who goes before His people, and calls them to self-sacrifice and toil as they follow. Everywhere there are demands on us, but the special, emphatic demand on American Christians,

not yet answered and more emphatic than ever, is with reference to their full duty to the heathen God has sent to them. It cannot be that men in our high places will be wanting who, like the sons of Issachar, will "have understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do." They may be assured that if they will so lead, enough of their brethren will be at their commandment to gain the blessing such intelligent fidelity will always secure.

JAMES EELLS.

III.

DEACONESSES.

IT is a first principle, in regard to sacred offices, that each one is founded on a proper gift bestowed by our ascended Lord. A profusion of these gifts in Pentecostal time made a corresponding profusion of offices. And offices were discontinued when the gifts on which they had been founded were withdrawn, after the establishment of Christianity. Miraculous endowment, moreover, supplied the infant Church with services and functions, which only anticipated the development of her capacities, to be reached in the progress of her culture. If an office passed away with the discontinuance of a gift, poured out "upon the servants and upon the handmaids" of the primitive time, that office may return when the gift is recalled; as "the effectual working in the measure of every part maketh increase of the body," which is seen to reproduce much of the power and adaptation for spiritual functions, that the Holy Ghost conferred on the Church in her cradle. True and full development in her growth will restore what divine anticipation bestowed on the weakness of her infancy. Besides, her living Head, with the control of all circumstances in His hand, from age to age, may order the occasion, and create the need for an office now, which had ceased for centuries, according to His will, to exercise its functions with any formal distinctness. The fitness which He bestows, and the necessity which He governs, may bring back without a Pentecost, what that initial epoch revealed in a suggestive pattern. If woman is now educated and qualified, as she never was before in the history of the race, and if her peculiar delicacy of tact has become of course more signal, as her true nature is developed under the holy calling of the Gospel, then, if there be a function in the Church with which she was invested,

by apostolic warrant or intimation, corresponding to her peculiar gift, we are authorized to restore that order to which it belongs.

This recovery of a primitive gift, in the course of Christian refinement, will also bear the stamp of progress upon it ; and so vary from the original pattern in being less accidental and exact. The incipency of ascension gifts from our Lord was like the tutelage of the Old Testament Church, in the necessities of multiplied direction and particular method. The childhood, which it led by the hand, needed the letter more than the scope of a principle ; precision of order, until the sentiment involved should be mature enough to drop the shell in expanding, with wide applications, which retain the object, whilst leaving the original form of prescription to the age and the circumstances that gave it the terms. For "a widow—threescore years old—who had brought up children, lodged strangers, washed the saints' feet," etc., the early Church soon substituted, exceptionally at least, reputable wisdom, maturity of judgment, sanctity of manners, fidelity in trust, and immunity from cares ; whether the official woman was old or young, married or unmarried, a widow or a virgin, when "taken into the number." To condemn such variation as a departure from the scriptural rule, as Tertullian did, is to make the rule an obsolete contingency, inoperative beyond a single century of time, incapable of meaning more than it expresses, and profitable for our instruction, only so long as the color and sense of its metaphors can be translated or transferred to the idioms of succeeding generations.

Beside this lateral expansion, to which we may interpret the divine warrant for an office in the Church, there is an ecclesiastical unity of functions, to which "the body of Christ" is tending evermore in the line of true progress and gracious evolution. What was divided in the Old Testament is united in the New. Instruction, worship, and rite, distributed in divers ministries and divers places, before "the fulness of time," have come to be united more and more in one minister, one sanctuary, and one hour of divine service. So, the development of woman's capacities in the advance of Christian charity will reveal convergence to unity in the exercise of her varied gifts for doing good. However diversified her

adaptations, and multiplied the uses of her office, in the vast varieties of need and vocation which the spread of Christian civilization may bring, the progress of light and truth and grace will gather all she is called to do, in the visible service of Christ, into one denomination. And that is given to us in Scripture—*Deaconess*, Romans xvi. 1: "I commend unto you Phebe, our sister, which is a servant of the Church which is at Cenchrea." The word translated "servant" here is *διάκονον*, literally and fairly to be rendered *deacon* or *deaconess*.

This noun is often used in the widest adjective sense of serving. Often also in the largest appellative sense, for any officer of the Church, ordinary and extraordinary, including the apostles themselves and even our sovereign Mediator himself. (Rom. xv. 8). Its third use, technically given, as the proper name for a particular class of officers in the Church, our translators have been compelled to recognize, in Phil. i. 1, and elsewhere. Phebe was a *deaconess* of the Church to which she belonged, in the official and not common sense of serving. That Church would not have been so titular in describing a private and unofficial member; the commendation of "our sister" would have used the ordinary phrase of the apostle in his letters, "a servant of Christ," "servant of the Lord," without such identification with a small particular Church, as to indicate at once an official relation to the Church at Cenchrea, and an official errand to Rome. The "business" on which she was making her journey to Rome would hardly have been so conspicuously noticed in a call to the Roman Christians as a body to "receive her in the Lord," as we read in the second verse, and "assist her in whatsoever business" she had need of them; if this had been some private business of her own, in trade or exchange, or appeal to the imperial court from provincial wrong. For, one of her character, as it is given by this commendation itself, would have practical wisdom enough to keep her own plans and purposes and means in reserve from the assistance of strangers. This receiving and assisting her in business, "as becometh saints," must have been urged upon the Romans, therefore, with churchly spirit and churchly phrase, in pursuance of a deacon's work, to help the poor, to relieve the afflicted, and to succor the distressed; "for," as the apostle

subjoins the reason, "she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also." A resort to Rome, where wealth accumulated early in the Church, and the influence of Christian converts could be had in "Cæsar's household," to favor the application of a feeble Church for funds to cherish the poor, sustain the ordinances, and propagate the Gospel, would seem to require *official* agency in a Grecian woman. Greek ideas of her proper sphere withheld a virtuous woman from the amenities of hospitality, even in her own home, according to Cornelius Nepos, in his contrast between Greek and Latin manners of the household. And we know, that through the whole period of Ante-Nicene Christianity in Greece and Asia, when martyrs could not be visited by Christian men in prison without exposure to suspicion and danger of death, women had to go veiled with the authority of office, in order to do, without hindrance of jealousy, the errands of mercy and kindness to both sexes in such distress. We may well conjecture, that Phebe could not, therefore, have been the "succourer" of men and women both, and commended publicly on her arrival at Rome for assistance in "whatsoever business" she had need of help, and called a deaconess in connection with the particular Church at Cenchrea, without a proper official import in that name.

The apostle seems to take it for granted also that Roman Christians, who had such sisters among themselves, would understand it in the official sense when they came to read the salutatory close of the great epistle, which had probably been carried to them by the hands of this woman from the eastern port of Corinth. Here we have their own Tryphena and Tryphosa, mentioned (verse 12) as known to be then occupied with consecrated work among them; and "the beloved Persis," to have been much occupied with such labor in the past, probably under his own inspection, among the churches of Asia or Greece; and Mary (verse 6), "who bestowed much labor on us," indicating the benevolent care and kindness of a deacon's ministrations, in the analogous work of this woman also. The very same word *κοπιᾶω* that is used in different forms to express the engagedness of these devout women is used to describe labors in the ministry of the Word some ten times at least, and that alike by ordinary and

extraordinary officers of New Testament times. (See 1 Cor. xv. 10, 1 Thess. v. 12, 1 Tim. v. 17). And when we consider how stringently women were forbidden to preach, and yet see in these verses how laboriously they were occupied with religious work, living at the altar with busy consecration, and extolled for it by the same great apostle, we are shut up to the conclusion that they also were officers in the Church; originated by the same necessity that brought "the seven" deacons to the office of serving tables (Acts vi.), that the apostles might give themselves "continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the Word."

The Latin word by which *διάκονος* was commonly translated is *ministra*. And this word, unlike *ancilla* in the same language, denoted a regular service of office to which women were set apart, corresponding to the masculine *minister*. Not the mere house-maid, which *ancilla* signified, subject to the whims and arbitrary caprice of menial service, but the voluntary beneficence of love and conscience in performing duty at some chosen task. Near the beginning of the second century, about the year 107, the younger Pliny, Governor of Pontus and Bithynia, under the Emperor Trajan, wrote to the latter his celebrated letter about the Christians; reporting what he had done to carry out the persecution of that reign, and asking for instructions how to proceed in consistency with Roman law against a people, whom he had discovered to be free from every crime but that of obstinate persistence in their faith. To reassure the Emperor that his inquisition had been sufficiently severe and particular, he wrote that he had subjected two women to torture, who had evidently been selected as knowing and prominent individuals, from whom he could obtain accurate information—*Ex duabus ancillis quae ministrae dicebantur*. Here we have the apposition of *ancillis* and *ministrae* to be rendered fairly into English, "two handmaidens who were called deaconesses," importing that the one was the common, and the other the official name of these Christian women. Hence the early translations of the Bible into Latin, and notably the Vulgate, rendered *διάκονον* by the round phrase, *quae est in ministerio ecclesiae quae est in Cenchris*.

That this word of the apostle was intended to intimate an

office of women then existing in the Church, and proper to be continued as long as any of her sex could be found qualified with the gift, and desiring to exercise it, was the unanimous comment of post-apostolic interpreters; including the most renowned of exegetes in primitive and early Christianity: Origen, Chrysostom, the Gregories, Theodore, Theodoret, etc. So at the Reformation, in both its branches—Lutheran and Reformed—the most learned and judicious annotators give the same sense. John Calvin says: “He first commends to them Phoebe, to whom he gave this epistle to be brought to them, and in the first place he commends her on account of her office, for she performed a most honorable and a most holy function in the Church. And then he adduces another reason why they ought to receive her and show her every kindness, for she had always been a helper to all the godly. As then she was a deaconess—‘ministra’—of the Cenchrean Church, he bids that on that account she should be received in the Lord; and by adding, ‘as it is meet for saints,’ he intimates that it would be unbecoming the servants of Christ not to show her honor and kindness ‘we ought surely to regard and especially to love and honor those who perform a public office in the Church.’”

Without citation from any other in the long line of our best authorities who have agreed with Calvin: Beza, Van Mastricht, Macknight, Bingham, Suicer, Schleusner, Parkhurst, Kitto, Brown, Hodge, etc., we may well quote the striking words of Dr. Chalmers, in his lectures on Romans, not only because he was an eminently fair expositor, but also because no man of his generation surpassed him in constructive aptitude for ecclesiastical economy. These are his words: “Here, too, we are presented with another most useful indication—the employment of female agency, under the eye and with the sanction of an apostle, in the business of a Church. It is well to have inspired authority for a practice too little known and too little proceeded on in modern times. Phoebe belonged to the order of deaconesses, in which capacity she had been the helper of many, including Paul himself. In what respect she served them is not particularly specified. Like the women in the Gospels who waited on our Saviour, she may have ministered to them of her substance, though there can

be little doubt that, as the holder of an official station in the Church, she ministered to them of her services also."

Thus it must be conceded, that we have a name for office given to woman in the Christian Church by the Apostle Paul himself, and that there is, at least, color of reason for believing that he meant it in the official and not common sense of the term. If now we can find a list of qualifications, analogous to those of the same office among men, given in Scripture as expressly required of woman also in the service of God, we go far in making out a warrant for the perpetual existence of her office with the name of Deaconess. Early interpretation with unanimous consent, and modern interpretation, with increasing force and clearness, recalling the old, give us the list we look for in 1 Tim. iii. 11: "Even so must *their* wives be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things." The Vulgate *mulieres similiter*, is nearer the sense of the original than our English version of this place. Although *γυναῖκα* may be rendered "wives," it more generally denotes *women* as antithetic to men; women, whether married or unmarried (see, for example, 1 Tim. ii. 8, 9); and the word "their" in our translation is not in the original. The word for transition here in the Greek rendered "even so," suggests fairly passage to another class in the enumeration of offices, rather than a supplement of close identification with the class just mentioned, as the word "wives" would make it. Such a supplement follows in the next verse (12th), which intimates the domestic proprieties of a good deacon; and this 11th verse while giving a distinct class of officers in women, may connect the 10th and 12th verses with the obvious thought, that deaconesses might be wives of deacons, as they probably often were, and yet hold an office entirely distinct, though analogous to that of their husbands. So, in like manner let women who are deaconesses, whether they are wives of deacons or not, whether married at all or not, be grave etc. Such is the sense of this passage according to the ancients, whose familiar observation of this order, unquestionably existing in their time, entitle them to more acceptance than they have received from the modern expounders generally. But they are sustained by Whitby, Macknight, Bloomfield, Fausset, and many others, among the latest and best

our critical commentators. This chapter (1 Tim. iii.) evidently proposes, for the guidance of Timothy, to describe in due proportion all the ordinary and permanent officers of the Church committed to his care as an evangelist. If Cenchrea had the deaconess, Ephesus must have had the same office. And we have here first the bishop, then the deacon, then the deaconess. The qualifications of this third order are given with exact correspondence to those of the second, excepting only the difference of words more suited to the sex. But if we are to understand that these women are only the wives of those mentioned in the second place, the question must be asked, why does the apostle say nothing in the proper place about the wives of bishops and their qualifications, so much more important for the welfare of pastoral charges in every age? And if, with Calvin, we connect these "wives" with both bishops and deacons, why insert them in the midst of a diaconate subject, giving to women a parallel part in serving the Church, described in official parlance, answering in every particular to the qualifications required of men for a similar office? If wives merely, why are the qualifications mentioned for them so little specific, belonging to the sphere of woman in married life, where the household is precisely her dominion?—and yet here in the next verse this home rule is turned over to the deacon himself, without any mention made of aptitude for family government in the helpmeet, whom our translation gives expressly and exclusively to the deacon. These difficulties are avoided only by the supposition that deaconesses and their proper qualifications are mainly intended by 1 Tim. iii. 11. And had it been the mind of inspiration that female officers were to be all unmarried persons, either virgins or widows, the construction would not have been left open for so many versions and interpretations to say *wives* instead of *women* with any good sense.

Having now ascertained an official name, and a list of qualifications prescribed in the Word of God, we complete the category of an office in the Church for women, if we can find a roll on which she had been entered, with considerate choice and the solemnity of vows. We do not need to see a formal origination like that of deacons in Acts vi. (for this office is supplementary in its nature to that), nor to inquire how general or

how special the duties to which she must have been assigned in such consecration, as these must, of course, correspond to civilization, of the age, and the place, nor to know that her precise occupation in the apostolic age has a need and a place in the Church of to-day as it had in the forming age of Christianity. We need only observe once for all, the fact that under apostolic direction, there was registration of an order with a votive bond for faithfulness in office, devolved on women.

The notable passage, 1 Tim. v. 9, 10, comes now to be considered: "Let not a widow be taken into the number, under threescore years old, having been the wife of one man, well-reported of for good works; if she have brought up children if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work." This text is taken from the midst of directions to Timothy, respecting widows in the Christian community; who, from the beginning, were special objects of care and kindness in the Church. "Honor widows that are widows indeed"—begins the direction in the 3d verse. And in the rapid and distributive abruptness peculiar to the style of this apostle, we have keen discrimination, of widows who should be supported at home, by children, or nephews or any believer able to do it; and widows who being desolate are properly to be supported at the charge of the Church. Among the latter, he distinguishes, again, between the young and the old, the devout and the gay, the once married and the twice married, the commendable and the blamable. And suddenly, as if his allusion would be of course understood by Timothy and the Churches, he refers to an order of women who would necessarily be employed in the care and superintendence of any charitable provision made for those who were needy and desolate. "Let not a widow be taken into the number," etc.—of those who are put into such an office. So the Arabic version reads, "If a widow be chosen a deaconess." There must be a circle, within the community of widows, qualified to give them counsel, consolation, and succor. There must be a selection made, even from the consecrated deaconesses, to attend on this duty, of managing and sustaining widows of all ages, in their indigence and

ignorance. And then the apostle proceeds to describe minutely widows who only are qualified for such a care.

Neander, the great historian, rejects this interpretation, and insists that the whole section respecting widows must be more unique, understood without such minute distribution; and that "taken into the number" means only taken into the register of those who are to be supported at the expense of the Church, in distinction from those who may be supported at the homes of relatives and friends. Probably the majority of readers agree with Neander. But the whole text and context must refute this popular explanation. In the first place, the word *καταλεγέσθω*, "taken into the number," means enrolment of the most particular kind—picking out from a general register, a few in detail for special duty—in *album et numerum referri*, says Erasmus, the unrivalled scholar, in giving the sense of the word; and Beza followed him, with express approbation, giving *allegatur* instead of the Vulgate *eligatur*, in his Latin translation. At any rate, the use of this word itself, as applied to the admission of poor widows to the charities of the Church, must be wholly inappropriate. There would be no picking and choosing for eleemosynary honor, apart from official trust, among the distressed and desolate widows of Christian faith. The admission must be free to loneliness and need, without regard to age, or even comparative desert in sanctity of life, to be the rule of Christian charity.

2. If "the number" be taken in the sense of beneficiaries only, it would be nearly, if not quite, no number at all for admission to the benefit of Christian asylums; according to the conditions required in the 10th verse. Scarcely one widow in a thousand, of any generation in the Church, could be found uniting in herself all the requisitions. She must be sixty years old at least, and a widow but once, in the sense of having never availed herself, as women in good circumstances of life so often did in those times, of facile divorce, to marry another while the divorced man was living. She must be a widow "well reported of for good works," importing that she had ample means in her hands with which to earn such reputation. One also that had "brought up children," who, coming from such a home, would rather die than see

their mother in the ranks of public pauperism. One who must have had a spacious home, in which she "lodged stranger with generous hospitality, and without stinting the room table of her children. One also of such a social rank, as signalize the grace of condescension, when she "washed the saints' feet." Affluence also, and leisure must have been her lot, when she "relieved the afflicted," and "diligently followed every good work." It would be a miracle of ill-fortune for such a widow in reverses to have neither "children," nor "nephews," nor "any man or woman that believeth," to keep her from being a charge on the public alms of the Church, through the evening of her life. We can easily comprehend how such a woman would be admirably fitted to preside over a house filled with less favored and young widows. But how the charities of Pauline benevolence could shrink to such a rare selection of beneficiaries in old widowhood, is inconceivable.

3. Such a sense as that preferred by Neander has an aspect of cruelty, when we read on in the next verse, "But the young widows refuse." The lone childless widow, the widow that has always been poor, without fame or friends, without opportunities for doing good, or time, which is the treasure of the poor to give, are not only not to be taken into the number but positively refused, if they are "younger widows;" and the more needing to be instructed and guided, as well as fed and clothed, by the charities of the faithful.

4. It is inconsistent, as well as cruel. Younger widows were to be refused, because they would marry again. That was good reason for keeping them out of an office, which could not be filled so well with persons who were bound to husbands, and engrossed with family cares; but no reason for keeping them out of shelter and subsistence for a time, until another marriage would relieve the Church of a burden, and promote the best economy, in administering alms; according to the apostle's own advice. He advises younger widows to marry, for the sake of a good example in decency and thrift; and yet he had just written, they will do so when they "wanton against Christ," "having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith." Surely he does not mean that they must marry or starve; that "marriage is honorable in all

and yet, rebellion, apostasy, and damnation to “younger widows.” It must refer to the prior obligation of vows, the **vows** of an office in the service of Christ, which they cast off **in** being hastily wedded again, after due consecration to a most useful Christian life. A facile abandonment of such anterior obligation, for another husband, would be disturbance of order, inconvenience, and scandal even, which would call for severe condemnation. What, however, would be the sin or harm of quitting the poor-house, where a gratuitous living had no bonds to detain the registered inmates; who would naturally covet what the apostle preferred they should have—private homes, in which they could be cherished and “the Church not be charged?”

Thus, we are fairly constrained to bring the 3d verse and the 9th together: “Honor widows that are widows indeed. Let not a widow be taken into the number,” etc. As the elders, in the 17th verse following, “who rule well,” are worthy of “double honor,” so the widows who are well fitted to preside over communities, and guide individuals, young or old, of their own sex, should be honored indeed—personally revered, and amply supported, in their work of faith and labor of love.

It must be evident, from the terms of rare selection, which we have seen to be incompatible with the free and full admission of inmates, to the gratuitous provision made for desolate widows, that “the number” of qualified persons, for the charge of such beneficence, would be small, even without the restriction of personal indigence besides, overtaking themselves in the reverses of life. If the widow of threescore, as described in the 10th verse, without reduction to poverty herself, should desire and consent to be enrolled for the service of others, it was just at the entrance of old age, according to Jewish ideas; and the shortness of her time, along with the peculiar assemblage of qualifications required, must reduce to a minimum this wing of the female diaconate. There might be, therefore, a great lack of service for this particular duty, if confined to widows of the sort which the apostle requires. Accordingly, we should notice that only *widows* are subjected to the rigid tests which the apostle details. He does not say that virgins should be excluded, nor married women; although, for obvious reasons, the retreat for widows should be tended as much as possible by

venerable women of their own kind, whose experience and tenderness, and ripeness of piety would be most profitable in managing that particular trust.

Neglect of widows "in the daily ministration," by apostles themselves, occasioned the introduction of deacons into the Christian Church. And so, neglect of their "tables" by the best of chosen widows, in consequence of age and infirmity, as well as fewness of number, would inevitably bring younger deaconesses to the help of these matrons. Thus, the two names would be interchangeably used for the same order, the chosen widows being really a special branch of the diaconate and the earliest, the most venerable, and yet the most incapable, without the aid of such women as Phoebe, who were active and energetic in "business;" though it cannot be known whether Phoebe was virgin, wife, or widow. So much, however, did the term *widow* gradually cease to be used as a name for woman's office, that we find in the "Apostolic Constitutions" at the close of the third century this direction for their conduct: "The widows, therefore, ought to be grave, obedient to their bishops, and their presbyters, and their deacons, and *beside these, to the deaconesses*, with piety, reverence, and fear."—Book 3, cap. 8. And we find in canons of Councils, afterwards, that deaconesses were called *προκαθήμεναι*, *governesses*.

Thus, we observe, without multiplying citations, what we should expect to see, after finding the office of deaconess in the Word of God itself, that other names than the only one given in Scripture, would, after specifying and emphasizing this and that important duty of the office, for a time, fall away in popular use, from an official to a common signification. So it was with *χήρα*, *πρεσβύτιδες*, and others. Historians, councils, and scholiasts, for generations after the sacred canon was closed, would use these words to designate, no one can say what, if it be not the order of deaconesses. The perplexity of modern writers on the subject darkens itself by overlooking the simple fact, that other terms, expressing every phase in the versatility of woman's exquisite power and adaptation for "every good work," would naturally attach themselves, by way of emphasis, to this and that specialty of her vocation; although the one name given by inspiration of God, remained the generic term, and at length the only name in history.

The Fathers, both before and after the first General Council, were peculiarly interested in this office ; they refer to the Scriptures for its warrant and fitness ; and abundantly intimate the benefits enjoyed by the Church from the various work and good repute of the female deaconship. Martyrs, apologists, exegetes, and historians, united in the praise of this ministry. And it overspread the whole extent of Christendom, the West as well as the East, the rugged Latins of North Africa, as well as the more effeminate Greeks and Asiatics ; where the greater seclusion of woman made the service of woman, at the tuition and baptism of her sex, indispensable. No less than forty deaconesses were connected with the great Church of Constantinople. Candidates for the office were always abundant, and these, according to Epiphanius, were either virgins, or widows, or wives who lived in sanctity with their husbands. Rank, as well as condition, yielded its quota. Publia, distinguished in the time of Julian, was a deaconess. The virgin sister of Gregory Nyssen, Macrina, was another. And he mentions Lampadia, also a virgin, of rank in this office. Sozomen, the historian, relates the effort of Chrysostom, to persuade a noble virgin, Nicarate, to become a deaconess ; and the success of Olympias, a young widow of rank, in obtaining admission to the order.

The most conflicting diversity of usage and opinion among the ancients was about the proper age for admission to this office. Tertullian, of the second century, who evidently interpreted the text 1 Tim. 5-9, as we have done, insisted on the age of *sixty*, at least, and denounced the admission of a young virgin under twenty as a "monstrous" thing in the Church. He therefore called the order "widows." The Council of Chalcedon, in the fifth century, ordered, that no one under the age of *forty* should be admitted. The Theodosian code, reverting to the prejudice of Tertullian, because of some scandal at the opposite extreme, enacted *threescore* as the proper age. And after this, the "Novels" of Justinian reduced, by imperial authority, the age to forty or fifty years. Finally, the Council in Trullo (692) attempting to reconcile discrepancies of the past, which had entailed confusion in the varieties of usage, determined that sixty should be the age for widows, and forty for deaconesses ; not meaning, however,

that the latter did not include the former, as a special class of the same order; but merely to classify the office with some certain distinction, which might establish more uniformity of observance. But the partisan spirit which prevailed in this Quinisext Council, East against West, and Greek against Latin, deprived it of ecumenical value.

No scriptural office ever suffered so much from the hands of men, notwithstanding the vast beneficence with which its devout and beautiful charity always performed its work. Bondage to the letter was inflicted just as soon as apostolic direction left the stage. Forgetting the typical deaconess in Phebe, which the liberal Paul commended for abounding activity in business, it was required that they should all be literally widows, shut up in homes for widows, who were so desolate and poor as not to have upon earth another home in which they could live. Exceptions which would prove the apostle's rule, by substituting for the decrepit widow a wise and godly virgin to help her, and take care of her also, brought upon that virgin the ridiculous name of "virgin-widow," as the pseudo-Ignatius has it. And when exceptions forced themselves into the order from necessity of the case, and filled the diaconate of every diocese with active and efficient agency, the thunder of conciliar canons and imperial edicts came to remand the whole order back to the letter of a widows' home, and the desolation of old widows' life.

The rise of hierarchy must be noticed as another hostility, in its progress and consummation, to the usefulness and even existence of this woman's office in the Church. When the bishops began to claim succession to the Jewish priesthood, after the final overthrow of the Jewish State by Adrian, and to claim superiority of rank, and another ordination, over elders, who are so familiarly the same as bishops in biblical description, deacons became the favorites of episcopal influence, and were industriously promoted over the elders in being the companions and helps of the bishops; while the elders naturally gave up the parity of ministers with some annoying protest or dissent. Then came the sacerdotal affectation of three orders in the ministry, and the deacon must be the third, and therefore he must be a preacher, and leave the service of tables to which he was exclusively ordained. But what

now of the feminine counterpart in the office of deaconess? She must not preach in any event or under any changes in the progression of office, for God has forbidden it in His Word; and canons and "constitutions" beyond number had been duly orthodox from the beginning, to enforce the restraint of woman in the Church, declaring that no sacerdotal function should ever be hers; and it was mere heathenism to think of women preaching, because among the heathen only were priestesses employed on account of the female divinities, which men and women worshipped together. Thus, forsaken by the parallel order among men, the order among women was left to perish. Accordingly, the very same council, about 347, that of Laodicea, which, in concert with Sardica, abolished the *chorepiscopi*, country bishops, who had persisted in being parochial and not diocesan; abolished the order of deaconesses likewise—a prelatie consistency of more logical force than manliness and courage. For this blow struck the order under the name of *πρεσβυτιδας*, to escape the condemnation of striking down the office of woman under its true scriptural name. Thus hierarchial development went on, just in proportion to its compactness, in suppressing the office of deaconess. And as its despotism was more intolerant by its unity in the West than in the East, the order was extinguished at Rome, two hundred years before it ceased at Constantinople.

"Forbidding to marry," in the ascetic perversion of Christian society, by the prevalence of conventual and monastic life, was another antagonism, fatally adverse to an order of office, which required the Church to "honor widows that are widows indeed;" and to take into its number, of specially well qualified members, those who had brought up children, and spent six-sevenths of this lifetime in family relations and cares. Society is the province of woman. Social amelioration is the great errand of woman's office in the Church. To relieve, refine, enhance, the joys of family, the relations of friendship, the accession of strangers, the "business" intercourse of laudable industries, and the free interaction of all Christian people, "for the edifying of the body of Christ"—was ever conspicuously the institute of this devoted guild. Rather than renounce the principle of its existence, by incor-

porating the vows of celibacy, rejecting marriage as unclean, and looking on virginity, in every kind of monachism, the flower of Christian perfection, it would wither and die. Originating for the service of her own sex especially, and most useful wherever it suffered a disparaging seclusion, the official woman lost her occupation, when monks and nuns became the "regular" ministry of Christendom.

These causes of decline and discontinuance to the female deaconry of old, were equally the causes of decline and fall to Christianity itself. It was in the midst of medieval darkness and corruption that the office of deaconess passed away. Other offices were multiplied apace, in the downward apostasy of all religion. Subdeacons came to supplement the lack of service at "tables," when the divinely appointed deacons vaulted into sacerdotal distinction—"ordines majores." Man made "ordines minores," of which subdeacons were the chiefs, swarmed on every hand, to remain at the cathedral to this day. The solitary exception to be found in all history, of the entire decadence of a sacred office before the Reformation, is in this one, with which the primitive Church had been so much adorned. It was only the religion of Christ in its apostolic purity that could elevate woman, and of course develop her capabilities for service in His kingdom. When that had gone, her gift was gone: "and if the foundation be destroyed, what can the righteous do?" She sunk again to the disabilities of her sex in barbarism, just as her faith and hope and charity were extinguished under clouds of superstition.

All these reasons for the disappearance of deaconesses, in the night of dark and leaden ages, are now only strong reasons for the restoration of the order, especially to the Presbyterian Church. It is not much more than one generation since deacons were elected again, generally, in central regions of our American Church; and men are yet living who remember how strongly the General Assemblies of 1840, '41, and '56, had to enjoin upon the churches the universal duty, wherever it was practicable, to have a board of deacons established, beside the bench of elders. A strong unwritten protest against the order had existed for generations in the Presbyterian mind, because it had been so generally per-

verted in other denominations. Prelacy, on the one hand, made it sacerdotal, and in the early ages exalted deacons over the ruling elders of the parish bench; annihilating the primitive consistory, and keeping it suppressed in every system to this day, which makes a preacher of the deacon. Independency, upon the other hand, came to make "governments" out of deacons; and, of course, gradually dispensed with ruling elders, from the days of John Owen, who warned it against this tendency, to the beginning of the present century. Although for these reasons chiefly, our American Presbyterian churches were slow to accept a deaconry handed down in scriptural form by the Second Book of Discipline, and the Westminster Directory also, which was derived from the Standards of Scotland, it has been at length embodied, in almost every organization of the particular Church, and that with intelligent adoption. Why should the churches not proceed now, and without delay, to restore this primitive and apostolic supplement to the deacons of Scripture? No perversion or discredit ever came upon the analogous functions of deaconess, when the original deacon ceased to feed widows, in serving tables. It had been always faithful to its principle, and loyal to its Presbytery. It followed the parity of elder and bishop, as Ruth followed Naomi. When Presbytery perished, it perished. Three orders in preaching dug its grave. A great stone, the colossal hierarchy, hindered its resurrection. And the great Reformation is not completed until this primitive office be restored.

Other denominations, less cognate, have been engaged in restoring it for half a century. In 1836 Pastor Fliedner established "the Institution of Deaconesses" at Kaiserswerth for the care of the sick. It was entirely successful, and rapidly enlarged from year to year, and has led to the establishment of many similar ones in Germany, France, and England. In our country, beginning at Pittsburg, Pa., Dr. Passavant, of the Lutheran Church, has been eminently successful in founding and propagating the same beneficent order. Presbyterians, who ought to have been first to organize an office that is more at home and kindred in their system than anywhere else, may see in such examples how practicable it is, and useful and necessary to the complete equipment of evangelical benevolence. In-

deed, there is more than all the need of early Christianity in this office now. Less the jealousy of social intercourse between the sexes now, and less the dungeon of imprisoned martyrs and confessors, there is far more the "business" activity which took Phebe from Cenchrea to Rome, far more the open and effectual doors for the gospel to all people, both at home and abroad, far more the neglected work of male deacons for the female to take up and finish and adorn. And then, of course, we have the poor always with us, the sick, the afflicted, the widow, the orphan, the stranger, all that ever occupied at first the care of deaconesses. On the other hand, especially in this country, men are busier than ever with the world, and women are less busied than ever before with domestic occupations. "A virtuous woman" hardly recognizes herself as longer in the glass, which used to mirror the value and excellence of her place at home. "She seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands." "She riseth also while it yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and a portion her maidens. She considereth a field and buyeth it; with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard." "She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff." But now the industrial organizations of men and art have come to supersede this toil and trouble. The central part of modern civilization is emancipation of woman from drudgery, and the old engrossment of her time and tact in the monopoly of household labor. The sewing-machine, co-operative cooking, and a great variety of other inventions, which are at once auxiliary and improving to her own capacities, have come to free her adaptations from the letter to the spirit of Solomon's portraiture. With all these changes she is still the same. Her instinct is productive labor. "She looketh well to the way of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness." No "art and man's device" will ever avail to repress the determination of educated woman to "do something" by herself. From the close of attendance at school, to the entrance in married life, there is an interval in which this beautiful energy is more and more tempted to pass the boundary of her sphere for something to do, unless we hasten to fill with Church work the vacuities made in that sphere by the applied arts which have brought leisure to her home. The professions of law and

medicine, the pulpit also, and even the political arena, invite *her* enterprise and win her ambition. We know already the *embarrassments* we have had to stop her from preaching in *Presbyterian* churches. And we cannot but see that all she needs to level the barriers of Bible forbidding is the suffrage of her *own* sex. Already, the question goes up to the highest council of a great popular Church in this land, with large suffragan favor of *women*.

Now, let us consider in time what we may give her to do in the service of Christ and the Church. What can be imagined *better* than what the Bible suggests, and primitive Christianity exemplified on its brightest pages? Mothers and sisters, widows and virgins, have already anticipated our answer by the virtual resuscitation of deaconesses in the noble success of "woman's work" for missions at this day. And, perhaps, the strongest objection to the constitutional insertion of such an order in our system is, that we have already the advantages of a female diaconate, without formulating what might be repelled as an innovation, and a wheel too much to be normally affixed in the movement of our charities. But we must bear in mind that charity, outside of ecclesiastical norm, will make a channel for itself, and mostly a narrow, partial one, running to exaggeration, and like the Jordan when it swells to the overflow of its banks, it may start wild beasts from their lair, to devastate the valley which it was designed to fertilize with irrigation. We crave the activity of woman's benevolence in all its rich variety of kinds and appliances. We want it for the widow's home, the orphan's nursery, the poor man's cottage, the hospital, the stranger's lodging for her sex, the prison cell with succor to the doomed, the school-house, alike for the staff of teaching and board of direction. In short, the seven are seventy times seven, beyond the good work of subsidy for missions, in which her name is now redolent all the world over. Only that organized economy which divine wisdom has given to the Church can adjust the balances of such philanthropy, restrain excess, and shape this many-sided goodness to that fair proportion which becomes "the fulness of Him that filleth all in all."

The characteristic loyalty of woman to the sway of her Lord Jesus would greatly promote the legitimate influence of

the Church upon the world, if along the confines of mundane and spiritual things respectively, she could be seen of all men to represent the counsel of Christ, in any office of His own appointment suited to her peculiar adaptations. Many an association, though voluntary and free, combining possibilities of power more potent than courts or senates, might thus be made to render homage to Him, whose we are, and whom we serve. Take for example the latest known organization of benevolent ladies, for the help of the oppressed in her own sex, a dispensary of law, entitled in expressing the object of their society "Legal Protection for Working-Women." It had become a notorious fact that this class of the poor were often imposed on and wronged without a remedy. Sometimes, in purchasing a sewing-machine to be paid for by instalments, when all but the last had been made up, a spell of sickness or some domestic adversity hindered the poor woman from meeting her last payment; the merciless contract compelled her to forfeit the whole, the article itself and all the hard earnings already expended in struggling for the ownership. Sometimes, again, they are defrauded by middle men or women, who take from the clothing houses great piles of cut-out garments to be made up by the needle, and then subdividing the task, they distribute portions to the humble poor, who can hardly be trusted at the counter. At first these are punctually paid the pittance allowed. But afterward they are paid in part only at the time, and this part is less the next time, and still less the next, until the debt of the petty factors to these working-women is large enough to be repudiated altogether; and being without friends or means, they have to suffer the wrong in silence, if they would get work at all to keep them from starving. Fraud, more cruel than misfortune, calls for woman's interposition. This new association proposes to have law, as well as food and medicine, dispensed in such cases. And for this purpose they consult men learned in the law, and interpose, with signal success, to search out and punish the injustice, and at the same time to enlighten the ignorant and helpless women in regard to contracts and evidence and right, making them take better care of themselves. Now, if we had the deaconesses in every city, whose office would include this object as one of its details, and attract to its organization educated women, young

and old, married and unmarried, whose aspirations for the Bar, now becoming frequent, might all be satisfied with the specialty of this kindness to the poor, how materially would it lengthen the cords with which we should reach out for the poor, and draw them to an inner as well as outer sanctuary, in the Presbyterian Church. Without a full diaconate, male and female, identified in form as well as in fact with the Church at home, we can hardly hope to retain our poor, born within our own pale, and much less gather from the world its downtrodden millions, who languish for good Samaritans to come on their way. And wanting the poor, we shall want a full Church, and be without a full representation of Christ himself with us always.

The space allotted here will not allow of more expediency, as well as warrant, to be written out, in pleading for this office. Instead of subjecting our good old standards of Government and Discipline to crucibles of revision, making crude again what was ripe, and well digested too, would it not be far better, for strength and beauty both, to add a feature, which was lost at the very time our faith and form were lost, and which has waited for a recognition and adoption, until faith and form have become hoary in our hands? Let us renew our age by renewing our youth. The deaconess nourished, and succored, and adorned the youth of our true Christianity. "Thou hast the dew of thy youth." Restoring the office need cost no trouble. If the people of a particular church would simply elect women as well as men to the office of deacon, making one board, or two separate boards, at their pleasure; of course, ordained with the same vows, and responsible to the same authority, as now provided in our Constitution, the order is restored. From this beginning, a development could be made of larger boards, in gradation; corresponding to Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assembly, by way of representation; keeping records at every step of such gradation, and reporting their work done or projected, to the Judicatories of each plane, composed of ministers and elders. The approbation, counsel, or injunction, of authorities in ruling the Church, would be communicated to these boards of deaconesses, respectively, according to the series of their gradation. And thus, without confusion, or danger from an influence, kept outside of churchly mechanism, and waxing apace in its power, irrepressible al

to us the "Paradise Lost" and the "Church Porch." We have found the epic Milton and the lyric Herbert meeting and expressing more than the transient sentiment of their contemporaries. No bookseller's shelves can be at all complete without them, and the faith in God which sprang up at the angel touch of poetry into an altar flame of holy service, melts into the pure and spiritual worship of to-day. "The flavor of the good," says Buddha, "pervades every place;" and even now their memory is fragrant to us. But, aside from these, whom do we care to know? The name at the head of this article is familiar to nearly all lovers of English poetry. Yet, save for that exquisite elegy, "They are all gone into that world of light," Henry Vaughan is still a claimant for his kingdom. Some, indeed, have gone further and questioned deeper, but to little purpose.

If we ask the excellent Mr. Thomas Campbell concerning this Welsh bard, we may get a very surly answer. With great courtesy or good judgment, he will be found to have achieved Dogberry's dearest wish, and to have written his opinion thus: "He is one of the hardest even of the inferior order of the school of conceit, but he has some few scattered thoughts that meet our eye amidst his harsh pages, like wild flowers on a barren heath." This is sad nonsense—as if an Arab should curse the frieze of some ancient temple for not being smooth enough to build into the wall of his hut!

It would, indeed, be difficult to find a true and lofty singer who has been so seriously underrated as Vaughan. It is his glory—as it has been his literary shame—that his entire works are purely and consistently devout. He dared, among Cavaliers and as a Cavalier, to borrow the verse of Herrick, in which to praise the God of the Commonwealth. Hence it has needed the long purgation of these centuries, to eliminate passion and prejudice from the sentence which we can now safely pronounce, upon his contemporaries and himself. Old Longinus said, that he called that alone poetry which permanently pleased and was suitable to any age. By this severest of tests Henry Vaughan is at last vindicated and held in honor.

Of those lewd and rakish Cavaliers—whose blasphemous loyalty Robert Browning has too well imitated, and to whose fragile beauty Professor Aytoun, and of late, F. W. Bourdillon

are successors—we can say no great amount of good. With Vaughan himself we aver, "When the sun is busie upon a dung-hill the issue is always some unclean vermine." But of that better sort who, as he says, "out of a true, practick piety" attempted some lofty strain, we may think with sincere affection. And first among these he sets, (and so must we), his brother Welshman, George Herbert. There were knees in that company which

"Stood for the king,
Bidding the crop-headed parliament swing ;"

and yet never bent before Baal.

In his preface, dated at "Newton-by-Usk, near Sketh-Rock, Septem. 30, 1654," our Silurist has expressed so fully his own design, as a poet, that it merits our large quotation. He says, "The true remedy [against vicious and impure writing] lies wholly in their bosoms who are the gifted persons, by a wise exchange of vain and vitious subjects, for divine themes and celestial praise. The performance is easie, and were it the most difficult in the world, the reward is so glorious that it infinitely transcends it; for 'they that turn many to righteousness shall shine like the stars for ever and ever:' whence follows this undeniable inference, that, the corrupting of many being a contrary work, the recompense must be so too; and then I know nothing reserved for them but 'the blackness of darkness for ever;' from which, O God, deliver all penitent and reformed spirits!"

In this high and thoroughly devout intent we find him always humbly and fervently consistent. And in view of his performance of this loving duty of "communicating his poor talent to the Church, under the protection and conduct of her glorious Head" he may be allowed—even at this late day—to have gained his prayer, "that I may flourish not with leafe onely, but with some fruit also."

As yet, to the most of those who read these pages, Henry Vaughan, "the Silurist," still stands as the shadow of a name. Let him then be called before us, in the lineaments and habit of his life. For, as Stopford Brooke says with a sad truthfulness, "The devotional element in our English poetry which belonged to Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and some of the Puritan poets, died away in the critical school, which began with Dry-

den and ended with Pope." Mr. Campbell and his "litt couplets" are fine examples, by the way, of that laborious carefulness of expression, through which rapid and original thought can scarcely break its path. That must be a remarkable idea, indeed, which can escape this flattening and smoothing process. Like the priest of Isis, in Bulwer's "Last Days of Pompeii," it generally perishes, axe in hand, before its downfall. The present essayist is therefore entirely against Campbell, and entirely in favor of Stopford Brooke's opinion. As this last critic might even have added, that the pure feeling and honest morality of these rugged men ran, like a fair stream, in the foul swamp of the rhymed drama. When one remembers the moral miasma of Dryden and the sickly sentiment of Pope he could, indeed, wish that the marsh had been drained before the exhalation of its false prosody poisoned, in his very cradle, poor Cowper, the next real poet of any piety. "French correctness," as Mr. Lyte has acutely observed, "was too much in the ascendant among us" when the standard collections of British poetry were made. Hence, Vaughan received no favor from any side. The times were out of joint, and if religion of the genuine kind was undesirable, a strong and individual verse was even more useless still.

In a singular fashion Keats and Vaughan experienced the same rebuffs. It would appear that whatever does not consult the "commonplace minds," and their present rules and precepts has always met this fate. And that "Endymion," which did such marvellous work in moulding Tennyson—such work, indeed, that I am personally and credibly informed his copy of Keats was worn ragged, and underscored almost unreadably—that "Endymion" was sneered into insignificance by the shoemaker Gifford. Let such cobblers stick to their lasts forever. Their narrow, time-serving prejudice would deny place to any one with a soul above shoe-pegs! And therefore I am of mind to place Keats on record, by the side of Vaughan, before I draw the full picture of the only successor of Herbert the devout and Herrick the quaint. "It is just," Keats writes in his preface to "Endymion," "that this youngster should die away a sad thought for me, if I had not some hope that while it is dwindling I may be plotting and fitting myself for verses fit to live. This may be speaking too presumptuously, and may do

serve a punishment : but no feeling man will be forward to inflict it : he will leave me alone, with the conviction that there is not a fiercer hell than the failure in a great object!" If Vaughan had a similar wish it was certainly granted. But such singing does not cease. Tom Hood himself knew it, when he wrote so finely of Wordsworth :

"Look how the lark soars upward and is gone,
Turning a spirit as he nears the sky !
His voice is heard, but body there is none
To fix the vague excursions of the eye.
So, poets' songs are with us, tho' they die
Obscured, and hid by death's oblivious shroud.
And earth inherits the rich melody
Like raining music from the morning cloud !

And so, apparently with the confidence of Southey that his name should not "perish in the dust," Henry Vaughan sang and passed away.

We are indebted to two gentlemen, themselves poets of no mean celebrity, for rescuing him from oblivion. Like John Skelton, who deserves rehabilitation on other grounds, Henry Vaughan has found an editor. The Rev. H. F. Lyte is known to us as the author of some of our sweetest hymns. Here, in Fields and Osgood's edition of Vaughan, he appears as the tender and even enthusiastic biographer. That edition was, however, prepared in 1847, and after that date but one voice, to my knowledge, has been raised for the poet's fame, if we except the kind commendation of Dr. John Brown in "Spare Hours" and the passing references of current literature. This voice has fortunately been that of a popular novelist—no less a person, indeed, than George MacDonald, in his "England's Antiphon." A "fit audience, though few," has quietly attended the singer ever since. And if there are those who have made a specialty of Cruikshank's etchings, and of George Borrow's weird journeyings, why should not Vaughan have his own little *coterie*? No wedding guest has ever been more irresistibly detained by any ancient mariner, than has been that poetry-loving and Christ-loving soul, which has chanced upon the verses of the Swan of Usk. Yet there is no loving and careful tribute which, to my knowledge, has found its way into the standard reviews or magazines. Men speak of Henry Vaughan as though it were a sin not to know him—as it is also with

them, perchance, a matter of note, that they have eaten mushrooms and been familiar with olives and ortolans. Society will discover anew and rave about Shelley's "Lines to an Indian Air," and go into genteel ecstasies over the "spirit in the feet," which tread its measures, but Vaughan is still too high and clear for a frivolous or sensuous taste. He is a delicacy no more. Henry Morley, in his presumably exhaustive collection of "Shorter English Poems," drops him out of sight completely as Henri Taine does Tom Hood. There is not even a nod of recognition. Beeton and Rossetti—as one might suppose—furnish him with ample space, quoting not less than nine poems. "Chambers' Cyclopædia of English Literature" is generally fair to everybody—is, on the other hand, extremely unfair to Vaughan. He is "tinged with a gloomy sectarianism and marred by crabbed rhymes." Of the rest of the standard authorities on English poetry, some (like Taine) omit him altogether; some (like Allibone) fortify their own non-committalism by quoting both sides; and some (like Rossetti, alas!) plainly know nothing about his nature and his history. Yet Campbell—his harshest critic—has stolen from the despised bard the motive and thought of his "Rainbow," and has even appropriated therein that fine phrase, "the world's gray fathers," applying it, in precisely the same manner as Vaughan, to those who first saw the symbol in the sky. Who would not strive to rescue such a poet from such a robber, when that poet can also claim acquaintance with "the old white prophets," and can say of God in His glory,

"And above all, Thy holy face
Makes an eternal charity?"

But now to biography: Henry Vaughan, called the "Silurist," because he was born among the Silures, a people of South Wales, first opened his eyes upon this fair world in Brecknockshire. In 1621 (or, as some incorrectly say, 1614,) he and his twin-brother, Thomas, came from heaven, by the way of the mansion of Newton-by-Usk. The murmuring river, the high peaks which lifted themselves within his sight, the picturesque scenery, and the pious and cultivated habits of the peasantry, all went to form his taste and his love for the beautiful. The Welsh are a remarkable people, as showing the true, gentle

breeding and high love of music and poetry, produced through ages by the study of the Bible. Frances Power Cobbe has herself pointed the comparison between the condition of the Irish and the Welsh, and she can ascribe it to no other cause.

Thus the uplift to young Henry's soul came early, and ever afterward this one great thought, of God as the light of men, filled his waking and sleeping visions. At eleven years he and his brother—so Lyte says—were sent to be instructed by Rev. Matthew Herbert,—noticeable name! They then went together to that resort of Welshmen at Oxford, Jesus College. It is an open question whether in the excitement of the time—it was 1638-40—Henry was not actually imprisoned for his devotion to the royal cause. He may have been at Rowton Heath in 1645. In any case, it is faintly traditional that he admired the Cavalier poets enough to look in, once, at the Mermaid, and identify the spot where Ben Jonson—the “great Ben” of his avowed admiration—sat so often, like Falstaff, unbraced and brimming with wit. But as Jonson died in 1637, it is possible he may never have seen those rare assemblages, which were in their prime twenty years before. Yet he certainly spent social evenings at the Globe Tavern, and he was inducted, undoubtedly, into the Bohemian circles of the day. He probably knew Herrick and the later Jonsonians. But then came the death of his brother and that disjointing and unhinging of affairs, which brought him—now a physician—back again to his little native vale. In that quiet round of peaceful labor he was visited, in 1651, by a “severe and lingering sickness,” though we cannot judge exactly of its nature. By this he seems to have been, at or about the age of thirty, fully determined upon his literary course. He had, and perhaps always kept, a certain ambition for a name upon the list of English poets. His native country was left at peace, while without it were wars and tumults. Hence he sang

“High and aloof,
Free from the wolf's sharp fang
And the dull ass's hoof,”—

a thing which poor Ben Jonson could never achieve.

It is not probable that Vaughan was ever pressed by poverty. His family were well-born; they came of frugal and long-es-

established ancestry, and his patrimony seems to have sufficed him. Besides this, he practiced medicine—not, however, without pangs of body from sickness, and pangs of mind from loss of friends and relatives in the civil war. But that “tasteless and godless generation” (as Lyte severely calls them) suffered the reverse and prose which he offered to them to fall dead. We have reason to believe that, for forty years after the publication of the second edition of the “Silex Scintillans,” he gave up authorship entirely, and like Shenstone, paced up and down his graveled garden-walk. These poems, then, are true Sybil-line leaves—the rest are destroyed in the slow fires of time. These have been saved by type-metal and printers’ ink—as Shelley’s were, which he published at his own loss. If there are manuscripts left us still; if the Robert Vaughan of “Hours with the Mystics,” be of that family, as from his title-page quotation he should be; if there are those of the poet’s family, as there have been in the case of Keats and Burns, who have preserved memorials of their ancestor—it may be well to start the inquiry at once. We have no portrait of him, and no poems beyond 1678, at which time certain unauthorized friends published a volume of his pieces entitled “Thalia Rediviva.” But in the ark of a God-fearing family, settled in the land for perpetual generations, there must be surely many treasures, which even a shrinking modesty and reserve might be willing to produce.

Let us turn once more to the Silurist himself, as we see him in his verses. His merit consists in a fine originality, of which I take the following specimens literally at random, quoting them as they fall under my eye. He calls “Son-dayes,”

—“God’s *walking houre;*
The cool o’ the day.”

They are

“Lamps that light
Man *through his heap of dark days;*”

or, again,

“The milky way *chalkt out with suns.*”

Let us group a nosegay of these fine expressions. *Italics* will spoil them.

“A silent teare can peirce thy throne
When lowd joyes want a wing.”

"Some called it Jacob's Bed ;
A virgin soile which no
Rude feet ere trod ;
Where, since he slept there, only go
Prophets and friends of God."

"The unthrift sun shot vitall gold,
A thousand peeces."

"Some syllables are swords."

"Birds, beasts, each tree,
All that hath growth, or breath,
Have one large language, Death !"

"Sleepie planets set and slumber."

"Our foul clay hands."

"But man
Though he knows these and hath more of his own,
Sleeps at the ladder's foot."

"Music and mirth, if there be music here,
Take up and tune his year."

In the poem entitled "Man" we notice :

—"The noiseless date
And intercourse of times."

—"The flowres without clothes live,
Yet Solomon was never drest so fine."

—"He hath no root, nor to one place is ty'd,
But ever restless and irregular,
About this earth doth run and ride ;
He knows he hath a home, but scarce knows where."

—"Man is the shuttle, to whose winding quest
And passage through these looms
God ordered motion, but ordained no rest."

And here are still two or three which must not be left unplucked :

"The truth and light of things."

(Which is finer than Matthew Arnold's famous "sweetness and light.")

"Dear, secret greenness ! nurst below
Tempests and windes and winter nights."

But, enough. Let him who would know these poems better, read for himself. We can here suffer to pass by us those stanzas often quoted, like "They are all gone into that world of light," and which every one will easily discover. Of this class are "The Timber," "Early Rising and Prayer," and "The

Rainbow," which have adventitiously—one knows not why—usurped the places of finer poems, such as "Man," "Peace" (the true original of Mr. Thomas MacKellar's "My Soul, there is a Country"), "Silence and Stealth of Dayes," "Joy of My Life," "Resurrection and Immortality," (which anticipates Wordsworth), and that exquisitely tender and natural "I Walkt th (Other Day." Dr. MacDonald's favorite is "Cock-Crowing," which is full of light and song. That of Mr. Lyte is "The Bird." But the riches are numerous in the little room, and pearls and jacinths are on every side.

No one can well refuse the title of poet, to a man who can contrive and write so smooth a stanza as this:

"He that doth seek and love
The things above,
Whose spirit, ever poor, is meek and low;
Who, simple still, and wise,
Still homeward flies,
Quick to advance, and to retreat most slow."

Nor can one fail to recognize the rays of heavenly illumination in almost every line—breaking through occasional harshnesses and occasional crudenesses—and always leaving upon the mind the trace of a pure radiance. Such expressions as the following will show how frequent is this use of light, as an image and figure of his thought:

"There is in God, some say,
A deep, but dazzling darkness."

"Intimate with heaven as light."

"Bright shooteth of everlastingness."

"Rove in that mighty and eternal light."

"I saw eternity the other night,
As a great ring of pure and endless light."

"Brush me with Thy light!"

"The sun doth shake
Light from his locks."

"Father of lights, what sunnie seed,
What glance of day, hast Thou confined
Into this bird!"

"There's one more sun strung on my bead of days."

"Thine host of spies,
The starres."

This last seems better than Tennyson's "cold fires."

As I have before noticed, these examples are literally chosen *ad aperturam libri*. I have found no other method of being fair than to take quotations at random, for Vaughan is an eminently quotable poet. No one can fail, however, in a careful and critical study of his verse, to observe his palpable imitation of both Herbert and Herrick. Yet he masters their methods with an ease and originality, which could make us wish that he had possessed more artful masters. Light is his peculiar trait. In thought and verse, light fills luminously his theology. He is a disciple of John the Divine, and it is one part of his resistance to Puritanism that he loved Patmos better than Carmel. He strongly resisted the dogma of infant damnation, and he held the true faith concerning that "undefiled High-Priest,"

"Whose glorious conquest nothing can resist
But even in babes doest triumph still and win."

On the burial of an infant he wrote :

"Sweetly didst thou expire : thy soul
Flew home unstained by his new kin."

It is an ungrateful task, after all this praise, to mark in the Poetry of Henry Vaughan those blemishes which assail eye and ear. But, on the other hand, in spite of strange and unnecessary anti-climaxes (notably in "They are All Gone,") and in spite of faulty rhymes (such as "slaughter" and "laughter," "people" and "sickle,") and in spite of prosaic or trivial expressions (like

"Night adjourns,
Stars shut up shop, mists pack away")

he is so ruggedly and tenderly original, that we forgive him more than this.

These swan-songs of the Usk will so well repay the attention of every true lover of devotional poetry, that I merely quote in full one single example of both merits and defects. It is "The Retreat"—a conception vividly suggesting the "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality":

"Happy those early days, when I
Shin'd in my angell-infancy !
Before I understood this place
Appointed for my second race,

Or taught my soul to fancy aught
 But a white, celestial thought ;
 When yet I had not walkt above
 A mile or two from my first love,
 And looking back, at that short space,
 Could see a glimpse of his bright face ;
 When on some gilded cloud or flowre
 My gazing soul would dwell an houre,
 And in these weaker glories spy
 Some shadows of eternity ;
 Before I taught my tongue to wound
 My conscience with a sinfull sound,
 Or had the black art to dispence
 A sev'rall sin to ev'ry sence,
 But felt through all this fleshy dresse
 Bright shootes of everlastingnesse.

"Oh, how I long to travell back
 And tread again that ancient track !
 That I might once more reach that plaine,
 Where first I left my glorious traine ;
 From whence th' inlightened spirit sees
 That shady city of palme-trees.
 But ah ! my soul with too much stay
 Is drunk, and staggers in the way !
 Some men a forward motion love,
 But I, by backward steps would move ;
 And when this dust falls to the urn
 [I] In that state I came return."

This is that Henry Vaughan who died, in the peace of the Gospel, April 23, 1695, aged seventy-three years. He was an affectionate husband and father, by all inference and indication. He was twice married, but we only know that there were two sons and three daughters by the first marriage, and one daughter by the second. No names are left ; but the youngest daughter married John Turberville, and "her grand-daughter died single in 1780, aged ninety-two." Otherwise the family of Henry Vaughan has been as modest and retiring as himself. Of his poetry he could say :

"When Thou hast made
 Thy begger glad,
 And fill'd his bosome,
 Let him, though poor,
 Strow at Thy door
 That one poor blossome."

For he could also say :

"Yet I have one pearle, by whose light
 All things I see ;
*And in the heart of earth and night
 Find heaven and Thee."*

On his tomb, as though he were indeed the pioneer of other poets, journeying palmerwise, humbly and prayerfully to lead them and their singing upward through night to light, was cut this motto :

SERVUS INUTILIS,
PECCATOR MAXIMUS,
HIC JACEO.
GLORIA ! ✱ MISERERE !

It might have been set over the bosom of some patient knight, who had fought his last fight with his face toward Jerusalem, and whose *gloria* and *miserere* were the chariot of fire, and the dropping mantle, of a prophetic rapture. He rests sweetly in that land of his own vision

"Where growes the flowre of peace,
The rose that cannot wither,"

and where he now is

"More and more in love with day."

SAMUEL W. DUFFIELD.

V.

THE THEORY OF PROFESSOR KUENEN.

DURING the last quarter of a century Holland has been a soil even more fertile than Germany in the fruits of theological learning and speculation. The "free handling" of sacred themes, of which so much was made twenty years ago, when the famous Essays and Reviews appeared in England, has been carried by the Dutch divines to what seems to be the last extreme. There is a school spoken of by their countrymen as "De Modernen," bent on establishing what they call a religion without metaphysics, based upon facts and experience and aiming only at the fulfilment of its own moral ideals. It has no dependence upon authority, but considers all external props as delusive and dangerous, and takes great pains to set them aside. These views are put forth with much ability and learning, whether in the way of constructive argument or destructive criticism. Hoekstra, Oort, Hooykaas, Van Hamel, and others have all contributed to the shaping of what is represented with much confidence as the last or most modern expression of Christianity. But the corypheus of the party, its best known and ablest leader, is Dr. A. Kuenen, Professor of Theology at Leyden, whose contributions to the literature of the subject have been very numerous, both in such periodicals as the *Theol. Tijdschrift* and the *Nieuw en Oud*, and in elaborate volumes. His first appearance in a separate work was in 1861, when he issued his *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Origin and the Collection of the Books of the Old Testament), in three volumes, 8vo, of which almost the whole is devoted to the first part of the subject, less than a fourth of the last volume being given to the question of the canon, and with great reason, for if his opinion of the rise of the successive portions of the He-

brew Scriptures be maintained, the troublesome problem of canonical authority is already solved. He considers the canon a gradual growth, begun by Ezra and completed by the scribes or learned men of the Jews, who were influenced in the adoption or the rejection of any religious work by the degree in which it favored or opposed their own views. Thus, for example, the book of Jesus the Son of Sirach was discarded because it rejects the doctrine of immortality and gives a very small place to Messianic expectations (iii., 441), and yet, we may add, they did not receive the Wisdom of Solomon, although it was not liable to these objections.

Those of his writings by which he is best known to English readers are *De Godsdienst van Israel* (The Religion of Israel), first published in 1869-70, translated by A. H. May, and issued in three volumes in 1874-5; and *De Profeten en de Profetie in Israel* (The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel), 1875, translated by the Rev. Adam Milroy, with an introduction by J. Muir, Esq., in one large octavo volume, 1877. The latter work is a natural complement to the former. Its object is to overthrow any objections which might be made to the views taken in the earlier work, on the ground of the nature and character of the prophetic writings of the Old Testament. A very conclusive answer to the leading statements in this work was given by Prof. W. H. Green, in the *Princeton Review* for July, 1878. The two works together cover a very wide field and furnish abundant evidences of learning, acuteness, and dialectic skill. Dr. Kuenen does not possess the piercing genius of Ewald nor his marvellous capacity of reproducing the remote in time and space. Still less has he the logical grasp and constructive power of Baur, the founder of the Tübingen school. Yet he is by no means undeserving the reputation he has achieved. He has carefully mastered the vast field over which his investigations extend, and displays no mean skill in co-ordinating multifarious details into a connected and symmetrical system. The writings of his predecessors are familiar to him, and he treats them without disparagement. He writes with calmness and at least apparent candor; and his tone is as reverent as it is possible for any one to be who holds his views. We cannot recall a single gibe or any harshness of expression. Yet the tenor of his opinions makes the reading of his pages a

sad trial to the patience of a devout Christian, or, indeed, of any one who regards the Scriptures as God's most holy Word. The same remark is true of another work with which his name is connected—the "Bible for Learners"—issued in English in three volumes, 1878–9. This was prepared by Dr. Oort, Professor at Amsterdam, and Dr. Hooykaas, pastor at Rotterdam; but the whole was "submitted before publication to the careful supervision of Dr. Kuenen," so that one has the double advantage of seeing these opinions stated in a scientific form for scholars and in a popular form for youth. The only difference between the two is, that the latter takes up the whole Bible in regular order and brings out more fully the application of the principles involved.

What, now, is the theory which underlies all the productions of Dr. Kuenen's pen? It is, as he frankly states, that the religion of Israel is simply one of the principal religions of the world, "nothing less, but also nothing more." It, indeed, claims a divine origin, but the same thing was claimed for Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Islam, and it is no more to be conceded to the former than to the latter. Once it was supposed that God had revealed Himself to one people, and suffered the rest of men to walk in their own ways; but "now this idea seems a childish fancy." Scientific research has shown that the Israelitish religion is only a natural development from beginning to end. This position is the starting-point of modern theology. The canon of the Old Testament was not settled until the first century of our era, but no one of the books it enumerates can be proved to have been written before B.C. 800. The contents of the earlier portions, therefore, are simply oral traditions, which, of course, must have been greatly altered in the course of transmission from mouth to mouth. Moreover, they relate phenomena which we cannot recognize as historical, such as the forty years' error in the wilderness, where we know that Israel could scarcely have held out forty days.* And when these oral legends were committed to writing, this was done according to the aim and spirit of the writer, who moulded the

* Yet nothing is more certain than that the careful surveys of the last thirty years have shown that the Sinaitic Peninsula must have been capable at one time of supporting a dense population. Competent authorities sustain this view, and every visitor to Sinai and Petra has seen it for himself.

narrative by the wants of the present or the future. The only point where one can stand on firm ground is the eighth century before our era, where we can add to the historical books of the Kings the writings of several prophets, such as Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah. Here Dr. Kuenen begins to review the past. The whole story of the patriarchs he dismisses as mythical, and the first place in which he finds the Israelites is Goshen, in Egypt, where they were polytheists. This, however, they had not always been, but according to the common, if not universal rule, had developed out of fetichists, having originally worshipped trees and especially stones. And when they rose out of this nature-worship, they preferred among the deities they acknowledged one called El Shaddai, as their tribal god. This god Moses taught them to recognize as Jahveh,* and gave to them, as his law, the Ten Words, not indeed, as they now stand, but in a form which afterward became the present Decalogue. And thus the religious development of the nation took a step forward, but it was only one step. During the period of the Judges the worship of Jahveh continued and spread itself more and more, although united with that of trees, of stones, of the sun, etc. The tribes in their disjointed condition of course varied greatly according to their varied circumstances, but at last unity was born out of confusion and the Mosaic element obtained the upper-hand. This was due mainly to the agency of the prophetic order which exerted such a vast influence upon Israel's subsequent history. Its members gave the cohesive force of monarchy to the tribes. David and Solomon did much for Jahveh, but they still had sensuous conceptions of his nature, and the fact that the latter built high places for Chemosh, etc., shows that he did not regard Jahveh as the only true God, or even as greatly different from other gods. The commercial intercourse with surrounding nations set on foot by Solomon did much to improve religion by elevating the civilization of the people. An exami-

* We desire to enter a protest against this piece of literary affectation. For centuries *Jehovah* has been the established English reproduction of the incommunicable divine name, and nothing whatever is gained by the proposed substitute, for that ill-sounding substitute has to be explained to the English reader, and this explanation can be just as well attached to the ordinary term. With all due respect to the memory of Ewald, who first introduced the habit, we insist that in a popular work it is mere pedantry.

nation of the first century after the revolt of Ephraim show that still Jahveh was adored with other gods not as the only one, but as the principal deity. In the next century Jahvism grew gradually purer, until at its close ethical monotheism attained its full development.

Now commences the formation of the older portion of the canon. In the reign of Hezekiah the prophetic party wrote the book of Deuteronomy, and on purpose put it where it could be found. It was found in the days of Josiah and led him to the effective measures by which he secured a victory for Jahvism over the heathenizing party. During the exile Ezekiel drew up a plan of worship (xl.-xlviii.) which served as a preliminary draft for the full and definite law afterward written by Ezra, who incorporated with his work the Ten Words and the Book of the Covenant, giving to the whole the shape that it now has; and thus the priestly ordinances were for the first time made known and imposed upon the people. The Psalms are nearly all of late date, and were ascribed to David simply because he had the reputation of a great singer and player on the harp. So Proverbs was named from Solomon on account of his repute for wisdom, although the oldest portion of it was not brought together until the eighth century. The scribes who followed Ezra and Nehemiah not only copied the law, but occasionally inserted a precept wherever it was needed. The Jews, too, added the historical books to the canon, and toward the end of the fifth century laid the foundation for what was afterward called the Hagiographa. The youngest historical portion was what appears as I. and II. Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, all of which proceeded from one author, who lived about 250 B. C., soon after which time, the books of Esther and Ecclesiastes appeared, and a century later the book of Daniel.

Precisely the same treatment is given to the New Testament. Not one of the Gospels was written by the person whose name it bears. Nearly one-half of the Epistles ascribed to Paul are spurious. Nor can the genuineness of the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse be maintained. All these, indeed, contain early traditions, but have been so modified by imagination, by preconceived opinions, by party spirit, by the natural fondness of men for embellishment, that they can no longer be received as exact in matter or form. All that the critic can

o, therefore, is to subject the narrative to a severe scrutiny, and **are** fully eliminate the small modicum of truth from the mass **of** fable in which it is imbedded. This is what Dr. Kuenen **and** his friends profess to have done, and the result is, that we **have** a Gospel without an Incarnation, without miracles, without atonement, without a resurrection, without a Holy Ghost, **without** justification, and without the hope of eternal life. **Instead** of all these, there is offered to us a somewhat elevated **ethical** system fortified by the thought that God is love. This **is** the entire outcome of the New Testament of our Lord and **Saviour** Jesus Christ !

The details of these various works can be examined only in **volumes** devoted to the subject. What is here proposed is the **consideration** of the theory as a whole, especially as it is applied **to the** Old Testament. The first remark to be made is, that **Dr. Kuenen** begs the entire question in advance. He starts **with** the assumption that a supernatural revelation of truth is **unhistorical** and impossible. But the Bible professes all the **way**, from the first page to the last, to be a communication from **God**. This conception runs through the warp and the woof of the **whole** web. Where is the need, then, of this laborious sifting **of** each particular portion, this weighing of evidence, this **balancing** of probabilities, in order to ascertain the precise **worth** of the various narratives the book contains? The **learned** professor has already decided what is the main point in **relation** to any so-called sacred book, viz: whether it has or **has** not divine authority. His whole argument, therefore, is **intended** to sustain a foregone conclusion, and for that reason **must** needs be regarded with distrust and apprehension. He **would** doubtless reply that the same objection applies to the **defenders** of the church doctrine, inasmuch as they start with **an** equally strong predisposition in the opposite direction, **assuming** that there must be a divine revelation. But this is **not** the fact. The usual course of the Christian apologist is to **inquire**, first, whether a communication from God to man is **conceivable** or possible, then if it is probable, and finally, whether there are sufficient reasons for believing that it has **actually** been made. Of course, it is not denied that such a **reasoner** may by his own experience have become fully convinced that the Bible is from God, but he does not postulate

this conviction as the basis of his argument. He professes and if candid actually attempts, to treat the whole subject one to be decided by the ascertained facts in the case, and certainly therefore does not prejudge the question in advance, as Prof. Kuenen does.

Further, the burden of proof rests wholly upon the authors of this hypothesis, and that not merely because at present Christianity has possession of the ground ; but because in the first place the theory opposes the general consent of the race. Religion is found everywhere in all the past, and it has always presupposed a communication in some form with superior invisible power. The forms have been sometimes grotesque and even repulsive, their development being governed by the circumstances of the time and place of their appearance ; but they all involve the conviction that man has to do with something above the ordinary course of nature. It is vain to say that the progress of modern physical science has altered this state of things, and that if the ancient world had known what we do now, the views of its thinkers would have been different, for modern physics leaves the question just where it was. Natural science deals only with phenomena. As to the origin of natural sequences it has nothing to say ; still less can it affirm that the author of those sequences cannot interfere with them. The testimony of the race then is, and always has been, in favor of the tenet that there are supernal powers which exercise control over man. The universality of this belief and its continuance through the ages make a very violent presumption against Prof. Kuenen's theory, and require him to support it by affirmative arguments of the strongest kind. Then, in the second place, in dealing with the books of Scripture puts him in a similar position. For eighteen centuries those books have been in the hands of men of different ages and countries, all of whom have regarded them as professing to give a history of revealed religion, and many who doubted or rejected portions of the volume, yet acquiesced in this view. Nay, even avowed opposers of religion have so regarded the matter. And now comes the Leyden professor maintaining that the volume, so far from being the record of the successive stages of a divine revelation, is an account of the way in which a barbarous tribe gradually rose from fetichism to polytheism, and from polytheism to

monotheism, the entire development being simply upon the plane of nature. Of course it is possible that he is correct ; but in the face of all the martyrs, confessors, fathers, doctors, scholars, not to speak of the millions of ordinary believers, who with one consent uphold the traditional view, it is most unlikely. At any rate nothing but the most cogent argumentation can be expected to establish a theory so novel and startling.

And this needs the more to be insisted upon as sometimes the *onus probandi* is skilfully shifted where it does not belong, as, for example, in the assertion ("Hist. of Israel," I. 273), "It cannot be proved that a single one of the Proverbs of Solomon proceeds from the king in whose name they all stand." We submit that this is not the business of the biblical apologete. The affirmative does not belong to him. The traditional opinion on this subject is so old, so general, so self-consistent, so wide-spread in all the East, and repeated in so many different languages, that it may be assumed ; and it is for the opponents of Scripture to prove the contrary—that is, to show that Solomon did not write the Proverbs, or at least so many as are attributed to him in the book itself. They make the attempt, which, however, proceeds only on subjective grounds ("Bible for Learners," II. 78, 79), that is, the assertion that many of these utterances are inconsistent with Solomon's character and circumstances. Take one or two examples. The declaration, "The horse is prepared against the day of battle : but safety is of the Lord" (xxi. 31), would, it is said, sound very strangely from a king who had made enormous preparations for war, and among other things had yoked and equipped hundreds of war chariots. So, again, warnings against licentiousness, filial disobedience, trusting in wealth, etc., seem inappropriate to him. Besides, these sayings recognize Jehovah as omniscient, as the knower of hearts, as one who loves goodness more than sacrifice, as the ruler of the world, conceptions which were foreign, we are told, to the whole age of Solomon, and, of course, to the king himself. This is the proof which is to overthrow the tradition of two thousand years. First it is assumed that Solomon was an habitual polytheist, that he recognized Jehovah only as Israel's God, that his wisdom had no distinctively religious character, but was broadly human, and that his chief char-

acteristics were luxury and splendor. Then it is inferred from these traits that he could not have uttered what is attributed to him. The premises are invalid, yet even if they were impregnable, the conclusion would not follow, for Solomon might have been lifted above his age and anticipated the views of later generations. But the critics take one-half of the account given of the wise man, viz: his errors, and push it to an extreme, and then reject the other half, his youthful piety and divine guidance, which rests upon precisely the same authority. Having thus mutilated the record, they dwell upon the inconsistencies it presents, and hold up the results as conclusive evidence of the untrustworthiness of the narrative.

It is further to be observed that the theory neither has nor professes to have any new facts to sustain it. It is simply the application of what is called the scientific method to the interpretation of the existing Scriptures, which means, as we have seen, to explain the whole book on the ground that everything in it which implies the interposition of divine power is to be indiscriminately rejected. Thus, for example, in the book of Deuteronomy (chap. xvii.) there is a direction given as to the choice and conduct of a king if ever the people should choose to set up a monarch over them as the other nations. This has always been understood to be a precept based upon a certain foresight of the future, and as such amply justified by the experience of the people. But here the scientific method insists that there is no such thing as foresight of the future, and that this passage must have been written long after the establishment of the monarchy and have taken its form from the errors committed by Solomon in multiplying wives and horses and silver and gold. But this is mere assertion. The only shadow of argument lies in the assumed premise that absolute prediction is impossible. Such a premise is simply absurd to one who believes in a God of knowledge who sees the end from the beginning. A similar case is that of Balaam. The narrative as it stands in Numbers is every way appropriate. A heathen opposer of Israel bribes a prophet of repute in those days to come and curse his foes. The prophet makes the attempt, but in the act is arrested by the power of God and constrained to utter a blessing instead of a curse. Nothing can be conceived more in accordance with the beliefs of all the

ancient nations, or better adapted to encourage the Israelites in the work that lay before them. The numerous interpositions of Jehovah mentioned throughout the narrative were exactly in the line of his previous dealings, and the exquisite force and beauty of Balaam's oracles would greatly deepen their impression upon the minds of those to whom he unfolded such brilliant prospects. What now becomes of this narrative in the hands of "The Moderns"? It is a pure fiction from beginning to end, with the exception of a few proper names borrowed from ancient traditions. Its author lived in the days of Jeroboam II. (823-782 B.C.), the ablest and most prosperous of Israel's kings, who ruled from Syria to the borders of Egypt. There were, however, several outlying districts to the south which were by no means well disposed to Israel. So he conceived and wrote this fine story with a view to encourage his countrymen with the assurance that Jehovah's invincible arm would be stretched out for their deliverance in case of need. And thus is explained the allusion to Moab, Edom, the Kenites, Asshur, and the ships of Chittim. We get rid of the supernatural in every form, and yet obtain "a real religious thought, an animating and consoling truth," viz: God's unconditional defence of Israel, and His power in the hearts that feel His presence! What a wonderful vigor of thought and expression this unknown forger must have had, and what a marvellous literary tact to incorporate his tale with the annals of the nation so skilfully that it required twenty-five centuries to pass before the fraud was detected! But in audacity of invention he has been surpassed by his discoverer, for in the record in 2 Kings (xiv. 23-29) there is nothing whatever to suggest that the story of Balaam was invented then, and we are abundantly justified in saying that Kuenen's account is "a pure fiction."

The same thing may be asserted of his explanation of the story of Samson. This is, that he "was originally a mythical being, *the sun-hero*, the personal representative of the operations and fortunes of the sun." See the evidence: Many of the features of the Grecian Hercules are derived from the Semitic sun-myths, and it is natural to derive those of Samson from the Canaanitish sun-worship. This is confirmed by the derivation of his name (Shimshôn) from the Hebrew word for

sun (shemesh), and by the fact that his long hair was a symbol of the rays of the sun. Further, the only satisfactory solution of his well-known riddle (since bees are not wont to deposit honey in the carcass of a lion), is found in the idea that the sun produces sweet honey when he is in the constellation of Leo. The position thus gained is used to establish the claim that the Israelites participated in the sun-worship which it is said they found prevailing among the Canaanites. Now, how tenuous and shadowy is all this reasoning, if such it may be called! It is not at all certain that Samson's name came from the sun. It may have come from the secondary sense of the verbal form (to be distinguished, powerful), or from the root of similar radicals found in Arabic, Chaldee, and Syriac, signifying to *serve* or *minister*. But even if the usual derivation be allowed, it is a *salto mortale* to proceed from the name solar or sun-like to the conclusion that the sun was worshipped by the giver of the name. And if Samson's long hair has a symbolical meaning, why not Absalom's also? As to the astronomical explanation of the riddle, it is so far-fetched and inept as to need no remark, except to say that there is no evidence whatever that bees produced, or were believed to produce, more or sweeter honey when the sun was in Leo than when he was in Cancer or in Virgo. (A very close parallel to the riddle as usually understood may be found in Lange on Judges [p. 200], drawn from Mullenhoff's *Sagen* of North Germany). We insist, therefore, that this method of interpretation is a mere play of fancy, and has no claim whatever to the name of "scientific." Allow a writer to choose his own etymologies and shape his own symbolisms, and he can make anything out of anything. The feat by which the history of Samson is made to prove the existence of nature-worship among the Israelites of his day needs only to be repeated from time to time in order to turn all ancient history, sacred and profane, into a mass of crude fables.*

* It is a little remarkable that in Kuenen's earlier work, the *Historisch-Kritisch Oudheid* (I. 218), he does not reject the entire narrative of Samson after the fashion of his later publications, but fully admitting his historical existence, insists only upon the exaggeration of his strength and the artistic grouping of the incidents as unhistorical, whether they be part of the original legend or the work of the subsequent editor. In both works, however, he adopts the rendering of Judges xv. 19, "in the jaw," given in the English Bible (but not in the Dutch), after the old versions, but now rejected by nearly all critics in favor of the more natural rendering "in Lehi." This is hardly fair in the learned Professor.

But let us compare the modern theory in its general outlines with that which it is intended to supplant. The common Church view is, that the Bible is the record of a revelation which God was pleased to make in successive portions, stretching through a long series of ages. It was given to one people, but intended through them ultimately to reach all the nations of the earth. The early disclosures of the divine will and purposes were first put into a connected written form by Moses, who was specially called and qualified for the work. He took the accounts, whether oral or written, which had come down from the patriarchs, and, under divine guidance, wove them into a consecutive narrative, which began with the creation, and ended with his own time. He then added the further revelations made to himself, embracing the whole civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the children of Israel. In the following ages men were raised up from time to time, who put in writing songs, proverbs, and prophecies, like the Pentateuch in origin and aim, until the time of Ezra, who with his successors completed the Canon of the Old Testament. Occasionally the earlier portions of this record show the hand of an editor inserting short, explanatory notes, and all of them have been subject to the commission of errors by transcribers. Yet, there seems no reason to doubt that we have them substantially as they were first given. Various as the different parts are in many respects, yet all make up one consistent whole as an orderly development of revelation, a gradual disclosure of God's purpose of redemption. Everything, even to a dry list of genealogies, bears upon this one ultimate end. Now, the record as thus viewed is simple and artless, yet sustained by innumerable evidences both from without and from within. The present century has witnessed the exhuming of several ancient literatures from the grave in which they had been buried for a score of centuries, yet hieroglyph and cuneiform monuments have alike borne witness to the integrity of the Hebrew records. And these records are the only ancient religious writings which exhibit a regular course of development, beginning with few and simple statements, and gradually adding to these more and more, but always in the same line of thought, so that each new age or period shows an advance upon all that went

before. The entire Canon is the unfolding of the germ given in an early chapter of its first book. And herein the collection stands alone. Nothing corresponding in the faintest degree is to be found in Hindu, Persian, Egyptian, or in any other sacred books. Such books as, for example, the Vedas do indeed vary in tone at different periods, but not in the way of marked progress. There are no chronological hints given by which one can test this question, and indeed, for the most part, the determining of dates, either absolutely or relatively, is an insoluble problem. Not so the Hebrew records. The post-exilian books of course imply the captivity. The prophets and the histories of the monarchy imply each other, and both together imply the settlement of the dynasty in the house of David. This settlement implies the previous tribal arrangement under the Judges, and this again the Mosaic law, and that law the foregoing proceedings stated in Genesis. Particular points may be obscure, and numbers may sometimes admit of various interpretations, but about the general course of events there is not the least doubt. It is always an advance in definiteness, fulness, and certainty, especially in reference to the purpose for which Israel was chosen, and the great means of accomplishing that purpose.

But the theory of Dr. Kuenen reverses this whole statement in the most positive and striking manner. It exactly transposes the chief factors, changing the revelation of God into a discovery by man. And to this end it plays fast and loose with the entire book, accepting one portion and rejecting another, resolving many of its most striking features into fables, exaggerations, conjectures, and even absolute forgeries. False pretences abound throughout the volume. There is no true history in Genesis. Moses wrote but a fraction of the Pentateuch. The conquest of Canaan was the effort of half-civilized barbarians to gain a new home. The books of Judges and Samuel show how a number of related tribes became a nation, and Jahveh got the upper-hand of Baal. Nor do we reach the ground of contemporaneous history until we come to the reign of Hezekiah, and then commence the manufacture of sacred books. Old legends, fragments of legislation, curious facts of antiquity, are all worked up into new and complete forms, and thus, gradually, there comes in

being the book called the Old Testament. Strict accuracy is nowhere made paramount. It is enough if what is written expresses what ought to be true, or is put forth with an upright motive. In those early days, even good men did not have the strictness of modern notions. But if this be the actual explanation of the Old Testament as we have it, the question arises, why the work was not better done? On this theory the complete monotheism of the Hebrews was the slow result of centuries of progress, but the priests and leaders of the people desired to conceal this fact, and represent the entire system as a revelation from heaven. For this end, the "priest-codex" was framed after the captivity, and inserted in the heart of the Pentateuch, and all the rest of the canon was modified accordingly. Whatever myths were floating around were industriously gathered and inserted in the appropriate places, and thus a strong *prima facie* case made out, that the entire scheme had a superhuman source, and was sanctioned by divine authority. But we ask, why was not this bold attempt more successful? The heads of the nation, after the return from exile, had the whole matter in their own hands. They could manipulate the sacred books without any fear of being called to account. Why, then, did they do their work so imperfectly? Why did they leave so many gaps in the narrative; so many points which could be misconstrued; so many details which a critical eye could detect as inconsistent with its assumed character? Why did they not assimilate Kings and Chronicles? Why did they not rectify the use of Elohim and Jehovah in Genesis, so as to forestall the endeavors made to find two, four, or six different authors at work upon that singular and invaluable record? The Scripture, as it stands, has many features which invite criticism. The writers, like men conscious of telling the truth, are not particular to dove-tail one narrative into another, but with a noble simplicity, perform their work as if assured that results would take care of themselves. But this is not the method of men who invent an elaborate scheme and work over a variety of matter, subtracting and adding in such a way as to change the whole tone and color of the narrative. Such men always cover their tracks. They certainly do not leave apparent anachronisms and other discrepancies which would be sure to

attract attention and awaken doubt. We have a right, therefore, to insist that the entire literary structure of the Old Testament is directly opposed to this singular theory. Every page bears the stamp of simplicity and directness, utterly at war with the conception that the collection has been re-written and modified so as to turn it completely aside from its original character.

But, further, the theory is most improbable in the light of all experience. Professor Kuenen is by no means the first to advocate the genesis of monotheism by a slow process which began at the lowest point of the worship of nature, and at last reached the conception of one supreme and all-perfect Being. His only novelty lies in claiming that this is the real sense of the Old Testament, stripped of the false covering put upon it by an ambitious hierarchy. But the conception, however natural and reasonable in itself, is one that has no basis in the records of the race. No parallel instance to what is claimed for the Jews can be shown anywhere else. Polytheism in China and India, and Dualism in Persia never led to Monotheism, nor did the latter even obtain a name and a place among them except by importation, and that from those who held it as a revealed truth. The Greeks made greater advances in civilization than any other people of the ancient world. Yet, notwithstanding all that they accomplished in science, art, literature, and philosophy, their Pantheon was as well peopled at the close of their career as it was at the beginning. A certain supremacy was assigned to Zeus, king of gods and men, but this lordship was in no sense akin to the one God of revelation. Multitudes became disbelievers in the inhabitants of Olympus, and laughed at the stories of the mythology, but they were content to remain sceptics, and instead of exchanging the wrong faith for the right one, exchanged it for no faith at all. The same may be said of the Romans at the beginning of our era. The old heathen cults had lost their power, but the upper classes were Pantheists, and the lower addicted themselves to the worship of the emperor. A pure monotheism never prevailed except by the diffusion of Christianity. Yet, if there is a law of natural and normal progress in these things, by which the low and sensual ripen slowly into the lofty and

efined, and gods many at last give place to One Sole Ruler and Judge, surely it is in the classic lands that we might expect most clearly to see it. But the fact is, that neither soil nor race nor culture exerts any visible effect in this direction. Always and everywhere man, left to himself, goes downward instead of upward in his objects of worship. The account of human degeneracy given by the apostle Paul, in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, still remains without a successful or even plausible contradiction. It is, alas, a melancholy truth that when men know God they do not like to retain God in their knowledge. Of this truth the recorded history of the Jews, taken in its natural meaning, is one continuous illustration. The true God revealed himself to them, but they had a passion for going astray, and their annals show a constant series of relapses into polytheistic idolatry, from which they never recovered except by aid from without. And yet we are asked, in the face of all human experience, to believe that this same people pursued just the opposite course,—that beginning as a horde of sensual, barbarous, and fierce savages, they developed a *nisus* toward better things, and at last, as the crown of their efforts, reached the loftiest monotheism known to man. We insist that this is improbable in the last degree. It is easy to say, "Polytheism everywhere disappears before the march of civilization," but when we ask for the proof from history, there is no answer. The evidence is all the other way. Even when Aristophanes made sport of the Olympian deities on the stage, that fact hardly affected the habits of the people. "The fickle Greek, at evening, in the comedy, laughed at the same gods to whom the next morning, in their temples, he offered sacrifice."* But Julius Cæsar and Augustus, neither of whom made any concealment of his unbelief in the popular mythology, so far from adopting an intelligent monotheism, became slaves of superstition, and believed in omens and talismans and magical formulæ.

Nor is there any reason to doubt that if the views of Prof. Kuenen should ever secure general adoption in any community, results precisely similar would follow. Men will have

* Uhlhorn's "Conflict of Christianity."

some connection with the invisible world and the powers that control it, and if this irresistible impulse is not gratified in a legitimate way, and by reasonable objects of faith, it will find satisfaction even in abject and puerile superstitions. It is melancholy to anticipate such effects from all the toil and learning which the Professor has bestowed through so many years upon the sacred volume, but truth leaves no alternative. And that we have not misjudged the tenor and issue of his labors is shown by the fact that the *Westminster Review* (Oct., 1879), while applauding the recent work done under his supervision by Drs. Oort and Hooykaas, expressly calls it the "Bibleless Bible," which is indeed the best possible designation of it. It is not simply the play of Hamlet with Hamlet omitted; it is that play with everything left out but the ghost. And therefore, any success which this theory may attain, must, in the nature of things, be temporary. Not only for the reasons already mentioned is it untenable, but for its utter emptiness and vanity. It is opposed alike to the undying instincts of humanity in respect to God and immortality, and to the deepest convictions of the human soul in reference to sin and the need of redemption. It is not merely the heart and the flesh of the believer that cry out for the Living God, but man—every man—and in every age. The very limitations of our nature, its weakness, its sorrows, its fluctuations, call aloud for something higher, better, stronger than itself; some Rock of the ages upon which it can rest; some voice to speak across the gulf between the seen and the unseen. Still more under the sense of guilt and the utter hopelessness of self-extrication does the soul yearn for a ray of hope from the skies, for something that comes down from a higher plane than man, and therefore is able to speak with authority and instil the sense of forgiveness. This longing the old Bible meets and satisfies, but the "Bible for Learners" does not. And therefore men will have none of it, notwithstanding its learning, its acuteness, its fine phrases, and its professed concern for truth and religion.

TALBOT W. CHAMBERS.

VI.

A PLEA FOR EVANGELICAL APOLOGETICS.

THERE is much said in these days about the necessity of a re-statement of the evidences for our Christian faith to meet the wants of the present time; and the idea is often advanced in such a way as to imply some depreciation of the labors of those who have borne the brunt of the battle against infidelity in the past, and even sometimes to suggest that the arguments which were once supposed to be decisive, no longer retain their validity. Much of this may be safely set down to nineteenth century conceit, the notion that our "thought" is so "advanced" that all old ideas, even those of the giants who were in the earth in those days, are too small to fit our greatly enlarged intellects.

And yet it ought not to be forgotten that, as new attacks are made, new defences are needed; and the nature of the defence must be determined by the nature of the attack. Thus it may come to pass, that even the strongest and best presentation of the evidences, which proved amply sufficient for the emergency which called it forth, may not be fully adapted to the exigencies of a subsequent encounter. This we take to be the position of things at the present time. Infidelity has changed the mode of its attack. It has redoubled the vigor of its onset. It has made an alliance with forces which, in all former conflicts, were hostile to it. Hence the call for re-statement of the evidences. But it is our conviction that on examination it will be found that not the substance of the old arguments so much as the method of presentation needs re-consideration; and, further, that the change which is most needed is in the direction of a more evangelical and biblical method.

That preaching is most evangelical and biblical which puts

Christ in the foreground and centre, so that His person and work are always conspicuous, and whatever is said on related subjects is introduced in such a way as to direct attention to and not away from, the central figure. The preaching of the Gospel is the preaching of Christ; and whatever of biblical exposition, or ethical disquisition, or doctrinal discussion there may be, must circle round Him, as it were, in the rear, but never come in front, so as to take the place of prominence.

It has been different with our Christian Apologetics. In that department it is exceedingly rare to find Christ in the foreground. That position of honor is almost invariably accorded to the Bible as a book, or to Christianity as a system. The first question of Apologetics has not been whether Christ be the Son of God, but whether the Bible be the Word of God, or whether Christianity be the true religion. The usual course has been, after laying down the fundamentals of natural religion, and showing the antecedent probability of God's giving some additional revelation to supplement that of nature, and specially to meet the wants of man as a sinner, to pass at once to the Bible as the Revelation which God has given for the purpose, or else to the complex idea of Christianity as a system, embracing no one knows how much of vague content and of disputed doctrine. The result is, that, at the very threshold of revealed religion, the inquirer is confronted with a large and complicated and much-debated subject, presenting innumerable difficulties which it is easy to raise and hard to answer; and he is discouraged and repelled at the very outset. It is true that the mischief has been, to a great extent, neutralized by the care which has generally been taken to remind the inquirer that, while the road is long, and toilsome, and difficult by the way of the intellect, it is not so by the way of the heart; that a sinner may come to Christ without any preliminary investigations about the Bible or Christianity, and, by a direct and immediate exercise of faith in Him, receive such inward light and enjoy such an experience of saving grace, that many of his difficulties will be removed at once, and those which remain will not interfere with his peace and progress. But the question seems scarcely to have been raised whether it is actually necessary that the path of the intellect should be so much more circuitous. If an inquirer who

In addition to the belief in God which most men have, has a sense of moral need springing from a consciousness of sin, is at once pointed to Christ without any further preparation; why may not an inquirer, who is intellectually convinced of the being of God, and the need there is of some further revelation, be at once led to Christ, without being required first to wrestle with the question, whether Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, etc., be a divine revelation, or with the question, whether the complex creed, which enters into his instructor's, or his own idea of "Christianity," be the truth of God? Why may not the first and main inquiry be, whether Christ, the Christ of history, be the Revelation of God which the soul needs, whether He be not the Truth of which the man is in search? When we are asked the way of salvation, we do not say, "God has revealed Himself in the Bible, therefore believe the Bible;" nor, "Christianity is the true religion, therefore accept it." No; we present Christ at once, using only so much of the contents of the Bible, perhaps only a few sentences, as may be necessary to get the Saviour before the mind and heart, knowing full well that, if once He is accepted, there will be no fear for the rest. Now, is there any reason why, in the systematic treatment of the evidences, we should have ever so much to say and to prove about the Bible as an inspired book, or Christianity as the true religion, before we have a word to say about Christ Himself? Is there any reason why our Apologetics, presenting the truth to the intellect, should be less evangelical in its method than our Homiletics, presenting the truth to the heart?

As an illustration of how little has been thought of this order in the past, we may refer to one of the ablest and most spiritual works on the evidences, that of Dr. Hopkins. The subject of method was before his mind quite prominently, as is evident from his third chapter, in which he gives excellent reasons for taking the "internal evidences" before the "external," thus reversing the order which had been previously in use—a change which was a great improvement in the evangelical direction. Yet, even he elaborates nine arguments for Christianity before he presents "the condition, character, and claims of Christ"; and when he does reach this point, he does not give it a separate, substantive position, but simply brings

it in as the tenth and last argument of the series of internal evidences of Christianity. And it is not only in the more formal treatises covering the whole ground that the claims of Christ are postponed till those of the Bible or Christianity are considered, but even in those monographs where attention is restricted to the Christological part of the argument, the same order of thought will show itself. Take, as an instance of this, the admirable little work of Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander, of Edinburgh, entitled "Christ and Christianity." The title would certainly warrant the expectation that the order of thought would be, Christ first, afterward Christianity. But it is not. He begins by speaking of Christianity as "the one religion for man," and then goes on to say (p. 9), "Let it be remembered that Christianity comes to us in an *objective form*—in the form of a book," and, further on, "It is not only to certain cardinal verities that the Christian must yield his cordial assent, but *to all things which are written in the book*. . . . It is only as he has satisfied himself on solid grounds that the book, as a book, is entitled to his homage, that he will be prepared to bow to it with that docility which is required." (The italics are his own). It is not till the second part that the person of Christ comes in at all. Peter Bayne's "Testimony of Christ to Christianity" presents the claims of the personal Christ with great directness and power; but is not the title he uses significant? The idea evidently is that Christianity is the thing to be proved, and Christ is a witness to prove it. The question does not seem to have suggested itself, whether Christ Himself be not Christianity, and whether we call Christianity a witness to Him rather than He to it.

The method for which we contend is to present Christ first, and the claims which He makes on our confidence. Let the first effort be to lead the inquirer to believe in Him. Let Moses and Joshua stand aside, till a greater than either is introduced. Let even the Evangelists be nothing more than good, trustworthy witnesses, to begin with. Few candid men will stumble at that, and even if they do, they are more likely to be captivated by the wonders of the life and character of Him to whom they bear witness, than convinced by any argument for their inspiration that can at that stage be presented. It will be time enough to consider the less obvious

ous arguments for the divine authority of the witnesses, after the more obvious arguments for the divine authority of Him, to whom they witness, have been presented in all their strength. It is important that the mind of the inquirer be directed to Christ as speedily, and kept there as steadily, as possible. After His claims are felt and acknowledged, it will be easy to satisfy him as to the divine authority of the Scriptures, and of all that can be fairly included under Christianity as a system.

On behalf of this method we have to urge, first, that it is the scriptural method. The apostles had to deal with intellectual doubters, as well as with those who were morally averse to the Gospel; yet they invariably presented Christ as the first object of faith. They made frequent use of the Old Testament Scriptures, it is true, especially in dealing with those who were already grounded in the belief of them; but we never find them urging belief in the Scriptures as the first thing, and faith in Christ simply as the result of their acceptance. When Paul preached on Mars' Hill, he did not try first to convince his heathen audience of the divine authority of the Jewish Scriptures, but passed at once from the common ground of the truths of natural religion, to the setting forth of Jesus and the Resurrection. No one indeed would gather from anything in the apostolic writings that their idea was that God had revealed Himself in a book, and that, by receiving that book, a Saviour would be found in its pages. It was rather that God had revealed Himself in His Son, who is therefore urged on the acceptance of men; and when the testimony of the prophets or their own witness is referred to, it is not as an objective revelation to be received as such, but simply as an inspired testimony to Him. The idea is not: God, who has given us the books of the Old Testament, is now preparing for us the books of the New; but, "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by (literally, *in*) His Son." And it will be remembered that the apostle Peter, speaking of those prophets, represents them as "searching what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ, which was in them, did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of

Christ, and the glory that should follow," so that, in their view, the personal Christ was regarded as the Alpha and Omega even of the Old Testament Scriptures, they deriving authority from Him rather than He from them. Most explicit of all is the apostle John, who insists so strongly, both in his gospel and in his first epistle, that the personal Christ is the Word, that "the Life was the Light of men." "God so loved the world that He gave"—not a book or a religion but—"His only begotten Son."

Most significant of all is the example of Christ Himself. While He very frequently refers to the Old Testament Scriptures as of divine authority, He never presses them as an objective revelation to be received as such. He always guides the faith of His hearers directly to Himself. In the one passage where He expressly sets forth the duty of searching the Scriptures (John v. 39), the reason He gives is not that they are an objective revelation—He rather discourages that idea by the significant words: "in them *ye think* ye have eternal life"—but simply this: "for they *are* they which testify of me." When He sets forth the order of faith, it is not: "Ye believe in the Old Testament, believe also in the New;" but, "Ye believe in God, believe also in me." And still more pointedly: "I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life." We do not forget when we are preaching the Gospel, that Christ said, "I am the Way." We do not forget, when we are ministering to believers, that He said, "I am the Life." Why should we forget, when we are dealing with doubters, that He said, "I AM the truth"? The words of the risen Saviour, in the opening passage of the Apocalypse, indicate the true scriptural order, alike of sequence and importance: "I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last; and what thou seest, write in a book."

Referring to the witness of the Holy Spirit, who should afterward speak through the apostles, Christ said that He would not speak of Himself, but would testify of Him. We have a striking illustration of this in the fact that those Scriptures which come to us through inspiration of the Holy Ghost, call so little attention to themselves in any part, but always keep the person of Christ as the great object on

which the minds of men should rest. In the 'gospels, how entirely is the personality of the authors, and even the agency of the Spirit Himself, kept out of sight, so that the readers may see "Jesus only." And so with the other books of the New Testament. The apostle Paul indeed was constrained, by the peculiarity of his position, and in consequence of certain objections which had been raised to his official authority, to insist upon the fact that he was a fully accredited apostle and qualified to testify the things of Christ; but even with him this was exceptional, and evidently distasteful, while no one is more careful than he to put forward the personal Christ as the great object of faith, and the sole foundation on which the Christian temple should be reared. And, when he has occasion to speak of the authority and value of the Old Testament, in that passage which may be considered as the *locus classicus* of the doctrine of Inspiration (2 Tim. iii. 15, 16), he is careful to urge the central importance of "faith which is in Christ Jesus."

While little attention is called by the inspired writers to themselves or their writings, there is still less said of Christianity as a system. There is a striking absence of all those abstract terms with which all modern Christian literature, and especially our apologetic literature, is so profusely adorned. The word "Christianity" does not occur at all, and we can think of no expression which can be fairly considered its equivalent. We look in vain for any reference to "the Christian religion." The word "religion" occurs in only three places, and in none of them is it used in the comprehensive sense in which we use it now. It may seem to some strange, that the New Testament could have been written, from beginning to end, without any use of words which we find necessary on every page of our writings which refer to the same subjects. The explanation is very significant. Where we should write "Christianity" the apostles write "Christ." Instead of "the Christian religion," they write, "the gospel of Jesus Christ," or "the truth in Jesus," or simply "the faith," meaning the faith which has Christ for its object. From all which it seems sufficiently obvious that the scriptural method of presenting the truth to the intellect, as well as to the conscience and heart, is to put Christ Himself

always in the front. The evangelical method of apologetic is certainly the scriptural method.

We shall now proceed to consider the working advantage of the method we are urging. And we shall find it of great value for the accomplishment of both the great purposes of Christian Apologetics, which are to guide the inquirer into the truth, and to defend the truth against its assailants.

The main advantage, for purposes of instruction, is one which has been already adverted to in explaining the method: viz: this, that it is the natural order of thought, from the simpler to the more complex. The importance of a simple and progressive order of thought can scarcely be exaggerated. It will be remembered that Des Cartes, who may be considered as the founder of modern philosophy in its critical development, began his investigations with the subject of Method, and published as the Introduction to his works "A Discourse on the Method of Rightly Conducting the Reason." In that discourse he lays down two leading rules, one negative and the other positive. The negative rule is the famous one about doubting everything to begin with, and so reducing the mind, so far as its beliefs are concerned, to a sheet of white paper. The positive rule is as follows: "To conduct my thoughts in such order that, by commencing with objects the simplest and easiest to know, I might ascend by little and little, and, as it were, step by step, to the knowledge of the more complex." Now, modern scepticism is so faithful in its application of the Cartesian negative that we cannot meet it to advantage without a faithful application of the Cartesian positive. But the positive rule of Des Cartes, obvious and obviously important as it is, seems to have been little regarded by the majority of writers on the Christian evidence. The inspiration of the Scriptures is one of the most difficult questions in the entire compass of Theology. It cannot be discussed and settled without encountering a multitude of difficulties, many of which may prove serious stumbling blocks in the way of an inquirer, who has as yet no solid ground on which to stand. On the other hand, no such difficulties lie in the way of the presentation of Christ. Even infidels, who have shown themselves most unscrupulous in attacking the Bible, dare not attack Him. His credentials

apart from the miracles He wrought, which being more difficult, ought of course to be presented later, are easily exhibited and easily recognized. His life and character shine out with such lustre that even the most strongly prejudiced will be unable entirely to shut their eyes to it. There are, of course, moral obstacles to the acceptance of Christ, which no method of presentation can overcome, which only the Spirit of God can remove; but, so far as the intellect is concerned, it would seem a much more hopeful course to begin with the revelation which God has given of Himself in the man Christ Jesus, and from that as a vantage ground, to advance to the belief of all that holy men of old, moved by the Holy Ghost, have written, than to attempt to reach the goal by the reverse method.

It is not forgotten, that there is a very wide interval between that admiration of Christ as a man, which no intelligent person can refuse, and that trust in Him, as the Son of God and Saviour of the world, which true faith in Him implies. But does not the one naturally lead to the other? And is not the inquirer far more likely to grow into this faith by the contemplation of Christ Himself, than to reach it by first assuring himself that the Scriptures are the Word of God, and then that they dogmatically teach the Deity of Christ? It is instructive to notice how our Lord Himself dealt in this matter with His disciples. It is evident that at first they had no adequate idea of His Divine dignity. But instead of dogmatically teaching them the truth in relation to His Person, He led them gradually up to it by manifesting Himself to them. After they had been some time with Him, we find them, in amazement at the calming of the lake, saying one to another, "What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey Him?" It was not till the critical interview at Cæsarea Philippi, well on in His ministry, that the pointed question was put, "Whom say ye that I am?" and the answer came, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." In the same way the sincere inquirer (for it is only the sincere inquirer we are now thinking of) will be much more likely to reach the truth in regard to Christ's Divinity by being pointed to Christ Himself, and led to dwell upon His claims and credentials as the Messiah, than by having his attention diverted

to the large question of the inspiration of the Scriptures, in order that after he is satisfied on that question, he may be constrained to accept the other on the authority of an inspired dogmatic statement.

But it may be objected here, that since in order to present Christ at all we must make use of the New Testament, or at least a part of it, it would seem more natural to begin with the Old, and thus follow the order which God Himself has followed in unfolding His truth to men. In order to meet this objection, it is only necessary to distinguish between the dogmatic and the historic use of the Bible. It is a great mistake to suppose that, by postponing the question as to the divine authority of the Scriptures, we preclude ourselves the use of the books either of the Old Testament or of the New. Time was indeed when there seemed to be only the two alternatives, when the prevalent infidelity represented the Scriptures as the work of impostors, who fraudulently invented the whole thing, history and all. But it is far otherwise now. The infidelity of the day accepts in the main the Scriptural history. It takes great liberties with it indeed, especially in the way of "eliminating" the miraculous element from it, but it never attempts to do away with it altogether. After the most relentless of the literary and historic critics have done their worst, enough is left to show a providential preparation for the coming Christ; and that is all that is needed to begin with. After all, the framework of the Jewish history is all that is absolutely essential to the Christian apologetic, and that he can have without any controversy, and without encountering the storm of opposition which the attempt *initio* to establish the dogmatic authority of the Old Testament will inevitably raise. It is a significant fact, that even the evangelist Matthew, writing specially for the Jews, and having so prominently before his mind the idea of the fulfillment of the Old Testament Scriptures, should begin his gospel, not with a list of the books of the Old Testament, but with a genealogy; while the other evangelists make only the briefest references to the prophets who have gone before, and proceed at once to set the man Christ Jesus before their readers. What we contend for is, not that the Bible be closed, but that when it is first opened, it be used, not as a

dogmatic revelation, but as simple history ; and that only so much of it be used as may seem necessary in order to bring the Person of Christ before the inquirer's mind, so that his thoughts may rest upon Him, until he see His glory, "the glory as of the Only begotten of the Father." Then the way is prepared for his receiving the Holy Spirit, whose work it is to guide into all the truth—all the truth which is incidentally unfolded along the line of that historical development which is the main feature of the written Word.

Further, by following this method, we put ourselves in a position to deal most effectually with certain *a priori* objections, in which the infidelity of the time intrenches itself. Chief of these is the alleged utter improbability of the miraculous. We shall come to this by and by. Let us first look at a more sweeping, though perhaps less deeply-rooted, prejudice. We refer to the alleged improbability of God's revealing Himself in a book, especially a book which has grown up in the incidental, not to say accidental, way the Bible has, and which has been left to the ordinary chances of history for its preservation and transmission, without even the precaution which was taken with the Decalogue, of having at least one authentic copy engraven in stone—a book, moreover, which has, as a matter of fact, given rise to endless differences of opinion, even among those who thoroughly believe and truly love it, as to what its precise teaching is on many subjects that cannot be regarded as of slight importance. Now the way in which objections of this kind have been usually dealt with, has been to point out that we are not the proper judges as to the form or style or attendant circumstances of the revelation which God may be pleased to give us. All which is perfectly true. But is it not far better if we can take away the entire ground of the objection by showing that the Bible is not *the* revelation God has given ; that the revelation which God has given, and which He calls upon us to accept, is not the written, but the Living Word ; and that the main object of the inspired Scriptures is to point men to Him, which purpose they serve quite as well as if they had been engraven in stone and preserved in the pyramids, and far better than if they had dropped all stereotyped from God out of heaven ?

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/ this method of reply not only is the alleged improb-
 y disposed of, but it can be shown that the probabili-
 all in favor of the very form of revelation which has be-
 ed. It is plain that, if God would reveal Himself at all,
 ust be through some of the finite things with which we
 miliar; and, inasmuch as, of all the finite existences w
 hich we are familiar, a pure and true human life is
 very highest, it will be readily seen that a life, such as t
 of Jesus of Nazareth was, is the best conceivable method
 the revelation of God, and therefore can be shown also to
 most probable. Such a revelation is fully suited to the wants of
 the only kind of one which is fully suited to the wants of
 nature. We shall see this if we compare some of the differ-
 ent ways in which we get to know one another. We can
 learn something of our fellow-men by seeing what their
 hands have made; but really very little. We can judge of a
 carpenter's skill by inspecting his workshop; but we cannot
 thus get acquainted with himself. We may pronounce some
 opinion on an artist by visiting his studio in his absence; b
 we cannot thus know the man. It is only a very little w
 toward knowing a person that the sight of his works w
 carry us. Words are another medium of acquaintance. It
 possible to learn more about a person from the words
 speaks, than from the things he makes. But even word
 however much of revelation there may be in them, are n
 the ultimate revelation of a person. We want besides to s
 his doings. To know him thoroughly he must live befor
 us. We do not really know the man, until we are acquaint
 with his *life*. All which points to the need of a Divine Life
 a revelation of God.

We might even state the case on the lower ground of for-
 Most sceptics will readily sympathize with the appeal of Phi
 to his Lord: "Shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us." Cor
 sider then that, in order to meet this reasonable appeal (for
 He be our Father, why should He not show Himself to us
 it is necessary that there be some visible form; and if some
 ble form, it needs little consideration to decide which it is m
 likely to be. For is not the human form the noblest
 most expressive we know anything of? Our artists pai
 angels, it is true, but is it not with human forms and face:

As for the wings, it is a question whether they would not be better angels without them. The art, at all events, in painting a good angel, is not in producing the wings, but in drawing the face and the form. It is in that which is human in the picture that the glory and the beauty are found. Thus, if God is to reveal Himself at all, so as to come within the range of our immediate knowledge, which is just what the sceptic is disposed to insist on, reason would lead us to expect that it would be in the form of a man; and, inasmuch as the idea of a spectral form is out of the question, we are led to the expectation that it would be in the form of a living man. And there He is! There He stands, eyes beaming with highest intelligence, face wreathed in the most attractive smile, heart beating with the warmest love, voice soft and tremulous with suppressed emotion, as in tenderest tones He speaks, and says in answer to the sceptical disciple's appeal: "Have I been so long time with thee and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father."

After having shown the antecedent probability of God's revealing Himself in a human life, how easy and natural is it to pass on, and show that the life of Jesus of Nazareth is in every respect the kind of life which one would reasonably expect as a revelation of God; that, as a simple matter of history, it cannot be denied that He not only made the claim, but exhibited all the credentials that could be reasonably asked: superior wisdom, superior power, superior purity; and all these so much superior that they cannot be reasonably assigned to human genius, strength, and virtue; so much so, that those who will only look steadfastly at Him, as He is exhibited in the simple pages of the four evangelists, pages which bear the stamp of truth on them to the candid reader, apart from any theory of inspiration, must surely be constrained to say with the centurion: "Truly, this was the Son of God!"

We do not, of course, deny that there are difficulties in the thought of "the Word made flesh," but they are difficulties of an entirely different kind from those which meet us when we make God revealed in the written Word the first thought. The difficulties connected with the manifestation of God in human likeness are difficulties which can be readily shown to

inhere in the nature of the subject, difficulties pertaining to the necessary conditions of the revelation of the Infinite in terms of the finite. And, besides, these difficulties cannot be avoided on any method of presentation; whereas, when we take the more circuitous route, we have to encounter a whole array of Bible difficulties before reaching the incarnation at all, and when we do reach it, it is not in the form of a substantive revelation but as one of many miracles or one of many dogmas, resting with all the others on the authority of the book.

This is not mere theorizing. The case of a very intelligent and earnest young man is here recalled, whose great difficulty was the story of the Incarnation, which he had been taught to look upon as one of the Bible miracles, to be accepted solely on the ground of its infallibility. Being troubled with difficulties about the Bible in the first place, to which was added his perplexity about the "miracle" of the Incarnation, he felt as if there were two great mountains between him and Christ, which he vainly tried to scale. But as soon as the thought was suggested to him to take the Incarnation first, not as a mere miracle, but as a substantive revelation, he was intelligent enough to see that, instead of being a stumbling-block, it was the very thing he was in search of; and then, with a clear and firm faith in Christ as the Son of God, it was, of course, much easier for him to deal with his difficulties in other parts of the Scriptures.

This leads us now to notice the vantage ground we may have in dealing with that *bête noire* of modern scepticism: the miraculous. When the Bible as a revelation is represented as the ultimate foundation of everything, all the miracles of the Bible are on the same evidential footing, and just as much depends on what you can say about the most difficult miracle of the Old Testament, as about the Resurrection itself. The sceptic may select his point of attack at will, because the position taken obliges you to maintain all. But when Christ is presented as the Revelation of God, we do not need in considering His claims to touch any of the miracles except those of the gospels. Not that any doubt is cast on those recorded in other parts of the Bible, but simply that the consideration of these belongs to a later part of the subject. The question being simply concerning Christ as the

Son of God, it would be manifestly irrelevant to take up the **consideration** of any other miracles than those wrought by **Himself**. And it is probable that few of those who have **happily** been well established in their faith from their earliest **years**, can have any idea what a relief it would be to many **an inquirer** to find that he can reach Christ without having to **climb** the mountain of Gibeon, or descend into the valley of **Ajalon**; and what a luxury to hold his faith in the Son of **God** in such a fashion that the sneer of Professor Tyndall about the burning bush may pass him as the idle wind. It *is* a **great thing** to meet the difficult question of the miraculous at a point where we are strongest, and our adversary weakest.

And not only so, but we meet it in such a way, that we can **turn** the tables on him in regard to probability. No one can **deny** that miracles, abstractly considered, are improbable. They would not be miracles if they were not. And no one can **deny**, that the presence of miraculous stories in a historical **book**, seems to render it unhistorical; so that when we **deal** with the miracles as a portion of the contents of a book, we have to face the question of their improbability. But **when** we take the other path: when we put Christ in the **foreground**, and show what He claimed to be, and what He **was**, instead of its being an improbable thing that He should **perform** those deeds of mercy which are recorded in the **gospels**, it is in the highest degree improbable that He should **not**. And the absurdity becomes very apparent of making it a **ground** of objection, that He who lived as never man lived, and "spake as never man spake," should be said to have "**done** the works which none other man did." Ah, it is far **better** to lead men to Christ first, and then to the miracles; **and** not, as is so often done, to the miracles first, in the hope **that** thus they may be led to Christ. We do not deny, **indeed**, that there is a path that way; but we think the other **better** and more direct; and we seem to have the authority **of the Master Himself** for saying so, for this is the way He **puts it**: "Believe me, that I am in the Father, and the Father **in me**; *or else* believe me for the very works' sake." In **former times** the miracles were regarded as the main-stay of the **Christian evidences**, and hence they very naturally came in **early** and figured prominently in the argument; but now

that they are more apt to be regarded as a burden than a bulwark, it is wise to postpone their consideration until we have advanced that against which even the most thoroughgoing infidel has nothing to say, the life and character of the Lord. And if we can only induce the inquirer to contemplate the person of the Lord Jesus, to drink in His words, to enter into sympathy with the plan and purpose and tenor of His life, to gaze on the beauty of His face, to fill his heart with the admiration which is due to the immortal loveliness of His character—in a word, to get really and truly acquainted with Him—instead of finding a difficulty in the wonders connected with His birth, or the deeds of mercy which He did, he will recognize in these the necessary complement of the other; and, instead of thinking it a thing incredible that God should raise Him from the dead, he will be prepared to enter into the true and deep philosophy of the apostle, when he said that God raised Him up, "because it was not possible that He should be holden of death."

It need scarcely be pointed out that, after being satisfied to the divine credentials of Christ, it is an easy step to pass through His teaching on the subject of the Holy Spirit, both in relation to the prophets who went before, and the apostles to come after, to the acceptance of the entire Scriptures as given by inspiration of God; and, after being satisfied of the reality of the miracles wrought by the Lord Himself, to pass to the acceptance of those which stand connected with the names of the men whose office it was, either before or after His life on earth, to bear witness to Him.

This leads us to remark finally, under this division of the subject, that, by following this method, the inquirer is kept in much closer contact with the Divine Personality. The order, in fact, is just the order of the Trinity. It is first God, then Christ, then the Holy Spirit. From the contemplation of God as manifested in Nature and Providence, the inquirer passes to God as revealed in CHRIST; and, finally, in the third and last stage of his inquiry, advances to the consideration of God in Christ made known by the HOLY SPIRIT through the prophets and apostles, whose testimony and teaching are preserved in the inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Thus the divine and heavenly is kept

always in the foreground, and the inquirer is helped in the **process** of his inquiry to acquaint himself with God: the **Father**, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

But little space is left for considering the advantages of what **we** call the evangelical method, for purposes of defence. In **doing** so, the writer of these pages will take the liberty of using **a few** sentences from a little book now in press, to be entitled "**The Foundations**," in which he makes the attempt to follow **the** order of thought recommended in this article:

"The vast accumulation of evidence for Christian belief has, **to a** large extent, hindered even Christians themselves from **recognizing** where their greatest strength lies. Inasmuch **as** nine-tenths of all the attacks that are made on Christianity **are** attacks on the Bible, the attention of Christian apologists **has** been almost exclusively directed to its defence. And **their** success has been so great, that comparatively few have **felt** it necessary to go back of it. The Bible is such a **wonderful** book that, even if we could give it no place in history **at** all, it would commend itself to the careful consideration of **every** thoughtful man. Even though it set up no claim for **inspiration**, and could show as little connection with any **remarkable** name in history as the Book of Mormon can, it **would** be hard to explain it without some superhuman theory **of** its origin. If the defence of the Bible as a whole against **infidel** attacks had been more difficult or less successful than **it** has been, there would have been greater disposition to fall **back** on the foundations on which the Bible itself rests. Now **it** is true that, so far as internal evidence is concerned, the **position** of the defenders of the Scriptures is stronger than ever. **The** objections against particular passages are for the most **part** the old objections that have done duty in every genera-
tion from the beginning till now, while deeper and more com-
prehensive study has brought out new beauties and glories,
new adaptations and correspondencies. But inasmuch as the **inspiration** of the Scriptures is now called in question even **by** those who admit the wonderful adaptation of the Bible to **the** spiritual wants of man, it is necessary, especially in these **days**, to make it evident that while we hold as strongly as **ever** that the Bible is its own witness, we decline to admit **that** it is its only witness; we maintain that, if the witness of

the Bible to itself is challenged, we can fall back upon a Witness nobler still—One who stands acknowledged, even by the enemies of the Bible, as the culmination of earth's greatness, goodness, and nobility.

"Some even of the acutest and most learned of the opponents of Christianity have not really estimated the true strength of our position. Take the following passage from the introductory chapter of 'Supernatural Religion' as an illustration: 'Orthodox Christians at the present day may be divided into two broad classes, one of which professes to base the Church upon the Bible, and the other the Bible upon the Church. The one party assert that the Bible is fully and absolutely inspired; that it contains God's revelation to man and that it is the only and sufficient ground for all religious belief.' Now this is an entire misunderstanding and misrepresentation of our position. It is a confounding of the question as to the limits of inspiration with the question as to the grounds of inspiration. We are familiar with the standing controversy as to whether the Church rests on the Bible or the Bible on the Church. The latter is the Roman Catholic view, while the Protestant theologians have taken the position that the Church derives her authority from the Bible, not the Bible from the Church. Hence the famous watchword of Chillingworth, 'The Bible, and the Bible alone, the religion of Protestants.' Now we are quite willing to stand by the motto, 'The Bible and the Bible alone,' when the question is as to the limits of that which is authoritative, when the controversy is with those who wish to impose decrees of councils and ecclesiastical dogmas and traditions as of equal authority with the Holy Scriptures; but it is quite a different thing, when the question is as to the foundation of our faith, and the controversy is with those who would take it away from us altogether. We do say that the Church rests upon the Bible, but we utterly deny that 'the Bible is the only ground for all religious belief.' We do say that 'we (the Church) are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets' (the Bible); but we do not stop there. With the apostle we go on and say, 'Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone.' And it is satisfactory to know that, while 'the foundation of the apostles and prophets' is so

Strong that it has resisted all attempts to undermine it for **m**ore than seventeen centuries, the corner-stone is so **i**mmovable that it not only stands secure in the estimation of **a**ll the friends of Christianity, but 'even our enemies themselves being judges,' as could be fully shown by quotations **f**rom many of the ablest of our opponents."

The general of an army, being vulnerable like other men, **m**ay not be exposed in the front of the battle. But it is **d**ifferent with "the Captain of our Salvation." He is general, **a**rmey, fortress, and all. David knew how to put it: "The **L**ord is my Rock, and my Fortress, and my Deliverer; my **G**od, my Strength, in whom I will trust, my Buckler, and the **H**orn of my salvation, and my High Tower," and Solomon **t**oo: "The Name of the Lord is a strong tower; the **r**ighteous runneth into it and is safe." Just as the Saviour had to **r**emind the Pharisees that "In this place is One greater than **t**he temple;" and again, "Behold a greater than Jonas, a **g**reater than Solomon is here"—so we have need to remember that, great as were those "holy men of old" who "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," a greater **t**han all is here; and we greatly weaken our position if, instead of resting their claims ultimately on His, we make His **r**est ultimately on theirs. We have need, especially in these trying times, to remember, that the chief corner-stone is our main-stay, that "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." On the great underlying bed-rock of the Divine Existence rests the "Rock of Ages" (Is. xxvi. 4), which God Himself has laid in Zion for a foundation (Is. xxviii. 16, and 1 Pet. ii. 4-6); and on that foundation the apostles and prophets, and all the Church, is built "for a habitation of God through the Spirit," and it is to the Church as resting on that rock foundation of "Christ, the Son of the Living God," that the promise is given, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

We of the evangelical faith have learned to make our preaching the preaching of Christ; we are learning to make our theology more and more centre in Christ, and we believe that as the combat thickens, our apologetics will follow in the same path, and in every department of Christian thought, Christ be acknowledged as Himself the Truth.

JOHN MONRO GIBSON.

VII.

THE EXCLUSIVENESS OF CHRISTIANITY.

ARE the claims of the religion of Christ absolutely exclusive of those of all other religions? Have we or have we not the right to speak of it as the universal religion? Granting that Christianity is the best religion for us, grant even that it is really the best in itself, alone and incomparably superior to all the other religions of men, is it true that in the present state of the nations of the world, it is practically the best for all peoples, and has any exclusive claim upon the faith and allegiance of all mankind? This is one of the questions of the day. And it is to be observed that neither of the assumptions made is such as in itself to compel an affirmative answer to the question. It is, without doubt, quite conceivable that of two or more religious systems, one should be essentially superior to the rest, and yet not be the best, all things considered, for a particular people or age. We shall easily be able to see this, if we take, for example, any two non-Christian religions, as, *e. g.*, Islam and Buddhism. And the same thing may be true as regards two religions admitted to be supernatural revelations. As Christians, we believe what is implied in the statement of the apostle Paul, that Christ was revealed in "the fulness of time;" that for a former dispensation, Judaism, although a form of religion inferior to Christianity, was better for the time than present. Paul states in a single sentence, both the fact and the reason of it, as follows: "When we were children, we were in bondage under the elements of the world." Judaism had a mission; the fulness of time had not come for the revelation of the Christ of God; and Judaism, though not better than Christianity for our time, was better for that time. This we shall all admit, as regards Judaism and Christianity. May we not extend the application of the principle, and suppose that in like

manner, although the religion of Christ may be both best for us and best in itself, yet other religions, as, *e. g.*, Islam, Buddhism, Taouism, although far inferior in themselves, and unsatisfying to *our* minds, may still be best adapted to the people who receive them?

Many are ready with a prompt affirmative to this question. It is plausibly urged that the very fact that a particular religion has secured acceptance with any people, is *prima facie* evidence that it has met their conscious wants and satisfied them; if not, why did they receive it? That it does not satisfy us does not prove, it is said, that it cannot satisfy them, but only that with that other people the religious consciousness is less developed, or developed differently from what it is with us.

This view of the case very naturally commends itself to all, whether atheists, agnostics, or deists, who agree that there is no such thing as a supernatural revelation, and that, of consequence, all religions alike are of merely human origin and authority. Thus Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his "First Principles," pp. 115, 117, 119, argues that all religions, although all alike false, may yet be useful and even necessary in their place. He says: "We shall be under the necessity of contemplating the ultimate existence as *some* mode of being;" "and," he adds, "we shall not err in doing this so long as we treat every notion we thus frame as merely a symbol, utterly without resemblance to that for which it stands." This forming erroneous notions about God, only in due time to reject them, he thinks may yet be very useful as an intellectual discipline. Moreover, although no religion gives us anything like the truth about God, yet, he argues, "a real adaptation exists between an established belief and the natures of those who defend it." In fact, the false belief or system of belief may be a real necessity, meeting a real need. He says: "As certainly as a barbarous race needs a harsh terrestrial rule . . . so certainly does such a race need a belief in a celestial rule that is similarly harsh." Indeed he thinks that "even now, for the great mass of men, unable through lack of culture to trace out with due clearness those good and bad consequences which conduct brings round through the established order of the unknowable, it is needful that there

should be vividly depicted future torments and future joy.
 Whatever may be our opinion as to the truth of his statement ~~that~~ ⁱⁿ
 that a savage race of men really need to think of God as
 "savage" and "diabolical," we must at least admit, that ⁱⁿ
 the views set forth as to the relative claims of various religions,
 Mr. Spencer is at least for this once not inconsistent with
 himself.

It is, however, a matter of more wonder when we find men
 who are neither atheists, agnostics, nor deists, but who profess to
 believe that the religion of Christ is a supernatural revelation
 from God, hasten, in the exceeding breadth of their charity, to
 express similar opinions. In the winter and spring of 1874, a
 series of four lectures on "Mohammed and Mohammedanism"
 was delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, by a
 Mr. Bosworth Smith. The course was shortly published in a
 book with the above title, which met with such a degree of ac-
 ceptance, that in about a year a second edition was required.
 This work affords an excellent illustration of the line of think-
 ing to which we refer. Mr. Smith is far enough from Mr.
 Spencer in his philosophical position. In a word, he is careful
 in the most emphatic terms to declare his faith in the Christian
 religion as a true revelation from God to man. Comparing
 the religion of Mohammed with that of Christ, he says: "The
 religion that he taught is below the purest form of our own,
 as the central figure of the Mohammedan religion is below the
 central figure of the Christian—a difference vast and incom-
 mensurable."* The character of Mohammed he admits to
 have been "weak and erring;" and, in contrast with this, goes
 on to say, that the challenge of Christ, "'Which of you con-
 vinceth me of sin?' has never yet been fairly met, and that at
 this moment the character of Jesus of Nazareth stands alone in
 its spotless purity and unapproachable majesty." Nor is this
 all; for he continues: "Is there one thoughtful person among
 us who has ever studied the character of Christ, and has not,
 in spite of ever-recurring difficulties and doubts, once and again
 burst into the centurion's exclamation, 'Truly, this was the Son
 of God'?" Finally, he admits that "the methods of drawing
 near to God are not the same in the two religions;" that, in

* "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," p. 344.

act, the Mohammedan "can hardly be said to approach God" at all; but he "gains the knowledge of God by listening to the lofty message of God's prophet." "The Christian, on the other hand," believes that he approaches God by a process which, however difficult it may be to define, yet has had a real meaning to Christ's servants, and has embodied itself in countless types of Christian character—that mysterious something which St. Paul calls a union with Christ.* For all this, Mr. Smith denies that Christianity has any exclusive claim to the allegiance of men. On this point, he states his views as follows: "No religion is exclusively good, none exclusively bad; any religion which has a real and continuous hold on a large body of mankind must satisfy a real spiritual need and be so far good. . . . What we have to do is to feel after God in each and all, assured that He is there, even if, haply, in our ignorance we can find no trace of Him."† And so he thus speaks of Islam: "Sublime, eternal, unchangeable as its god, Islam appears to its votaries a religion worthy at once of the worshipper and of the being they worship. And is it for us to say that it is not?"‡ And again he expresses the conviction that "the highest philosophy and the truest Christianity will one day agree in yielding to Mohammed the title of a prophet—a very prophet of God."§ Hence we are told that "there are two factors to be considered in testing the value of religion in any given case—the creed itself, and the people who receive it."|| That is, although Christianity is incomparably superior to every other religion, yet before we can decide whether it be on the whole the best religion for a given people, we must first know the people. Thus he tells us that "under the peculiar circumstances, historical, geographical, and ethnological," which we find in Africa, not Christianity, but Islam, "is the religion most likely to get hold on a vast scale of the native mind, and so in some measure to elevate the native character."¶ In like manner he regards Islam, and not Christianity, as the religion which is likely to prove the permanent faith of India. "Buddhism and Brahmanism may be driven out of India, but Mohammedanism never, except by the Mohammedan's method of the sword."** Indeed, in another place, this apostle of a universal

* "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," pp. 293-295.

† *Ib.*, p. 63.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 306.

§ *Ib.*, p. 344.

|| *Ib.*, p. 296.

¶ *Ib.*, p. 56.

** *Ib.*, p. 59.

charity expresses the opinion that Mohammedanism is "perhaps the nearest approach to Christianity which the unprogressive portion of humanity can ever attain in masses;" and he adds, suggestively, "how large a part of the whole human race are unprogressive!—progress is the exception and not the rule with mankind."* What all this means is summed up in the preface to the first edition, where he tells us that he "believes that there is a unity above and beyond that unity of Christendom which, properly understood, all earnest Christians so much desire; a unity which rests upon the belief that the children of one Father may worship Him under different names; . . . that they may all have one hope, even if they have not one faith."† Thus, though by different roads, the agnostic and the broad churchman reach the same practical conclusion. With Mr. Spencer and his school, Christianity is the best of many religions, all more or less false; with Mr. Smith, it is the best among many religions, all more or less true. Both agree, that in any case the religion of Christ has no claims exclusive of those of other religions; and that the question as to what religion may be best adapted to a particular people, is one which can only be answered when we know the people themselves. But that a religion prevails among a given people is of itself *prima facie* evidence that it really meets and satisfies their needs.

We have set forth these views with somewhat of fulness and detail, and not, we venture to think, without some reason. We suspect that they are much more common than many would imagine, and, in a form half-defined, influence the thinking of not a few who pass with themselves and others for orthodox Christians. Whatever may be any one's opinion as to their essential correctness or otherwise, there can be no doubt as to the importance of the question raised. This is true whether we regard them in their bearing upon our doctrinal belief or upon our practical duty. In the first place, if we take even the scantiest fragments of the New Testament, which a certain type of modern criticism would leave us, it is plain that the writers of our gospels and first preachers of the religion of Christ had no such views as we have set forth. Ac-

* "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," p. 295.

† *Ib.*, p. xxv.

ding to their account, the charge which they received from us Christ ran thus: "Go teach all nations!" "Be my messengers unto the ends of the earth!" They were, moreover, demand instant faith in the message under the penalty denounced by the authority of Christ, of the condemning wrath of God in the day of judgment. If, however, Mr. Bosworth is right in the views which he advocates, then one of two things is true: either Christ taught this Broad Church Gospel, in which case all His first disciples misunderstood Him; or they did not misunderstand Him, in which case Christ Himself was mistaken. In the former case we cannot trust Christ because we are not sure enough of the record to know what He really taught; for who knows how much else may have been misunderstood? If we accept the record, however, we know that Christ made a mistake in giving His disciples the great commission. Thus, in the second place, it will follow, on the above supposition, that the charter and mission, on the strength of which the Church has done, and is still doing, her great missionary work, and which has been, and still is, the inspiration of her most heroic deeds, is utterly invalid, and her work, however benevolent in intention, has behind it no divine warrant. We dare not any longer preach, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; he that believeth not, shall be damned," for we do not know whether this be true or not. This modern interpreter of the Gospel of Christ gives the missionary a very different message; he says that no serious-minded person could wish Mohammedans to give up their unfaltering belief in the true mission of their prophet; and tells Christian missionaries that "if they are ever to win over Mohammedans to Christianity, they must alter their tactics; . . . must not discredit the great Arabian prophet, nor throw doubts upon his mission, but pay him that homage which is his due,"* which, whether it be true or not, again we insist, is in obvious contrast with that which the Church, for the past eighteen hundred years, has understood to be her message to the nations.

After this full statement of opposing views, we return to the

* *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 336, 342.

question with which we started: Do the claims of the religion of Christ exclude, or not, those of all other religions? In so far as the negative of this question is argued from atheistic, agnostic, or deistic premises, it is plain that the validity of the conclusion stands or falls with the validity of those premises. If either there be no God, or if He cannot be known, or if, for any reason, a supernatural revelation from God be impossible, then, of course, it is perfectly clear that Christianity can have no exclusive claim upon the faith of men. On any of these suppositions Christianity, in common with all the other religions of the world, is a purely human thing, and can have no more authority than is possible to any set of fallible human opinions. On this assumption, Mr. Spencer's conclusion is quite reasonable, that as one form of civil government may be best adapted to one time or people, and another to another, so also it may be in religion; and that the whole question as to what form of religious belief, if any, may be the best for a certain people, is purely one of expediency. From this point of view it is plain that any argument for the exclusive character of the claims of the religion of Christ, must be, first of all, an argument for theism as opposed to anti-theism, or for supernaturalism as opposed to naturalism. Till these questions are settled, it is clear that all other arguments are irrelevant. If, however, we assume here the validity of the argument for theism and against deistic naturalism; if, for example, as against Mr. Spencer, God, though not to be comprehended, may yet be really and truly known to exist and to be possessed of certain attributes; if, moreover, as against the deist, it be granted that it is inconceivable that a free, personal, and almighty Spirit, the creator of the world, should not have the power of revealing Himself in a manner supernatural to His intelligent creatures, then we at once confront the question whether there has ever been such a revelation of the will of God to man; and, granting that we have such revelation in the religion of Jesus Christ, the question whether it be the only revelation of divine authority to man, is now before us. In the present article we propose to deal with this question as to the exclusive claims of the religion of Christ, not as raised by unbelievers, but by professed believers in that religion as a divine and supernatural revelation.

on. In the comparison of religions, which may be necessary to our argument, we shall restrict ourselves to the three regions of Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Islam. There is abundant reason for this selection. They represent severally three distinct lines of anti-Christian opposition, namely, Atheism, Pantheism, and Theism; with the exception of Christianity and Judaism, they will be admitted to represent the highest existing types of religion; and finally, as a matter of fact, the three, between them, stand pre-eminent in the number of their votaries, which, according to the latest estimates, can hardly be less than 800,000,000 of the human race.

What precisely is the question before us? It is not on the present occasion, whether Christianity be a true revelation from God. This is admitted on both sides. It is not whether or not all religions have in them somewhat of essential moral truth. This again is freely granted. It is often persistently assumed that those who affirm the exclusive claims of Christianity more or deny the existence of spiritual truth in other religious systems; but the assumption is utterly false. The writer has had abundant opportunity to observe that, in India for example, both native and foreign missionaries continually avail themselves with gladness of the many testimonies to the truth

God which are scattered through the sacred books of the people. But it is to be further remarked that it seems to be constantly forgotten on the other side, that the mere presence of truth in an alleged revelation is not enough to prove that it is really such, except it can be shown that the knowledge of such truth in any case could only been obtained in a manner supernatural. God has revealed Himself in the physical universe. "The heavens declare His glory." He has revealed Himself in the moral nature of all men, so that Paul expressly says, that in this way they who have not the written word "are a law unto themselves." It is perfectly plain that the recognition and expression in any religion of truths revealed

nature to all mankind, cannot of itself warrant us in inferring that the religion in question is, in any proper use of the terms, a supernatural revelation from God. Nor should we forget that truth supernaturally revealed may easily be borrowed by one religion from another. But its presence in that religion, under such conditions, obviously gives us no reason to

speaking of that religion as a divine revelation. Not only is this hypothesis quite possible, but it is the notorious fact that the Koran in particular is full of ideas which indeed could not have been derived from the revelation of God in nature, but which have been taken directly from the Christian revelation. Mr. Smith's whole argument to prove that Mohammedanism is entitled to be regarded as no less truly than Christianity a revelation from God, is marked by entire forgetfulness of these almost self-evident principles. He comprehends his whole argument to prove that Mohammedanism might almost be called "another form of Christianity," under the three following heads: its monotheism; its spirituality, as opposed to all sacerdotalism and idolatry; and, finally, its reverence for Christ. But when we apply the simple test above suggested, the argument at once collapses. For, as regards the monotheism and the spirituality of Islam, to say nothing of the influence of Jewish and Christian tribes scattered in those days throughout Arabia, Mohammed could certainly have learned all that, and doubtless did in the first instance, from the works of God without him and within him, as did the Hanifites and seekers after God such as Zaid and Waraka, who appeared in the moral darkness of Arabia in those days. As for his reverence for Christ, it requires surely no hypothesis of a supernatural revelation to explain that. His familiar intercourse with Christians is a quite sufficient explanation. To sum up this part of the argument, we may safely challenge any one out of all the treasures of Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Islam, to produce any moral sentiment or truth or religious idea which cannot be accounted for except on the hypothesis of a supernatural revelation within the sphere of that religion; a single fact or truth which might not have been learned either from the light of nature, or, as in the case of Mohammedanism, from either Christianity or Judaism. The contrast in this case with the Gospel is too evident to need more than a mention.

Nor, in the third place, is the question before us whether or not other religions than the Christian or the Jewish may not have been, or still be, in some sense schoolmasters to bring men to Christ. This is freely admitted. In such a case, of course, it will be true that they will have a certain adaptedness to the peoples among whom they prevail. But adaptedness to

quirements of the divine government is by no means the thing with adaptedness to the spiritual needs of sinners. Thus we may freely admit that the non-Christian religions have an indispensable and necessary place and function in the plan of the divine government. But it does not follow that they were therefore from God, or that their place in the plan is to lead men into peace and reconciliation with God. "Behold, is it not of the Lord of Hosts that the nations shall labour as in the very fire, and weary themselves in vain vanity?" But that does not prove that the "vanity" is from God.

The question is precisely this: whether Christianity is not the only revelation from God of present authority, which has come, not in any way of mere nature whatsoever, but in a way above nature, as a direct communication from God to man; and whether, this being so, its claims upon the conscience and allegiance of men are instant, universal, and exclusive of those of every other religion whatsoever.

The first and most obvious fact which bears upon the answer to this question is the simple fact that the Christian religion indisputably claims for itself just this position. The truth of this statement does not depend upon our views as to the nature or extent of inspiration of the New Testament, or of any other part of it. Whatever any one may think about these matters, the historical facts remain that the New Testament is at least the highest historical authority as to what Christ and His apostles have believed and taught. And it lies on the very face of the record that the religion of Christ, as therein set forth, is an authority which is utterly exclusive of all like claims from any other quarter whatsoever. It claims to be the only religion of many more or less full and complete and divinely revealed religions, but, in its historical connection with Judaism, the only religion supernaturally revealed from God to man.

It claims to set forth, not *a* way of salvation, not the only way of salvation, but the *only* way of salvation. This is clearly involved in the very command to preach this Gospel, not some, but "all nations." If that Gospel be not truly adapted to the needs of all nations, then Christ herein makes a great mistake. In denouncing damnation against all who hear and do not believe, should reject it, He was guilty of the greatest

injustice. But this is not merely inferred, but it is again **and** again broadly and categorically asserted. "There is **none** other name under heaven given among men whereby we **must** be saved." "There is one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." "The things **which** the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to **God** ; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils." "He that believeth on the Son hath life ; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life." "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God ; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come **in** the flesh, is not of God." Such, then, are the undisputed facts of the record. What is to be done with them? **The** religion of Christ, judged by the only documents which profess in any authoritative way to expound them ; judged, moreover, we may add, by the whole history of its early propagation, makes a claim explicitly excluding all other religions from the same category with itself. Instead of teaching us to regard Mohammed, Buddha, Confucius, and other leaders **and** founders of the ethnic religions, as Mr. Smith and his **like** would have us, as prophets of God, Christ and His apostles stigmatize all such as "false prophets," "antichrists," **and** "thieves and robbers," who "come not to save, but to **kill** and to destroy." What, again we ask, is to be done with these facts? If it be asserted that we have not in such sentiments a part of the original teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, we demand the evidence to prove the assertion. We ask for **so** much as a trace of the contrary doctrine in the **New** Testament or in the history of the early Church. Moreover, since, on this hypothesis, it is apparent that the New Testament is not a reliable source of information as to the content of the revelation which it is admitted Christ brought to **men**, we demand that a more reliable source be pointed out. **If** this cannot be done, then what has become of the revelation? But if we admit the historical accuracy of the New Testament, even in so far as it purports to be an account of the **actual** teaching of our Lord and His apostles, then, beyond all controversy, Christ and His apostles preached Christianity as **exclusive** of all other religions whatsoever. If that be **true**, then it settles the question, and books like this "**Mohammed**

and Mohammedanism" need to be re-written throughout in the light of that fact. Let us not misapprehend the issue. This claim is not a claim to the exclusive possession of all moral truth, but a claim to be the only supernatural revelation from God to man, and as such, to present the only possible way of salvation. If this claim be denied, it can only be either on the ground that Christ was mistaken, or that we have not in the New Testament a reliable account of what Christ really taught. In either case our ground of faith in Christ is but a shifting sand. To affirm in lofty terms upon the glory of Christ and the supreme perfection of His religion as a revelation from God to man, and in the same breath to assert that, though the best, it is not the only revelation, is only to evince one's ignorance as to what the religion of Christ really is.

But not only is the position we assail logically incompatible with the claims of the Gospel itself, and with any real faith in it as a revelation from God. But we may go still further. We affirm that the differences which exist between Christianity and the various ethnic religions, are such as to make it absolutely certain that they cannot all alike be revelations from a God of truth. We admit freely that there are certain moral truths which are recognized more or less distinctly in all alike. We admit that there may be real differences which are not incompatible with the hypothesis of a common divine origin. We admit that different religions may differ greatly in their fulness and completeness, or in the proportion which various truths occupy in the revelation; and yet, both be from God. Of this fact Judaism will occur to every one as a familiar illustration. But for all this, it remains true that to prove that all religions are, in any true sense of the words, from God, they must not teach contradictories. One may tell more, another less of God, but they must not affirm contradictories concerning Him. If one such contradiction be proven in the original form of any two religions, then no amount of moral truth that we may notwithstanding find in both, will warrant us in saying, that both religions as such are from the God of Truth. We affirm that this is precisely the case as between Christianity and all other religions, without a single exception.

The following illustrations will abundantly establish this assertion. First, as to the being of God, Christianity affirms that there is one God and Father of all, "of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things," and declares the belief of this to be absolutely fundamental and essential: "He that cometh to God, must believe that He is." This the Buddha ignored or denied. We are told that he "recognized no Supreme Deity;"* that he regarded the question whether the world owed its existence to God or not, as "an inquiry that tended to no profit."† Brahmanism, going to the opposite extreme, affirms that all that is, is God:

"Nothing exists but Brahm; when aught else
Appears to be, 'tis, like the mirage, false."

Here, then, to go no further, Christianity, Buddhism, and Brahmanism, stand in blank contradiction, each to the others, and that as regards the most fundamental of all questions. Whichever one be true, the other two are *ipso facto* false. Are all three revelations from God? The case does not improve if we inquire further. As to the attributes of God, Buddhism, of course, is silent; Brahmanism says:

'Imperishable, without form, unbound
By qualities, without distinctive works,
Without a name, know that indeed as Brahma."‡

How is it with Islam? Mr. Smith will be no prejudiced judge. What does he say? "Mohammed's notion of God had never been that of a great moral being who designs that the creatures He has created should, from love and gratitude to Him, become one with Him, or even assimilated to Him."§ Can the teachings of all three of these be reconciled with each other or with Christianity?

As to the nature and condition of man, the fact of sin and misery cannot be well denied; but Buddhism and Brahmanism agree in denying that man is a free agent, and therein deny that personal responsibility for sin on which the Christian Scriptures so strenuously insist. And Islam also, as is

* "Indian Wisdom," Monier Williams, p. 57. † "Buddhism," Rhys Davids, p. 87.

‡ *Atma Bodha*, trans. in "Ind. Wisdom," p. 123.

§ "Mohammed and Mohammedanism," p. 199.

well known, though arguing from different premises, reaches the same practical conclusion. Are the doctrines of freedom and of necessity, of responsibility and non-responsibility, both revealed by God as truths? Finally, as in all these other fundamental matters, so in regard to the method of salvation, each of these three stands in irreconcilable contradiction both with each of the others and with Christianity. Buddhism proposes that man shall save himself by moral and ceremonial observances; Brahmanism, that he shall save himself by a transcendental intuition of the unconditioned Brahman and various ritual observances, supposed to be more or less helpful thereto. Islam declares repentance to be the ordinary, but not the necessary condition of salvation.* Salvation by a substituted victim, it emphatically denies. As these are in contradiction to each other on the one question which of all others is of the most transcendent personal importance, so do they all alike directly contradict therein the most explicit testimony of the Gospel of Christ. Therein we are taught, that no man can save himself in any way; that "without the shedding of blood," and that the blood of the incarnate Son of God, "there is no remission of sin;" that before even this can avail to the individual he must be made over by the power of God—in a word, be "born again," and "believe in the Lord Jesus Christ" that he may be saved. It declares, finally, no less explicitly, that this is not only *one* way of salvation, but the *only* way of salvation. There is not to be found a solitary exception or limitation to those solemn words: "He that believeth not shall be damned." "He that believeth on the Son hath life, and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him." But this will suffice. How or on what principle, with the utmost stretch of charity and latitude of interpretation, these four religions, which thus contradict each other on matters the most fundamental to all religion, can all alike be called more or less full revelations from the God of righteousness and truth, we leave to others to show. Most,

*... By repentance, all sins may be pardoned, and it is God's prerogative if He please, without repentance to pardon all sins, except that of imputing plurality to Him; or again, if He please, to visit His wrath upon the very smallest of all transgressions."—*Masnavi Syed Ahmad Khan*, in Introduction to Commentary on the Hebrew text of the book of Genesis.

we believe, will grant our conclusion from such facts as these: that if Christianity be in very truth a revelation from God, then it is certain that neither Buddhism, Brahmanism, nor Islam can be such a revelation; and that if it have any claim at all to the faith and allegiance of mankind, that claim, in the very nature of the case, must be forever exclusive of all others.

But it is argued by those against whom we contend, that Christianity is not in point of fact adapted to all men. It is suited, say some, only to the higher races; to the Western as distinguished from the Eastern races, say others. Though while no doubt it would be good for other races to receive the Gospel, still, as a matter of fact, it appears to be beyond them, or in some of its essential ideas, foreign to their line of thinking. Under these circumstances, we are told, Buddhism, Islam, or some other form of faith must be accepted, as most best meet the case. As to the capacity of these other creeds to meet and fill man's sense of need, we are told, that while they do not meet *our* sense of need, they may yet satisfy the races of a different type or an inferior moral development. To all this much might be said. And first, the truth of the Christian religion being admitted, it is to be observed, that this stands flatly opposed to the teaching of Christ. If anything is clear alike from the New Testament, and from all history, it is this, that Christ professed to be a Saviour, *not* for *some* men, but for *all* men. He told His disciples to go, not to certain races, but "into all the world," and preach *His* Gospel "to every creature." If the Gospel be not adapted to all races, then Christ was mistaken, and the great commission is but the language of an erring enthusiasm, little to be trusted as a guidance for eternity.

But we affirm, in the second place, that it is a moral impossibility that even the three religions above considered, confessedly the highest and best of the non-Christian religions, should ever satisfy the needs of any race of men, however low in the scale of moral development, or sprung from whatever stock. Take Buddhism, for example. Not the attractive character of its founder, nor the high morality which inculcated, can compensate for the stubborn fact that Buddhism, as delivered to the world by Sakya Muni, was a r

on without a God. But a religion without a God, a religion **which** denies the existence of the soul, and holds forth annihilation as the final issue of all the struggles of life—surely **it is** too much to be asked to believe, that such a religion can **be** adapted to the needs of any creature which has a soul, or **a single** longing, however vague and transient, for a life after death. What better can be said of Brahmanism, which as a system offers the worshipper no personal God, and teaches him that all his fears and aspirations are born of illusion and end in eternal unconsciousness? Is it possible, can any one believe, that weak and sinful man, reaching out in the dimness for the strong arm of a personal God, can be satisfied when he finds that he has grasped, after all, but a shadow in a draem? Is it a moral possibility that any man who has ever felt a longing to be anything better than he is, can be satisfied when he is told, as the Brahman will tell him, that all he is and all he is to be, all his sins and crimes, and all their distressing sequences of pain and anguish, are for him eternally fixed by an eternal, necessary, inexorable, and most irreversible fate? Can any man soberly believe that under any conceivable conditions the dreary negations and illusions of atheism or pantheism should satisfy the heart better than the faith of a personal God and Father? And Islam—can even Islam satisfy the heart of a sinner, when it tells him in the words of the Koran, that “nothing shall be imputed to a man but his own labour”? Can it really be better for any sinful man to be told that, than to hear the gracious words, “The Lord hath laid upon Him the iniquity of us all”?

Again granting, as we safely may, that all peoples have not developed in them the sense of moral and spiritual need which we have, does it follow that the Gospel is not therefore so well adapted to them? Surely, in all reason we should rather argue that the lower in the scale of moral development a people may be, the more urgent and imperative the need of the stimulus of the great ideas of God, and personality, and eternity, and atoning love, to rouse into consciousness, if possible, the dormant sensibilities of the soul. That an ignorant man, with a malaria-breeding pool behind his house, is not conscious of any harm to himself as resulting from it, scarcely proves that for that man the most wholesome thing is a stench.

But it is asserted that the actual reception of any form of religion proves that it did meet their conscious needs, else would not have been received. But we venture in reply to the affirmation, that the history of the development of doctrine in every religion goes to prove the contrary. It is indeed admitted that each religion, as it has first presented itself for the acceptance of men, has contained and offered to men certain elements of truth, to the power of which it has owed much of its success. Such, notably, was the case with Buddhism. In its doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man, as opposed to the tyranny of caste, it met a great need of the time. Such was the case again with Islam, in its emphatic proclamation of the great truth of the essential unity of God as opposed to the everywhere prevailing idolatry. But this does not prove that these really *satisfied* the spiritual needs of those who first received them. A sinner looking for some sufficient hope for the future could not rest with a knowledge of either the brotherhood of man or the unity of God, however good these might be in their place. And so it has come to pass that while Christianity, after eighteen hundred years, in all its various forms, Eastern or Western, Greek, Roman, or Protestant, retains still all the great fundamental truths of the personality and unity of God, the Deity and atonement of Christ, and is essentially the same body of doctrine which was first delivered by our Lord and His apostles, of the non-Christian religions there is not one of which this can be said. There has been not merely logical development of doctrine as in the case of Christianity, but an addition of elements utterly foreign to the original system. But it is not the mere fact of such changes that concerns us so much as the character of those changes. As a matter of fact, it would appear that these have to a great extent consisted in efforts to supply those lacking elements of faith which are the distinguishing characteristics of the religion of Christ.

The personality of God, a divine incarnation for human salvation, the remission of sin by the shedding of blood, these are the special and most essential doctrines of the Christian system; and if in any religion any of these ideas have at first been wanting, there has been, in the case of each of the three great historic religions to which we have referred, an attempt

in some way to supply the lack. If such doctrines have had **a** logical place in the system, so much the better; if not, they **have** sooner or later been added, even in defiance of logical consistency, and sometimes in direct contradiction to the **fundamental** articles of the original creed. Taught by no **one**, led, as it were, by a kind of spiritual instinct, a faintly **recognized** sense of need, the disciples of each of these religions have sought to supply, often indeed in crude and superstitious fancies, those special and peculiar ideas which the **Christian** religion alone possesses as matters of blessed fact and abiding reality. And herein lies our argument: that all **this** goes to show, not that these religions have been felt to **meet** the conscious needs of those who first received them, **but** the exact reverse. Even those blind efforts which the **adherents** of various religions have made to adapt them more **closely** to their necessities, bear involuntary testimony to the **adaptedness** and necessity to all men of those great doctrines **which** in their full historical form are the distinguishing truths **of** the Gospel of Christ.

In illustration, first let us take the case of Buddhism. The **Original** system as propounded by Sakya Muni was very **simple**. Fundamental are the so-called four noble truths, viz, that sorrow is inseparable from existence; that its cause is desire; that sorrow is therefore to be removed by the extinction of desire for all things, either good or evil, which is *nirvāna*; and that the path to this is eightfold, as follows—rightness in belief, thoughts, language, actions, mode of livelihood, application, memory, and meditation. And the final issue of all this is *parinibbāna*, annihilation. This, in merest outline, is original Buddhism. Sakya Muni did not himself profess to be anything more than a man. As he entirely ignored the existence of a God, he could not profess to have received his doctrine by any manner of divine revelation or supernatural illumination. He did not propose himself to save men, but only to teach them how to save themselves, and that, not from sin, but from sorrow, by walking in the eightfold path. Was it possible that this should satisfy the heart of man even in India? that men should accept and quietly rest in a religion absolutely without a God? History answers, No! Scarcely had this new religion been given to the world, when men

began to add to it ideas wholly alien, thereby to meet if possible the crying wants of the soul. Materialism, even when dressed up like Buddhism, in the garb of a religion, could not satisfy. First, men needed a personal God; then they needed, not so much a teacher, as a Saviour, and a Saviour, moreover, sinless and divine. And so men, working without doubt unconsciously, set themselves to incorporate these ideas into the religion of Sakya Muni. In Southern Asia this process is witnessed in the gradual growth of the legend of the Buddha. First, the Buddha, Sakya Muni, was declared to have been without sin, omniscient and almighty. Then men said that he had pre-existed for ages in the heavenly glory, and that for the salvation of men he came into this world, in the form of a god of light, and became incarnate in the womb of a virgin. And so the son of the king of Benares was at last practically made into an incarnate God and Redeemer. The Northern development of Buddhism was much more elaborate, but testifies to the sense of the same wants. Sakya Muni had taught that he was but one of a succession of religious teachers appearing in the history of the world from time to time, to point men to the path of righteousness. Others were to come after him, and to do in their turn a work like his. In particular, the faith and expectation of the Thibetan Buddhists fixed upon the so-called Maitreya Buddha, who, as they believe, is to appear and conquer sin and sorrow. This Maitreya Buddha, and all others yet to come, are supposed to be existent through ages in the heavenly world, as Bodhisatwas, exalted beings yet to be manifested on the earth. Of these Bodhisatwas, three, called *Vajrapani*, *Manjusri*, and *Avalokiteswara*, came at last to be regarded as three gods, severally representing the ideas of wisdom, power, and mercy. And even thus the blank atheism of Sakya Muni was left far behind. But if the heart of man could not rest in atheism, neither could it be content with tritheism. And so in due time, some at least of the Thibetans, reached the conception of one supreme spiritual being whom they term the *Adibuddha*—"Primal Buddha." This Primal Buddha is affirmed to be infinite, self-existent, and omniscient. Not indeed, immediately, but mediately, after the manner conceived by the ancient Gnostics, by a threefold succession of

emanations, he created the worlds. In particular, all the earthly Buddhas are manifestations of his eternal essence. As the *Avalokiteswara*, the Lord of providential mercy, he is believed to be continually incarnated in the person of the Grand Llama on the throne of Lhasa in Thibet.* Such, in the merest outline, has been the doctrinal development of Buddhism. Superstitious as it may seem to us, it is none the less profoundly instructive. It teaches that Buddhism, as delivered by its founder, did not meet and satisfy the needs of men. The soul cries out for a personal God and hearer of prayer; for an incarnate God and Redeemer. There was indeed no logical place for these conceptions in the religion of Sakya Muni. But, logical or not, the heart of man demanded and obtained a place for them in the popular religion. Thus the history of Buddhism is a confession of want, want of a personal God and incarnate Saviour; and if it be admitted that Buddhism has not yet found these, then it is plain that Buddhism is not, and cannot be, adapted to the needs of man.

Such has been the history of an atheistic religion. Let us now take the case of a pantheistic faith. When, about the year 600 or 700 of our era, Buddhism disappeared from the place of power in India, modern Brahmanism, a system of pure pantheism, took its place. Its fundamental principles are as follows: God, Brahm, is the only real and true existence. The human soul and the world are, therefore, truly God. Personality and free will are illusions; so also, by necessary consequence, are sin and righteousness. Salvation, therefore, consists simply in deliverance from the necessity of repeated births into this illusory world of personality, and reabsorption in the infinite deity. This salvation is to be reached by means of *jñāna*, knowledge, *i. e.*, the intuition of our identity with God. These propositions express the essential principles of modern Hindoo theology. Has this satisfied the people? As in the case of Buddhism, history answers, no! The people want a personal God; nor are they equal to any transcendental intuition. And so it was that Shivaism, or the doctrine that Shiva was the true personal God and Creator of the world, and that men were to raise themselves to God, not

* "Buddhism," Rhys Davids; Chap. viii.

by knowledge, but by works of a painful asceticism, became a popular form of faith. But neither could Shivaism satisfy. For man craves a God who is accessible and merciful. And Shivaism is only terrible. Man, moreover, is not equal to the task of saving himself by works any more than by knowledge and so the next development of Hindooism, still feeling its way after those truths which the Gospel alone reveals, was Vaishnavism, or the worship of Vishnu as the Supreme Lord and Creator of the world. The Vaishnavist holds that salvation is to be attained, not by knowledge or by works but by *bhakti*, or devotion to Vishnu, and that to Vishnu incarnate in Ram or Krishna, who are to-day the favorite gods of the Hindoos. And still the heart of the Hindoo is apparently not yet satisfied. For all these incarnations, it is admitted, were sinful like ourselves. Hence we are told that yet another incarnation of the Deity is still to come, the *nishkalank avatâr*, or sinless incarnation, who in the end of time being born of a virgin, is to appear riding on a white horse, with a two-edged sword in his hand, for the destruction of all wickedness and the establishment of righteousness in the earth. Thus the history of Hindooism, like that of Buddhism, shows that men cannot rest long in a religion which does not tell of a personal and incarnate God and Saviour. But the testimony to this truth is still more clear; for all through the course of modern Hindooism, men have from time to time arisen, like *Madhava*, *Kabîr*, *Tulsi Dâs*, and others, who gave expression, often with great power, to sentiments utterly foreign to the pantheism in the midst of which they lived. In a life of *Tiruvallava* the author of the Cural, a poem in the highest repute among the Tamul people of South India, we find language which has no force except the personality of God be assumed. Thus :

" Though God cannot be seen, he knoweth all
Our many needs. He feedeth every day
The frog that on the forest rock doth crawl :
And from our birth till now hath found a way
To give us day by day our daily food.
If thus it pleaseth him to do us good
Will not the future bring us plenitude?" *

* "Folk Songs of Southern India." Gover. p. 208.

"Such strife
With God is wrong. On earth all things that are,
Are those that ought to be. We may not bar
The course of things, else we God's world may mar."*

And in North India Tulsi Dás has said,

"In darkness deep men practice their religion
With fast and alms, and sacrifice and repetitions vain.
If God himself rain not upon the earth,
For all man's sowing there will be no grain."

And Kabir also had complained,

"Lord, Lord, all men are saying,
But I have another concern ;
I'm not acquainted with the Lord ;
Oh, whither shall I turn ?"

And again,

"With what face can I approach Thee ? Shame cometh unto me !
I have sinned, and Thou hast seen it ! How canst Thou delight in me ?"

Such illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely, but these will suffice. It should be plain enough that, according to history itself, it is not true that a pantheistic religion, any more than an atheistic creed, has been able to satisfy the heart of man. The whole history of Hindooism witnesses to a continual effort to adapt the prevailing creed to the unsatisfied needs of the soul. In attempting to do this, men have added, often at the expense of all logical consistency, those elements which Christianity alone supplies in fact ; or, when too clear-sighted for that, have taught such doctrines in the form of a protest against the hollow worthlessness of the popular system.

It has been thus with the history of Buddhism and Bramanism ; how has it been with Islam ? Mohammed, we shall all admit, offered the world a creed as much purer and nearer the truth, as theism is nearer the truth than atheism or pantheism. We may also freely admit, without any prejudice to our argument, that Islam has in some instances improved the state of society in idolatrous countries where it has become the religion of a people formerly idolatrous. But that is not the question. The question is whether Islam has *satisfied* the realized needs of peoples who have embraced it ? What light does the doc-

* *Ib.*, p. 210.

trinal history of Islam cast upon this matter? As is well known, the original creed proclaimed by Mohammed was very simple: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." And there is much in the Koran as regards the being and the attributes of the one God to which no Christian can possibly take any exception. The most devout and orthodox Christian in the world can join with all his heart in the Fātiha, the first chapter of the Koran:

"Praise be to God, the Lord of all the worlds!
The compassionate, the merciful,
King on the day of Judgment!
Thee only do we worship, to Thee only cry for help!
Guide Thou us in the straight path,
The path of those to whom Thou hast been gracious,
With whom Thou art not angry,
And who go not astray."

As for himself, Mohammed claimed only to be a man sent from God to preach His truth. Anything approaching to divine honors for himself or for any prophet, he emphatically forbade. Said he, in the Koran, "It becometh not a man that God should give him the Scriptures, and the wisdom and the spirit of prophecy, and that then he should say to his followers, 'Be ye worshippers of me as well as of God.'"

He admitted himself to be a sinner. He says that God had found him erring and guided him,† and prayed to be forgiven him "his former and his latter sin."‡ Any power of working miracles he utterly disclaimed.

But as regards the doctrines distinctive of and essential to Christianity, the Incarnation and the Atonement of our Lord, he explicitly rejected and repudiated them. We read in the Koran, "God begetteth, and He is not begotten, and there is none like unto Him."|| He admitted no intercession as prevailing with God for a sinner. We read, "A soul shall have no patron or intercessor with God."§ And the doctrine of salvation by substitution is denied in the following words: "A burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another."¶

Such, in its most important features, was the religion first preached to the world by Mohammed—a religion of pure and lofty theism, but a religion without a Mediator, an Incarnation,

* Sura iii. 73.

† Sura Ikhlaṣ.

‡ Sura Tirha.

§ Sura Anaam.

¶ Sura Al Fath, Abraham.

¶ Sura Najur.

or divine sacrifice for sin. Did it meet the needs, as is alleged, of those to whom it was given? Here, again, history answers, no!

Even Mohammed himself, inconsistent though it was with the doctrine which he taught, found himself compelled to recognize the demand of the human conscience for the shedding of blood as the condition of the remission of sins, and accordingly enjoined an annual sacrifice, which is still observed throughout the Mohammedan world. But even this was not enough, and after the death of Mohammed, his followers proceeded in various places to add to his religion those elements which they felt to be wanting in the original system. A great body of tradition appeared to give sanction to the new doctrines. Men feel the need of an intercessor with God. It was said that Mohammed had been appointed of God to that office. In the great day of resurrection and judgment, all the sinful sons of men shall appear before God to hear their doom, and then Mohammed shall stand up in the presence of God and cry, "*Ummati!*" (it is my people), and God shall thereupon hear him and accept the persons of all true believers in Islam and save them, while all unbelievers shall be driven from his presence into the fire of hell. But it was in Persia especially, among the Shias, that doctrinal development went to an astonishing length in the same general direction. Not only to Mohammed himself, but to the Imams, or divinely ordained successors of the prophet, and spiritual heads of Islam, were by degrees ascribed the same attributes which in the New Testament are ascribed to Christ. The Imam, it was said, must be impeccable, omniscient, and be appointed of God Himself to his high office. Next some began to affirm the pre-existence of Mohammed and his immediate successors. God, we are told, took out of His bosom a single ray of His divine light, which He then united to the bodily form of Mohammed, and called upon the angels to recognize and submit to him as the elect of all God's creatures. This spark of the divine light was also communicated to the Caliph Ali, and so on. Others went further still. Ali, said they, never died. Indeed, he and his two sons, Hassan and Hassain, together with Mohammed and Fatima, were jointly sharers in the uncreated glory. And finally, whereas men felt that the blood of a goat, as ordained

by Mohammed, could not avail to take away sin, it has come to be maintained by many among the Shia sect, that Hassan who perished upon the battle-field of Kerbela, in conflict with the rival Caliph, Muavia, died there in expiation for the sin of men. And so at last was added to the original creed of the Arabian prophet, an imitation of every doctrine distinctive of the Christian system.* That all Muslims have by no means accepted these doctrines; that in particular, the Sunnis detect these heretic Shias, does not affect our argument. It remains true, that if men had felt satisfied with the original creed of Islam, we cannot well conceive that they would have ventured to make changes and additions such as these.

Thus, as regards Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Islam alike, has neither of them ever afforded a permanent resting-place for the soul. Along each of these so different roads have men groped, seeking after three things—a personal God, an Incarnate Saviour, and a sufficient atonement for sin. In Buddhism, men found neither; Pantheism in India attempted to show man an Incarnate God. Mohammed alone proclaimed a personal God, but nothing more. Sooner or later, however, each of these three religions sought to find some place in itself for this transcendent trinity of truths, and has thus testified that no creed without them could meet the needs of men in any land or age.

And thus we are brought to answer affirmatively the question with which we began. If Christianity be, in any true sense of the words, a revelation from God, it is involved in that very affirmation that other religions are excluded from the category. This exclusive claim is an integral and inseparable part of the revelation; its teachings on the most fundamental questions are in such irreconcilable contradiction with those of other religions, that it is logically impossible that they should also be from God. Finally, it is not more clear that the Gospel of Christ has really met and satisfied all the spiritual needs of man than it is that no other religion ever has or ever can. Charity in its place is very well; but when in the name of Christian charity we are asked to "trace God" and "see His workings" in re-

* See "Islam under the Arabs," Osborn, Part II., Chap. 1, for a full account of these developments.

ligions which deny His being or His personality, or to welcome as our "best ally" in our labors for the salvation of men, a religion which, like Islam, denies the Godhead and Atonement of our Lord,"* it is time to remember that not only charity, but also righteousness and loyalty to the revealed truth of God, are Christian virtues. Just at the present time, if we mistake not, the Church needs less to learn a larger breadth of charity, than a sterner intolerance of error and falsehood.

S. H. KELLOGG.

*" Mohammed and Mohammedanism," pp. xvi., xxv.

VIII.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

EXEGETICAL NOTES.

PSALM LXXXIV. 4.

בֵּם צִפּוֹר מְצֹאָה * לָהּ בֵּית
יָרֵרֹר כֵּן לָהּ
אֲשֶׁר שָׁתָה אֶפְרָחֶיהָ
אֶת־מִזְבְּחֹתֶיהָ יְהִיָּה צִבְאוֹת

This is rendered in the A. V.: "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, *even* thine altars, O Lord of Hosts."

The passage has given trouble to the commentators. It is objected that it would be most unseemly to have allowed birds to make their nests, and hatch their young, upon places constantly used in sacrifice. This, however, is readily answered by the consideration that the term for altars (מִזְבְּחוֹת in Hebrew and *ἱερα* in Greek) may be used for any sacred place, and may be here rendered *temples* as well as *altars*. There has been, also, much doubt about the construction. Some would regard the passage as wholly allegorical, or, at least, as a comparison. The sparrow here, is the Psalmist himself, or one who compares himself to the sparrow (*sicut passer*). So Venema: "The interpreters," he says, "have erred in taking the sparrow and the swallow literally when they are used here emblematically: quid enim passibus cum altare:—for what have sparrows to do with the altar?" "Birds making their nests in altars," he proceeds to say, "are suggestive of desolation." Hence it is David himself here, who compares himself to the sparrow, or calls himself the sparrow, and the swallow, to denote his wandering, unsettled state. But if there is an unseemliness in the idea of sparrows making their nests in temples, or sacred places, there would be the same unseemliness in the figure. In the comparison, too, viewed alone as such, and applied to David, there would be a still greater unfitness in the words, "where she may lay her young." All this, however, disappears when we regard the reference as made to an actual fact in the habits of these birds.

Others regard it as a broken, unfinished sentence—the latter part of the verse having nothing to do with the swallows, but spoken by the Psalmist directly of himself, by way of contrast.

* לָהּ a conjectural emendation of the text by Dr. Lewis.—Eds.

The swallow hath found a nest, etc.
(But I) thine altars, O Lord of Hosts !

There is my rest and my abode. To this effect is the interpretation of Calvin and Stier. So also, in substance, is the translation and the exegesis of Hupfeld :

“ Auch der Sperling hat gefunden ein Haus
Und die Schwalbe hat ein Nest wohin sie gelegt hat ihre Jungen :
(Ich aber) deine Altäre, Jhvh der Heerscharen—”

All this, however, proceeds upon the idea of there being an inconsistency or an impropriety in the common thought of birds visiting, and making their nests in such sacred places. It has come from some of the Jewish Commentators. Kimchi, commenting on the passage, tells us that there were iron pikes affixed to the roof of the sacred temple, to prevent the birds from sitting upon it. In the Talmud, Tract *Menachoth*, 13, 107a, we are told that there was no need of any such precaution in respect to the first temple, since, by reason of its greater holiness and the impression of the divine presence, the birds did not dare to approach it. See Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, Vol. II., Lib. I., chap. 8.

This, however, is at war with one of the most beautiful and touching ideas of antiquity, and which, as this passage shows, the Jews held in common with the rest of the ancient world. It was the idea of refuge and protection as connected with the holy place. It was the shelter of the sinful man. There the greatest criminal was safe, with the exception (in the Jewish law) of the wilful murderer. Emblematically it was extended to the animal world, and especially to the birds, regarded as the most innocent of them all. If the robber, or the shedder of blood, in certain cases, found shelter there, much more the birds that resorted to the temples for the protection of themselves and their young. Unclean birds might, perhaps, be driven away, and the more rapacious kinds would seek for other homes, but these places would be the favorite resort for the gentler species, and the impunity which the feeling referred to would give them, would make these, in time, their most common and crowded homes. There must have been some well-known fact of this kind, or it is difficult to account for the allusion here, whether we take it directly, or as a comparison. If it is a comparison, however, it is by way of contrast to the Psalmist's own supposed condition as houseless and wandering. It has the air of saddened expostulation : How safe are the dwellers in thy house ! there even the birds find home and shelter, but I am yet “longing, yea fainting for the courts of the Lord.”

In this idea of the altar or temple's protection even to the animal creation we find the key to a passage in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, 499, 500, 523, 524, and, at the same time, the true illustration of the figure of the Psalmist. The poet is speaking of the wrongs done by wicked men to the birds, and among the greatest is their striking at them even upon the altars, or generally in the sacred places, where they were supposed to have a kind of impunity.

ὥσπερ δ' ἤδη τοὺς μαινομένους,
βάλλουσ' ὑμᾶς κἄν τοῖς ἱεροῖς.

Bothe cites the scholiast as showing this—“nam in templis tutæ debebant esse aves tanquam Diis supplices ; nefas autem violare supplices.”

In connection with this there is a reference to the passage, Herodotus, Book I., 159: Pactyas, the Lydian, had fled for refuge to the oracle at Branchidae in the territory of Miletus. On the demand of the Persians they were about to surrender him; whereupon Aristodicus proceeded to take all the nests of young sparrows and other birds that he could find about the building, when a voice, proceeding from the inner shrine, thus addresses him: ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων τί τάδε τολμᾷς ποιεῖν; τοὺς ἱκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραιζεῖς; ; "O, most impious man, what is this you dare to do?" Will you tear my suppliants from my temple?" It will be seen from the context that this was done by way of reproof to the conductors of the oracle, and to show the greater impiety of giving up the human suppliant who had fled there for shelter and defence.

It is in this idea of protection that we see the great beauty and force of expression, so frequent in the Scriptures, which represents the house of God, and God himself, as a home, a dwelling-place, a sanctuary. Compare Psalm xvi. 6, יְשׁוּבָתִי בְּבֵית יְהוָה לְאָרְךָ יְיָ, "and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for length of days:" Also, Psalm xc. i. כִּי מְעוֹן אֲפָהָה דְּוִתְךָ לָנוּ, בְּדוֹר וָדוֹר, "Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling-place generation after generation."

It is somewhat singular that no commentator, English or German, should have made any reference to classical ideas, and passages so strikingly applicable to this much controverted text of the Psalmist. TAYLER LEWIS.

The Theological Faculties in the German Universities. The summer Semester of 1879 was marked by a very decided increase in the number of students in attendance upon the instruction of the Protestant Faculties. The twenty-one Universities ordinarily making returns in the Calendars which reach us (seventeen in Germany, three in German Switzerland, and Dorpat), had reported 1,879 as attending the preceding winter, while last summer the number is 2,144. The explanation of this sudden advance of one-seventh in a single Semester is not obvious. Ten years earlier (winter of 1868-9), nineteen Universities (Strassburg not having been founded until 1872, and Dorpat not reporting through the German Calendars at that time), had reported 2,291. Between 1871-2, and 1876-7, there had been a decrease of nearly 500 in the number of students, only 1,660 being reported for the winter last named. There was much anxious inquiry into the reasons. The numbers are still considerably below those of former years, but are rapidly recovering.

Among the Universities, Leipsic leads, with 379 and 419 for the last two Semesters. Halle, which had dropped to the fifth place, again stands second. Berlin, which had been second, is now fifth, Tübingen and Erlangen ranking third and fourth. Zürich, Bern, Giessen, and Heidelberg, had each less than twenty-five in attendance last summer.

The recent changes in the Faculties are not numerous. The year 1878 had removed by death: Beck and Landerer, of Tübingen; Müller and Guericke,

of Halle; Ehrenfeuchter, of Gottingen, and Keim of Giessen. We recall only Diestel, of Tübingen, as having died last year. Nor have the transfers been important. Schürer and Harnack, who were extraordinary Professors at Leipzig, are now ordinary Professors at Giessen. Kähler, who was extraordinary, has become ordinary Professor at Halle, as also Kayser at Strassburg. Kübel has been added to the Tübingen Faculty.

Of the veterans, Hase of Jena (at the age of 79); Lange, at Bonn (77); Reuss, at Strassburg, and Immer at Berne (75), and Lüdemann at Kiel (74); announce full courses for the current Semester. In other faculties there are more remarkable instances. Bachmann, of Rostock (Phil. Fac.), and Von Heusinger of Marburg (Med.), are lecturing at 88; Ratjen, of Kiel (Phil.), at 86; Elvenich, of Breslau (Phil.), at 84, and several others at 80-82.

Of the Catholic Faculties, Tübingen, Vienna, Würzburg, Münster, Bonn, and Munich, attract the most students, in the order just given. The attendance at twelve institutions in the winter of 1878-9 was 1,014.

The Faculty at Czernowitz (Greek Church, opened in 1875), reported forty-six students as in attendance last summer.

A.

The Empire of the Hittites. It is not very long since the reference to the "kings of the Hittites," in 2 Kings vii. 6, was made an occasion, among others, for challenging the credibility of that part of the Old Testament. No kings of the Hittites were known that could be desirable allies to powerful Egypt, or formidable enemies to the Syrians. Hieroglyphic and cuneiform interpretation, however, early began to show that for a considerable number of centuries such a power existed in the region of the Orontes and middle Euphrates. Through the work of Brugsch-Bey, Ebers, Schrader, and others scholars have become familiar with the testimony of inscriptions like those of Thotmes III., Seti I., Ramses II. and III. of Egypt, and Tiglath Pileser I., Shalmaneser II., Sargon, and others of Assyria, belonging to different periods between the 16th and the 8th centuries B.C. Kadesh on the Orontes and Carchemish on the Euphrates, especially the latter, find frequent mention as chief cities of the Cheta (Egypt.) or Chatti (Assyr.) No connection is indicated in the monuments, or can as yet in any way be traced, between the Canaanite Hittites and this northern and far more powerful kingdom.

A recent article in the London *Times* (Jan. 30, weekly edition), gathers up some of the latest results of exploration, and indicates some of the new problems which are opening to archæologists and philologists in this connection.

Mr. Skene, British Consul at Aleppo, before 1877, and Mr. Henderson, his successor, with Mr. George Smith (just before his death, in the summer of 1876), have identified, decisively, the site of Carchemish, fixing it at *Jerabis* (*Terabulus*, Schrad.), on the west bank of the Euphrates, 60 miles (approximately) N. E. of Aleppo, and 40 S. E. from Aintab. Mr. Henderson is directing the excavations now in progress, and the first representative sculptures and inscriptions have recently reached the British Museum. We have now something undeniably Hittite with which other sculptures and inscriptions can be compared, beside the single one discovered by Mr. George Smith, of which Dr. Ward gave some account last year to the American Oriental Society. The

resemblance is clear between these forms and characters, and a few perplexing impressions found by Mr. Layard in Sennacherib's palace; again, between the and the well-known Hamath inscriptions, which seem to be only later modifications of the types found at Carchemish. Still others are found at Eyuk and Boghar-Keui on the Halys, at Ibreez in Lycaonia, between Pessinus and Ancyra in Galatia, and even in the sculptures near Ephesus and Smyrna, which Herodotus ascribed to Sesostris. It is thought that the sources of the Cypriot Syllabary may be found here, and that certain ancient forms of Greek art may now be brought into clearer relation with the art of Western Asia. It is plain that another intermediary channel than the Phœnician is now opened for the investigation and estimate of scholars.

One of the minor curiosities in this line of discovery is, that the double-headed eagle appears first on Hittite monuments. The results of further excavation at Carchemish are awaited with lively interest. The site of Kadash-ber, is about to be explored by Lieut. Conder, from whom good service may be expected. Plainly, there can be no more cavil in regard to the credibility of the Books of Kings, based on the insignificance of the kings of the Hittites.

The American Journal of Philology.—With the month of February, the above-mentioned journal began its life, edited by Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Ph.D., of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. It is to be published quarterly, at the price of \$3 per year. This journal will be welcome to that large class of scholars who are particularly interested in the various departments of Philology, as well as to all those who would have, in a brief and comprehensive form, the latest achievements in this most important science. We know of no one so well fitted to edit such a journal as Dr. Gildersleeve, well and widely known as an experienced teacher of the classic languages, as well as a fresh and original thinker and investigator in the science of Philology. Without doubt, the most competent philologists will rally around him in their various departments. There is nothing so much needed in American scholarship as special studies enthusiastically and faithfully pursued. But specialists need the sympathy and help of kindred souls, who can appreciate their work through their own experience in special study. They need to bring their spoils, gathered in many different departments, into some common treasury for the use of all. A journal is all-important for this purpose.

We would call the attention of the editor and his constituents, at the outset, to the important department of Semitic Philology, so sadly neglected in our colleges and in general by Indo-Germanic philologists. The Theological Seminaries are doing more for this department than ever before, but they need the sympathy and help of the colleges before they can accomplish the highest and best results.

We trust that this *Journal* will receive prompt and adequate support, through a large number of paying subscribers.

C. A. B.

IX.

REVIEWS OF

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

I.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

BIBLIOTHECA RABBINICA. EINE SAMMLUNG ALTER MIDRASCHIM, von DR. AUG. WÜNSCHE. Erste Lieferung: der Midrasch Kohelet. 8vo, pp. 96. Otto Schultze, Leipzig. [B. Westermann & Co., New York]. 1880.

The author of this valuable work is well known to scholars by his previous labors in Rabbinical and Biblical learning, having published his Commentary on Hosea, 1868, on Joel, 1872, *Leiden des Messias*, 1870, and *Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 1878, all rich in citations from Jewish literature. He proposes to publish at first the Midrasch Rabboth in twelve parts, the first of which is now at hand. This Midrasch is full of *Haggadoth* upon the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth (Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, and Esther). As Wünsche says, it is a reservoir into which almost the entire stream of this method of interpretation poured itself. Many hundred rabbins of various centuries appear therein and speak their religious opinions in shorter or longer pieces, in richly imaginative stories, legends, and allegories; and in parables, sententious sayings, and maxims.

The age of this Midrasch cannot be accurately determined. It is the result of a gradual accumulation of material embracing the entire period of the Tanaïm and Amorain. We find a large number of parables, stories, and sayings that are in the Biblical style, showing us that we have here the same minds essentially that were employed by the Holy Spirit in giving us the sacred Scriptures. This style of exegesis is far more valuable to Christians than that of the *Halacha* with its casuistic hair-splitting of the legalistic Pharisaic type. We present two brief specimens:

(1). On Eccl. i. 2: "The seven vanities of which Koheleth here speaks, may be compared with the seven changes of man's life. In the first year he is like a king's son who rests upon a cushion. All embrace and kiss him. In the second and third years he is like a pig, because he sticks his hand in the gutter. In the tenth year he hops like a young buck. In the twentieth year he neighs like a horse, dresses and will have a wife. When married he is like a burdened ass. When he has children his face becomes bold as a dog's in order to get bread. When finally he becomes old, he is like an ape. Yet this is the case only with the uncultivated; the man of cultivation is still in his age called a king."

(2). On Eccl. iii. 9: "A king made a feast and invited guests to it, but directed that each one should bring with him something to sit upon. Many brought cushions, many beds, many coverlets of felt, many stones, and many sticks. The king looked around upon all and said, Let every one sit on that which he has brought with him. Those who sat on sticks and stones murmured against the king and said, Is it be-

coming for a king that his guests should sit on sticks and stones? When the heard this, he spake to them: Not satisfied with disgracing my palace, upon which I have expended so much, with your stones and sticks, do you still presume to complain against me? This honor have you shown to yourselves. So will likewise the wicked, when they are condemned to hell, murmur against God and say: We have hoped in God's help, and shall we now lose it? Then God will speak to them. Were ye not in the world, in which you lived, quarrelsome, slanderous, violent, laden with all kinds of crimes, as it is written in Is. l. 11? Or do you perhaps suppose that these things come to you from me? No you have brought it upon yourselves.

We trust that some competent scholar ere long may give us these and the Midraschim in *English*: and that a large subscription list will reward Dr. Williams for his labors, and encourage him to prosecute his work to the end, and even to make it still more comprehensive than is now proposed.

C. A. B.

NOTES CHIEFLY CRITICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL ON THE HEBREW PSALMS. By WILLIAM ROSCOE BURGESS, M.A. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 436. Williams & Norgate, London. [B. Westermann & Co., New York]. 1879.

This is not a continuous commentary on the Psalms, but annotations on such "passages as seem to require annotation." The author very properly insists that he who would truly interpret the devout utterances of the Psalmists, must have a clear understanding of the religious ideas which they cherished, and the religious system under which they lived. The specific advance which he claims to have made, and by means of which he fancies that new light is thrown upon the interpretation of various passages in the Psalter, and particularly upon Ps. xl. and li., relates to the puzzling and much-disputed distinction between the sin-offering and the trespass-offering of the Levitical code. His view is that the Abrahamic covenant was one of grace and faith; upon this the Mosaic law was superinduced as a system of works. The Israelites were accordingly subject to both, and the two species of sacrifice before spoken of corresponded to these two dispensations respectively. The sin-offering was for that general sinfulness which was not inconsistent with the continuance of the covenant relation. The trespass-offering was for specific breaches of the Mosaic law by omission or commission, which involved a violation of this covenant relation.

In his own words, p. 312, "Certain offences were considered as breaches of the covenant. Until these were expiated, the sin-offering was not allowed. For such of them as were expiable, the trespass-offering was appointed. This was the means of restoration to covenant privileges; and accordingly it was always followed by a special sin-offering, just as in the Christian Church penance restores a man to Communion, and specially to the privilege of participating in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion."

In accordance with this theory he insists that Ps. xl. 6 "Mine ears (אזני) hast thou opened" should be read "a trespass-offering (אשם) hast thou provided me;" peace-offering and meat-offering, burnt-offering and sin-offering not being allowed in consequence of an antecedent transgression. The term "body" inserted here in the Septuagint and the New Testament is urged as confirming this supposed reading, on the ground that while the blood was the essential thing in the sin-offering, it was not the blood, but the body which was mainly regarded in the trespass-offering. And this distinction he finds further reflected in the New Testament, where certain benefits are ascribed to the body or flesh of Christ and certain others to His blood.

This specimen may sufficiently illustrate the ingenuity and the fanciful character of the novel interpretations here proposed for various difficult texts in Pss. i.-lxxiii., and the inclination of the author to seek relief for real or imaginary difficulties by means of conjectural emendations of the text.

W. H. G.

ZECHARIAH AND HIS PROPHECIES, CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO MODERN CRITICISM, WITH A CRITICAL AND GRAMMATICAL COMMENTARY AND NEW TRANSLATION, by CHARLES HENRY HAMILTON WRIGHT, B.D. (Bampton Lectures for 1878). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1879.

Mr. Wright gives us, in a book of 600 pages, the results of very conscientious labor. No English commentary has appeared for a long time, in which the points of interest have been so thoroughly discussed, and an acquaintance so wide and appreciative has been shown with the work of other scholars. The method is that of continuous exposition, but an original translation is prefixed, and a critical and grammatical commentary appended to the book. The style is often diffuse, yet the thought is not slovenly; no difficulty is slurred; every view of weight is duly considered.

Mr. Wright believes the book of Zechariah to be the work of one post-exilian author, though years may have elapsed between the composition of cc. 1-8, and that of cc. 9-14 (Pp. xxxiv., 200). Ezra v. 1, and vi. 14 (where Zechariah is called son of Iddo, instead of Berechiah, Zech. i. 1), he explains as is usually done, by assuming the unimportance or early death of Berechiah, and an inexact use of the word יְחִיָּהּ. He gives the full strength of external testimony for one authorship, sketches the history of critical opinion, and passes to internal arguments. The grounds *against* integrity are substantially these: 1. *Difference of style* between the two parts. That of cc. 1-8 is prosaic; that of cc. 9-14 poetical and imaginative. 2. *Quotations* from cc. 9-14 in pre-exilian and exilian authors. 3. *Difference of historical points of view*. a. Mention of Israel (house of Joseph, Ephraim) as existing by the side of Judah. b. Mode of alluding to Damascus, Hadrach, Hamath, Tyre, Philistia, as if still independent. c. Assyria and Egypt are present enemies. d. Allusion to Greece, c. ix. 13. Comp. Joel iii. 6. e. Captives shall return to Gilead and Lebanon, c. x. 10; an apparent allusion to the depopulation of those regions by Tiglath-Pileser. f. Idolatry is still rife in Judah, cc. x. 2, xiii. 2. To this array of arguments Mr. Wright makes answer. 1. cc. 1-8 are a simple record of visions actually seen by the prophet; cc. 9-14 give more scope to his individuality (P. xxix). Yet there is poetry in c. ii. 10-17, as well as prose in c. xiii. 1-6. We find differences of style in other prophets, as Hos. 1-3, comp. with cc. 4-14; Ezek. 4, 5, comp. with cc. 6, 7, or 27, 28. 2. It is, on the contrary, Zechariah who quotes from other prophets, for as Perowne has well said: "It is more *probable* that one writer should have allusions to many others, than that many others should borrow from one" (Pp. xxxiv-xxxviii.) We may, however, be allowed to suggest that one original, striking, epoch-making prophecy would be likely to influence many succeeding authors; and, as to the details, many of the similarities here adduced between the earlier prophets and Zech. 9-14, allow quite as well—some of them better—of Zechariah's being the original; e. g. Zech. xiii. 2, comp. Hos. ii. 19 (17); Zech. xiv. 8, comp. Ezek. xlvi. 1-12, and Joel iv. 18 (iii. 18), etc. In other passages the resemblance is too slight to prove anything, e. g. c. ix. 12, comp. Is. xlix. 9; c. ix. 3, comp. 1 Ki. x. 27. The argument from quotations is, therefore, not conclusive. The question of unity must be fought out on the line of 3. *The historical point of view*. Mr. Wright remarks: a. Judah and Israel are mentioned side by side, c. viii. 13, as well as cc. 9-14 (p. 243). He matches c. xi. 14, with Ezek. xxxvii. 15-28 (p. 344). Besides, "Israel is a name often given to Judah alone, and is so used in the post-exilian prophets," (P. xxx.) A positive argument for post-exilian authorship is the absence of allusion to a king of Israel or Judah (P. xxxviii.) b. Prophecies against surrounding nations do not prove them independent, for Jeremiah (after the Assyrian conquest) prophesies against Damascus and Hamath (Jer. xlix. 23, 24). Tyre was not destroyed till the time of Alexander (p. 211). (But this does not decide the date of the *prophecy*). Gaza had a king, c. ix. 5, in Alexander's time, if Hegesias says truly.—We must, however, observe that the commander of Gaza is not styled king by Dionysius nor Josephus, nor Arrian (who calls him a

"eunuch"); and, therefore, the argument is not so strong as Mr. Wright thinks (pp. 215, 216). Nor does it meet the criticism that a king of Gaza, *contemporary with the prophet*, was necessary to suggest this form of the prophecy. More to the point is the remark (p. 215), that the Persians, like the Assyrians and Babylonians, allowed semi-independence to many conquered districts. The conversion of the Philistines, c. ix. 7, never prophesied before the exile, is a positive argument for unity. c. x. 10, 11, because Assyria carried off the ten tribes. But c. x. 10, the king of Babylon is called king of Assyria, Ezra vi. 22, 2 Ki. xxiii. 29, etc. (p. 215). Yet the argument is here confused, for the author holds that the "pride of Assyria" was "brought down" by Darius, King of Babylon. The mention of Egypt he refers to the traditional hostility existing from the time of the exodus, and supposes that even now individual Jews were held there in bondage (pp. 509, 292). d. Joel iii. 1, was not directed against the Greeks, who merely *bought* Hebrews as slaves, but against the *sellers*. No such conflict as in Zech. ix. 13, could be thought of till the burning of Sardis, B.C. 499, had spread the terror of the Grecian name (p. 255). Gilead and Lebanon can, as a part put for the whole, denote the entire land, E. of W. of the Jordan (pp. 293-4). This argument is not strengthened by reference to Ezek. xvii., for that is a *parable*; a comparison, not a literal, nor even poetical rhetorical allusion to the whole land as "Lebanon." Mi. vii. 14, is also of doubtful value here. f. Idolatry is spoken of, Mr. Wright thinks, as a sin of the fathers. Yet he, at the same time, endeavors to show that danger of it was not yet past (pp. 267, 268, 413f.). So much for the integrity of the book. That cc. 9-11 have the same author with cc. 12-14, is shown in the course of the exposition.

The exposition itself is sober, careful, and in most cases well-sustained (yet the author does not always distinguish sharply between the prophet's own understanding of his prophecy, and the subsequent fulfilment. In illustration, see the prophecy against Tyre [p. 211 f.]). A few passages claim especial attention: The great prophecy of the coming of the King, c. ix. 9, Mr. Wright refers, as we should expect directly to the Messiah. The "lowly" of the A. V. is rather "afflicted" (עָנִי) though the prophet and his hearers may probably have understood it only in the former sense. The "ass" is no mark of poverty or humility, nor does it distinctly symbolize peace, but simply the absence of all ostentation. The prophecy was strikingly fulfilled in Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, but this event was not *essential to its* fulfilment. Its full scope takes in Jesus' whole life "in one striking picture." The "one month," c. xi. 8, is *symbolical*, and denotes a period of about thirty years. The fulfilment is in the period B.C. 172-141, within which "the three evil shepherds, Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus Eupator, and Demetrius, were successively cut off." The prophecy of the thirty shekels of silver (v. 12) may have reference to the "manner in which the prophets in general were treated in almost every age," but attained its complete fulfilment in the treatment of Jesus. It would have been substantially fulfilled, even if the chief priests had not bargained with Judas; for the contemptuous rejection of Christ, symbolized in the prophecy, had taken place before His actual seizure and death. In the prophecy of repentance and mourning over sin, c. xii. 10, "Jerusalem" stands for the whole people, "House of David" for their rulers. Both these are subjects of "shall look upon me," and "have pierced." The national mourning takes place for this "me" (the prophet as representative of Jehovah). The "pierced" is fulfilled in the death of Jesus, but no emphasis must be laid on piercing with the *spear*, for the verb דָּקַךְ suggests rather death by the *sword*. The essential fact is that the Messiah was put to death.

Such are some details of the exposition. Many more might be given, but the standpoint and scope of the book are already clear. It is, as a whole, scholarly, reasonable, strong. It will quicken and guide exegetical study; it will teach men to look with boldness and composure at questions of criticism; it sets an example of respect

and Christian charity toward opponents; and on all these grounds it claims grateful acknowledgment from Biblical scholars. F. B.

ALTTESTAMENTLICHE THEOLOGIE, VON DR. HERMANN SCHULTZ. 2te völlig umgearbeitete Auflage. 8vo, pp. 838. Heyder & Zimmer, Frankfurt. [B. Westermann & Co., New York]. 1878.

The first edition of the Biblical Theology of Schultz appeared in 1869. He has long devoted himself to this subject, having in 1863 issued the posthumous work of Hävernicks on the Theology of the Old Testament, in a second edition with notes and additions. This edition differs from the previous, in an entire change of ground with reference to the composition of the Pentateuch. The author has fallen in with the tendency of the times on the Continent, and with Kayser, Wellhausen, and a large number of the younger men, has adopted the views of Graf and Kuenen, that the *Jakvist* is older than the *Elohists*, the latter belonging to the Babylonian period, the former to the age of Solomon, leaving but a nucleus of the Pentateuch, which he names C, to the latter part of the Mosaic age. Hence, there is a transposition of documents, and of the theology that they contain, in this edition, when compared with the previous one. The former historical divisions fall away, and the Mosaic period embraces the entire time until about 800 B.C., the time of the rapid decline of the divided kingdom. This is followed by the prophetic period, which first reaches its climax of lawgiving, of attachment to sacred forms, as well as intense spirituality during the exile, and continues until the erection of the Levitical State, by Ezra and Nehemiah. This, however, was merely transitional to the period of the apocryphal books, and so is not worthy of being regarded as a separate period by the side of the others, and comes in the way of an appendix. When compared with the previous edition, notwithstanding it is enriched in many respects by the more thorough study, and more accurate statement of particular doctrines, yet, in presenting a system of Biblical Theology, it has fallen very far behind. Anything like a historical development of doctrine becomes impossible in a scheme like this; for while there may be many difficulties in adopting the traditional views as to the composition of the sacred books, and of tracing the history of doctrine through them, there are far greater difficulties, we are assured, in this massing of the literature in the period of the depression of the national life, and in making their golden age of literature, and of theology, culminate during their exile and captivity in a foreign land. As Ewald's views of Introduction rendered it impossible for him to construct a Biblical Theology in periods of historical development, so the scheme of Kuenen and Graf has broken down and reduced itself to absurdity in this work of Schultz. We cannot but think that the war of critical schools will result, ere long, in a more sober view of the Biblical material; that it will be seen that the history of doctrine in the divine revelation to Israel, will require not only a historical sequence of writings and documents, but also the unfolding of parallel types and modes of thought in the Old Testament as a preparation for the same course of development in the New Testament. As choice parts of the work, we would mention chap. xxi., the character of the consciousness of redemption in Israel, chap. xxv., the doctrine of reconciliation in the Old Testament. Notwithstanding the defects of the work from a historic point of view, we cannot but regard it as the most complete and satisfactory presentation of the theology of the Old Testament as a whole that has yet appeared. C. A. B.

KRITISCH EXEGETISCHER KOMMENTAR ÜBER DAS NEUE TESTAMENT, VON DR. H. A. W. MEYER. MARKUS U. LUKAS, VON DR. B. WEISS, 6. Aufl., 1878. EPHESERBRIEF, VON DR. W. SCHMIDT, 5. Aufl., 1878. THESSALONICHERBRIEFE, VON DR. G. LÜNEMANN, 4. Aufl., 1878. HEBRÄERBRIEF, VON DR. G. LÜNEMANN, 4. Aufl., 1878. JOHANNESBRIEFE, VON DR. J. E. HUTHER, 4. Aufl., 1880. [B. W. & Co., N. Y.]

Four of these commentaries have been for some time before the public, and may be dismissed in few words. The first and second are revisions of Meyer's own work;

the others are original productions of the scholars whose names they bear. Yet in Professor Weiss' book there is really more originality than in any of these latter. He has thoroughly worked over the materials of Meyer's last edition in a conscientious endeavor to be just to the world of students who will use the commentary as well as to the memory of Meyer himself. Professor Weiss has few equals—if he has any—among living New Testament exegetes, in acuteness and in grasp, in freedom from subjective bias, joined with deep personal faith. In regard to the composition of the Gospels he differs with Meyer, holding that Mark is the oldest of our three synoptics; but that Mark was based not only on oral reports, but also on the Greek translation of an earlier Aramaic work, containing chiefly, but not exclusively, discourses of Jesus. Matthew and Luke were written on the basis of this same document and Mark together, but Matthew and Luke were independent of each other. Professor Weiss' views, and the close and skilful exegesis by which he supports them, are already well known from his "Marcusevangelium" and "Matthäusevangelium." But without discussing this, the freshness and clearness of his exposition make the use of his works at all times a pleasure.

Dr. Schmidt, on the other hand, has made few changes in Meyer. He does little more than notice recent literature, and modify or extend various statements, in order to meet new criticism. His position that the Epistle to the Ephesians is the letter to the Laodicæans of Col. iv. 16, and that it is thus of earlier date than Colossians, will hardly stand.

Dr. Lünemann's "Thessalonicherbriefe" need not detain us. His "Hebräerbrief" suffers under the disadvantages which attend the assumption of Apollos as author of this epistle. The clear tradition of the African Church, which gives us instead the name of Barnabas (confirmed by all we know of Barnabas), cannot be outweighed by a mere hypothesis, however favorite it has become.

In the twelve years since Dr. Huther's third edition of his Commentary on John's Epistles, his views have not been materially changed. He still maintains the authenticity of these writings; the argument for the 2d and 3d Epp.—less decisive indeed, than for the 1st, he still regards as reaching the highest probability. In one particular he has grown more positive. The third edition showed a degree of uncertainty—shared by many candid men—whether, to save the Epistles (and the Gospel), the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse must not be given up. Now, he has dropped the doubtful tone, and defends the common authorship of Gospel, Epistles, and Revelation. In other particulars, he agrees with current views. All three letters were probably written in Ephesus in the last quarter of the apostolic period. The heresy combated in the 1st Ep. is Docetism of the earlier form as taught by Cerinthus. We pass to one or two details of the exegesis. 1 John i. 1. *ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς*, denotes *not* the Word which brings life, but the Word "whose essential nature consists in *being* life." 1 John v. 6, *ὁ υἱος*, and *αἵμα* denotes Christ's baptism by John, through which he entered upon his redemptive office, and his death, whereby he wrought the redemption itself. V. 7 (T. R. v. 8, v. 7 being an interpolation) declares that the Holy Spirit (become a lasting possession of the Church), together with the facts of Christ's baptism and death, are permanent witnesses to him as Messiah and Redeemer. 1 John v. 20, *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεός* etc., Huther refers to God the Father on the following grounds: 1. God has already been called *ὁ ἀληθινός*, in this same verse. 2. Father and Son are everywhere distinguished from each other in this epistle. 3. Logical connection requires that we be told who the *ἀληθινός* is, who has hitherto been mentioned by this characteristic only. 4. The Father can on the same ground as the Son be called *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*. We object briefly: 1. The repetition would, on Huther's view, be tautology. 2. Father and Son are distinguished in John's Gospel also; nevertheless, Thomas' words (John xx. 28) refer to Christ. 3. The connection of thought is this: We know the veritable God, because we are in His Son, *who himself is the veritable God*. 4-

atter of fact, *not* the Father, but the Son, is with John *ὁ υἱός*. (See Weiss' Theol. N. T., p. 618, al.)

On the whole, we may, however, say of all these commentators, that while none of them, if we except Weiss, shows anything like the penetration and vigor which characterize Meyer; they are all learned, thorough, and sober, and their books are the welcome they are sure to have. F. B.

COMMENTAIRE SUR L'ÉPÎTRE AUX ROMAINS, PAR F. GODET, Docteur en Théologie, Professeur à la Faculté de l'Eglise Indépendante de Neuchâtel. Vol. I., pp. vii., 502. Paris: Sandoz & Fischbacher. 1879. [B. W. & Co., N. Y.]

Those acquainted with the author's commentaries on Luke and John will welcome from him on Romans. A second volume is to complete this work. Of Vol. I. pp. are Introduction. The Commentary extends to Chap. v. 21. The Introduction, of five chapters, treats of: The life and labors of Paul; The foundation and position of the Church in Rome; The author, date, and aim of the Epistle; Analysis of the Epistle; The preservation of the text, and the principal commentators. In all these topics the author shows that he has mastered all the literature important to his subject, and especially all that German scholarship has produced. In Germany his commentary on John is recognized as the peer of the best of its German contemporaries in solid and extensive learning. The present work deserves equal recognition, and will doubtless receive it. As regards style of composition and fine, critical tact, it may well be the envy of all German commentators and of nearly all English. The reader will think the following apology needless: "It is better to incur the reproach of dryness, which will not repel any serious reader, than to indulge in a prolixity that would injure still more the usefulness of this commentary." The Introduction sets forth the contending views current in this century relating to Paul and this Epistle, and the chief authors concerned, which an admirable classification makes brief and clear. Few will think of making the reproach that the author deprecates: "that he has not foraged more thoroughly in the immense library that has by degrees formed about this writing of St. Paul."

We have here a skilful exegesis and sure results, without a formidable use of Greek and Hebrew words and long quotations in dead languages. The author's method relies chiefly on the logical relation of the context, and on pursuing keenly, with a fresh scent, the progress of thought. Where a composition is worth study, his method compels words and phrases to confess their exact meaning by the company in which they are found. In most instances one need look no further. Even an unusual sense of a word can be detected as unerringly as we detect an unsuspected trait in a man by finding him in unwonted company. To facilitate this close suit of the progress of thought, the author relegates many necessary discussions to foot-notes, or to special tracts in smaller type. An example of the latter, on expiation, p. 342 *seq.*, merits particular attention. Persons of fair scholarship and limited leisure can read this work with interest and profit. Commonly they are wildered and deterred by a dreary waste of lexical and grammatical matter, which they are expected to traverse before reaching the meaning of a passage. We suppose this, like other works of our author, will be reproduced in English.

Sympathy in the following sentiment may draw many to read this commentary: "I believe the divine conception of salvation, set forth by St. Paul in this fundamental writing, more seriously menaced at the present than at any other epoch. It is not only its pronounced enemies that assail it; its natural defenders abandon

In these divine facts of expiation and justification by faith . . . how many Christians see nothing more than a theological system, crammed with Jewish notions, that St. Paul himself conceived in meditating upon Jesus Christ and upon His work."

This witness is true;" and nothing can be more seasonable than commentaries

on Romans from competent hands, that aim to vindicate Paul's profound production, showing that it is what Paul claimed that all his preaching was, viz: "*Gospel which he received by the revelation of Jesus Christ*," (Gal. i. 11, 12).

S. T. I.

ERKLÄRUNG DER KORINTHIERBRIEFE. Erster Band: Das erste Sendschreiben u. s. w., erklärt von DR. C. F. GEORG HEINRICI. 8vo, pp. 574. Wilhelm Hertz, Berlin, 1880. [B. Westermann & Co., New York].

This is not a purely exegetical commentary. Its object is specifically historical; the reconstruction of the congregational life and relations of the Corinthians—as a contribution toward the history of early gentile Christianity. This object affects, of course, the whole plan and execution. It demands a long historical introduction—69 pages—learned, acute, and apart from the acceptance of some of the results of modern negative criticism, in the main, sober. It also determines the form of the exposition. The conventional form of commentary is laid aside, and all technical matter thrown into foot-notes. The body of the book is thus made readable: the words of the apostle are only the woof of the discourse, into which is wrought in a very pleasant way every notice—gathered from all kinds of sources—which could throw light on the life of the first Christian congregations on Hellenic ground. The notes supply the sources of the matter used, and the proofs of the statements made in the text, and enable the author to be critical at the same time that he is agreeable. But though the historical purpose is dominant, the general exposition is yet honestly undertaken and executed in detail. The text used is Tischendorf's VI II, freely handled as the author's critical canons demanded—the chief of which is that the concurrence of ancient versions and citations overbears the concurrence of codices. Nor are linguistic questions shunned. Early classical analogies are not, however, esteemed valuable; the author holding that the usage of the N. T., LXX. and O. T. Apocrypha alone can be confidently appealed to. Homer and Herodotus required glossaries in the Hellenistic age and bear about the same relation to the N. T. as say Wolfram von Eschenbach to Goethe.

The Epistle is regarded as the most elegant of Paul's letters—because, though written in anxious love, it is yet written in firm confidence of victory. Paul is, in a word, master of the situation. His style is, therefore, rich and beautiful, calm and unbroken. Though thus comparatively free from difficulties of construction, it is yet full of historical difficulties. These are of great importance from the standpoint of the author. It would be interesting to exhibit his treatment of them. Take an example—the *parties* of Chap. 1. He determines on grammatical grounds that *four* parties are mentioned, and adds some very fine remarks on the connection of verse 13 *sq.* with verse 12—unwarrantably assuming, however (with Keim), that verses 13–16 refer to abuses arising from the teaching of Apollos, on the ground that as John's disciple he laid great stress on baptism. Out of this is also explained iv. 29. Baptism being viewed as the only means of union with Christ, it was natural that if a believer died unbaptized, another should receive the rite in his behalf, in order that he might still be saved. This is not a new interpretation; but since the germans of at least three heresies lurk in such a custom, it is new to hear from Heinrici that Paul looked at it with indifference.

The book is a substantive addition to the literature of the Epistle. B. B. W.

LEHRBUCH DER BIBLISCHEN THEOLOGIE DES NEUEN TESTAMENTS. Von Dr. B. W. WEISS. 3te umgearbeitete Auflage. 8vo, pp. 708. W. Hertz, Berlin. [B. W. & Co., N. Y.] 1880.

This able, as we may say, masterly work of Weiss, has received increasing attention since its first issue in 1868, when it had to compete with the popular, though posthumous work of Schmid. Taking an intermediate position between the schools of Neander and Baur, he differs somewhat from both in his methods, distinguishing

between biblical theology, which has to do with the variety of doctrinal conceptions in the different writers and writings, and biblical dogmatics, which has to do with their unity; and also ruling out those great historical facts in the life of Jesus and His apostles, upon which Schmid laid so much stress. In these respects we cannot but give the preference to the method of Schmid, though doubtless he is open to criticism for a disproportionate treatment of these topics. This edition does not differ from the previous ones in conception or methods, but only in the more thorough treatment of particular topics, and the critical examination of the more recent diverging views of the material. In this respect there is such painstaking accuracy, such good judgment in the solid massing of material, as calls for high commendation and admiration. In the field that the author has marked out for himself, his work must be regarded as pre-eminent over all, and demands the careful study of biblical students.

C. A. B.

II.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF ST. PAUL. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. 2 vols., 8vo. pp. xxii. 678, xii. 668. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1879.

Perhaps one reason for a disappointment which has been expressed with Dr. Farrar's "Paul," as compared with his "Life of Christ," is due to the difference in the character of the subjects. There is a unity, and compactness of material in the "Life of Christ," which combined with the transcendent interest of the subject, carries the reader along unflaggingly to the end. But in the case of "Paul," the length of time covered, the various Epistles to be criticised, the entirely different conditions of the churches to which they were addressed, interrupt this impetus, and distract attention to new topics. In the "Life of Christ" also, Dr. Farrar made public the new light which has been thrown on many points, especially the Trial, while the "Life of Paul" offers much less that is new to those familiar with the literature of the subject.

It is a great thing to have a book that people will read, so full of the spirit of the New Testament. While there is much to criticise, the general result can not fail to be the diffusion of right views which will fortify men against scepticism. The very thing which gives character to the book, the constructive imagination, building out sometimes from the slightest hint, a vivid picture the details for which are drawn from the scenery and literature of the times, gives occasion for the exaggerated inferences which have been freely pointed out by the press. The personal description of Paul, his helplessness, repulsiveness, and nervousness; his absolute insensibility to nature; his ignorance of the classics, side by side with the recognition of his knowledge of philosophy in his speech at Athens are examples; and the high coloring given by using as fact, much that at the utmost can be accepted only as possible, characterizes the whole work, and impairs confidence in its judgments. But these defects need not seriously interfere with its usefulness.

A very valuable feature of the book is the clear and decided assertion of the Canonicity of all of the Epistles of Paul. In these days, of the popularizing of critical doubts, and of confident negative assertions, it is good service to have so hearty a reaffirmation of the integrity of the New Testament, so widely read. The fine vindication of the Pastorals on the ground of their internal evidence, and by comparison with early patristic writings; the admirable vindication of the Ephesians, and statement of the relations between the Ephesians and Colossians, are all that could be desired. And the true estimates taken of the silence of Papias about St. Paul, and the Pauline character of the churches of Asia in the sub-apostolic and subsequent periods, are timely testimony to the trustworthiness of the history. In-

deed the very idea of the book produces the highest conception of the truth of the records, by exhibiting the unity of revelation, to which every Epistle makes its independent contribution. But whether with this, anything is gained over other modes of explaining his peculiarities by ascribing a "tendency" to Luke, of exhibiting the unity of the Church, undisturbed by contentions; the great Christian Eirenicon he calls the Acts; or whether the whole page of pity which he pours upon Paul for his cold and ungracious reception at the hands of James and the Jerusalem Christians after his second journey, which is altogether a construction of the imagination, based upon the silence of Luke, is not too much in the line of adopting premises which really involve the conclusions of the sceptical critics, may certainly be a question. Nevertheless the integrity of the New Testament is asserted throughout.

So also the relation between the groups of Epistles and the separate Epistles and the development of the history, is recognized throughout, and while it cannot be claimed that anything new is contributed to this part of the subject, the vivid presentation is calculated to instruct the general reader, and to throw light on the methods of divine revelation. The origin of the Galatians and Romans is much better exhibited than that of the Epistles of the Imprisonment, in which the treatment is comparatively meagre. At this point, the recognition of the fact that there is no essential change in the Christology of Paul's Epistles, while there is an advance in definition and in the degree of prominence given to it, is clear and decided, and is of itself an adequate refutation of the principles of the sceptical criticism.

In this connection it must be confessed that the exclusion of the Epistle to the Hebrews is a mistake. For even if it be conceded that it was not written by Paul, or that the question of his authorship is not worthy of a statement in a discussion of his Epistles, the close relation of the Epistle to Paul's system, and to his other Epistles is universally acknowledged. Whichever of his co-laborers wrote it, he thought it. And not only its intrinsic importance demands a place for it, but its relative position toward the later Epistles of Paul on the one hand, and the writings of John on the other, is such that any attempt to exhibit the progress of the New Testament doctrine which excludes it, must necessarily be defective. One most important aspect of the relation of Paul's teaching to the New Testament as a whole is lost with the Epistle to the Hebrews, to say nothing of its own inherent right to a place in any description of his writings.

With regard to the statements made of the doctrine of Paul, the popularity of the book will not be interfered with in any quarter by any too great definiteness or rigidity. A warm and sympathetic religious tone characterizes the whole, and appeals to the sympathy of the reader. The general summary of the doctrines of grace taught in the Epistle to the Romans, while perhaps it would not satisfy a theologian of any school, nevertheless fairly presents essential truth. While in the details of interpretation of important passages, there is enough of vagueness, and explaining away, to obviate the effect of any too definite statement. It is somewhat startling to see Baur and Pfleiderer referred to as sources of doctrinal statements, side by side with Calvin and Luther and Hooker. But the author's own words convey the idea. Of "the righteousness of God by faith," he would "thus sum up the results of endless discussions prolonged for a thousand years, by interpreting his words to mean, that in the Gospel is being made known to the world that inherent righteousness of God, which by a judgment of acquittal pronounced once for all in the expiatory death of Christ he imputes to guilty man, and which beginning for each individual, with his trustful acceptance of this reconciliation of himself to God in Christ, ends in that mystical union with Christ, whereby Christ becomes to each man a new nature, a quickening Spirit."

The method of presenting the Epistles by elaborate paraphrase, interrupted by discussions and illustrated with foot-notes, which is claimed as the chief novelty of the work, is really its least satisfactory portion. It breaks in upon the easy flow

of the narrative with all the difficulties of exegesis. And while it has evidently cost great labor, and while very valuable references and illustrations are collected, it is hard reading. The mental process is apt to be a reference back to the Epistle to learn what the expositor means, rather than to find the difficulties of the Epistle elucidated by the paraphrase. Clear and precise paraphrase is indeed indispensable to exegesis, but whether it can be successfully substituted altogether for the text, is more than doubtful. The impulse of the plan, the sense of unity, are suspended for the cursory reader, without compensating advantage to one who would consult the work as a Commentary. But the book is sound at heart, and is carrying the grace of the Gospel to its multitudes of readers.

Dr. Farrar's well-known views of the universalism of St. Paul, are not at all obtruded. He states them briefly, and that is all. He says of 2 Thess. i. 9, that it is the only passage in all St. Paul's Epistles where his eschatology even seems to touch on the future of the impenitent, which passage is interpreted as not referring to the retribution of the judgment. "With Paul the resurrection is spoken of all but exclusively in connection with the resurrection of the saints."

For a statement of his views on Inspiration, Dr. Farrar refers us to a series of articles published in the "Bible Educator," in which he declares his belief that "the widest learning and acutest ingenuity of scepticism has never pointed to one complete demonstrable error of fact or doctrine in the Old or New Testament." And yet it is very difficult to state precisely what his own doctrine is as the sum of his discussion. It is evident that he does not clearly understand the opinion of those who hold stricter views than himself, ascribing to them indiscriminately difficulties and absurdities which only belong to the most mechanical theory, and many which need not belong even to that. But one gains a better notion of what Dr. Farrar's own belief is from its effect upon his whole treatment of the writings of Paul, than from his own attempt to define it. For instance, in the view taken of Paul's use of Old Testament Scriptures, it is conceded that he shared in the views of the Jewish schools which made the words of Scripture co-extensive and identical with the Word of God, although he never dogmatically states these views. He argues from Scripture after a Rabbinical method, using arguments cogent to his readers and to his own mind, but not to us; "in no single instance does he make one of these general quotations the demonstrative basis of the point he is endeavoring to impress. In every instance he states the solid argument on which he rests his conclusion and only adduces Scripture by way of sanction or support." And this application of Scripture and of its original sense is not inconsistent with his quoting it as the Word of God, the Holy Ghost saith, etc., from which we are to infer only the general fact that the Old Testament is divine. With regard to this whole subject of the relation between the human and divine elements of Scripture, the value of any treatment depends on the utmost care in the comparison of facts, and in guarding inferences drawn from them. But for Dr. Farrar in many cases all that seems to be needed is a suggestion for the imagination, and a whole series of bold and exaggerated representations follows. In the narrative of the conversion of Paul, the estimate of his mental condition is important. Dr. Farrar's account is confident and detailed far beyond any warrant in the Acts or Epistles. It reminds one very much of Holtzmann's discussion, which is intended to lay the foundation for an exclusively naturalistic theory of the conversion. Surely Romans vii. would be a more important guide. Another instance is the inference drawn from the language of Galatians, that Paul went up to the Council of Jerusalem undecided in his own mind as to the course to be pursued, and the view to be taken of the position of his Gentile converts.

But it is easy to criticise. Scarcely any book of equal value has defects so easily detected; and yet on the whole, it asserts for itself a noble position. Any one must be remarkably well-furnished in the results of modern scholarship, and have a

remarkable facility of conception, who will not find both profit and delight in study of these volumes, and will not value them very highly as a contribution to his apparatus, although he may not award them a high place among his autographies.

C. W. [redacted]

EIN TAG IN CAPERNAUM. Erzählt von FRANZ DELITZSCH. Leipzig, 1871.

JESUS UND HILLEL. Mit Rücksicht auf Renan und Geiger, verglichen von FRANZ DELITZSCH. Dritte, revidirte Auflage. Erlangen, 1879.

JUDISCHES HANDWERKERLEBEN ZUR ZEIT JESU. Nach den ältesten Quellen geschildert von FRANZ DELITZSCH. Dritte, revidirte Auflage. Erlangen, 1879. [B. W. & [redacted] Co.]

These are small but valuable contributions to what the Germans call *Neuementliche Zeitgeschichte*, "History of New Testament Times," which since Schnenburger, (d. 1848) led the way, has become a special branch of historical theology. It forms the connecting link between Biblical exegesis and Christian Church history, and presents the framework for the Life of Christ and the Apostles. Schnenburger defines it as "the history of the times in which the New Testament events occurred." He and Hausrath take in the heathen (Græco-Roman) as well as the Jewish world of the first century, while Schürer, in his scholarly work, confines himself to a picture of Judaism from Josephus, Philo, Talmudic, and other contemporary sources. It is quite evident that a scientific and genetic understanding of the origin of Christianity is impossible without a thorough knowledge of that age in all its environments. The supreme importance of the subject makes us feel grateful for every real contribution to the history of the first century, that century of miracle, that century of a new moral creation, which supplies all succeeding centuries with life and light from heaven.

Dr. Delitzsch, of Leipzig, is one of the most eminent Biblical and Rabbinical scholars of the age, a Jewish-Christian Rabbi in the best sense of the term. He is well known by his commentaries on the principal books of the Old Testament, and by his Hebrew translation of the New Testament. In these three little pamphlets he takes up some interesting points in the history of Christ, and illustrates them from outside Talmudic sources.

In "One Day in Capernaum," Delitzsch gives a lively fancy sketch of a day's work of Christ on the Lake of Galilee and in Capernaum, which he correctly locates at the ruins of Tell Hum (not at Khan Minjeh, like Dr. Robinson, although he otherwise rightly follows this pioneer of Palestine investigators), and brings before our eyes the surroundings of Christ in His disciples, His mother, the family of Peter, and the people of Galilee, with their agriculture, trade, ideas, and customs.

"The Jewish Mechanic's Life at the Time of Christ," deals with the mechanical occupations of the Jews, and may be called a sort of comment on the words: "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?" Mark vi. 3. Not only the father of Jesus was a carpenter, but Jesus himself, according to this passage, was engaged in this trade during those thirty years of mysterious silence and reserve and preparation for His public ministry. St. Paul also learned and practiced a trade, that of tent-making, which was quite profitable in his native province of Cilicia. It was customary at that time for a Rabbi to learn a trade and to rely on it for support, as they had no regular salary. At least one hundred Rabbis who figure prominently in the Talmud devoted a part of their time to manual labor, and were called after their trade, as Rabbi Oshaja, the shoemaker; Rabbi Juda, the tailor; Rabbi Theodos, the physician; Rabbi Meir, the scribe; Rabbi Chana, the banker; Rabbi Abba Josef, the architect; Rabbi Abbin, the carpenter, etc. (see p. 77).

The most important of these three tracts is "Jesus and Hillel," written against Geiger (a modern Jewish Rabbi and Pharisee), and Renan who, without a shadow of proof, asserts that Jesus was a pupil of Hillel, the Pharisee, and borrowed from him His noblest moral maxims. Renan, however, considerably qualifies this comparison

asserts the independent originality of Jesus. But other Jewish Rabbis, as Grätz and Friedländer have since repeated the view of Geiger. Delitzsch proves the preposterous folly of this left-handed compliment to our Lord. Rabbi Hillel, who died in A.D. 10, was, no doubt, the greatest of Jewish Rabbis and Pharisees, even if deducted from the fabulous traditions about his learning and wisdom. He was the leader of the leading school of rabbinical learning, which differed from the contemporary rival school of Shammai by a milder interpretation of the law. But he stands as far below the Old Testament prophets and John the Baptist, as Christ stands above them. He was a legalist, a casuist, and an intense Jew, and lived and died in the letter of the law. Christ was a lawgiver, a religious reformer, in sympathy with the broadest humanity, and lived and moved in the deepest spirit of law. Hillel thought it a sin to eat an egg which was laid on the Sabbath day, a whole Talmudic tract called "The Egg," was written to prove it. Christ said: "The Sabbath is made for man, and not man for the Sabbath," and claimed to be Lord of the Sabbath as the Son of man.

As a mere Rabbi, Jesus is above comparison with any Rabbi before or after Him; He is infinitely more than a Rabbi. He is prophet, priest, and king, in one person.

He is the founder of a new religion, and of a kingdom as vast as the human world, and as long as eternity. Even Ewald, the great Oriental scholar (*Geschichte des Judentums* und seiner Zeit, p. 48) calls it *grundverkehrt* "utterly perverse," to compare Jesus with Hillel.

The comparison has grown out of modern Jewish vanity and embarrassment, and has entirely failed as much as the older rationalistic derivation of Christ's teachings from the Essenes. Jesus was, indeed, the man for the times, and all His words and works are adapted to the wants of His age and nation; but He stands far above His time. He learned nothing from older or contemporary Rabbis, coming from colleges and universities; He came directly from His Father in heaven, taught the world out of the fulness of the indwelling Godhead, "with authority, and not as the scribes."

P. S.

CHURCH HISTORY OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES. By Dr. FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR, etc. 3d edition. The translation from the German, edited by Rev. ALLEN MENZIES. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xii. 256; xi. 300. [B. W. & Co.] Williams and Norgate. London, 1878-79.

His well known work of the great leader of the Tübingen school is certainly entitled to a place among the publications of the *Theological Translation Fund Library*, as one of the latest and most mature productions of its author, published after he passed his sixtieth year, and had elaborated his views in detail in regard to the nature, doctrine, environment, etc., of early Christianity. He here constructively presents his view of the growth as a whole up to the time of Constantine. According to his theory, Christianity "contains nothing that was not conditioned by a series of causes and effects going before; nothing that had not been long prepared in different ways and carried forward toward that stage at which we find it in Christianity; nothing that had not been previously recognized, in one form or another, as a necessary result of reasoned thought, or as a need of the human heart, or as a requirement of the moral consciousness" (i. 23).

For any one asks how this can even seem to appear, under the showing of the most careful advocate of this theory, this translation will put him in the way of an answer. A doctrine of the universe is not to be discussed in the few sentences of a preface. The translator's work is well done and will be helpful to such as wish or intend to study in this way a great representative book.

C. A. A.

NET UND DIE OBERLÄNDISCHEN REFORMATOREN. Quellen-Studien von Lic.-Theol. H. TOLLIN. Band i. MICHAEL SERVET und MARTIN BUTZER, x. 272. Berlin, 1880.

The life of Servetus is the theological romance of the sixteenth century. By the way of history his name is far better known than that of most of his prominent op-

ponents who in their day were the champions of Protestantism. The volume under review is to be welcomed because it brings out some new facts and sets old ones in a new light. The period covered is very brief, extending from the summer of 1530 to the spring of 1532, but full of importance for Servetus, since it enclosed his meetings with Butzer, Luther, and Oecolampadius, the publication of his work on the Trinity, and his rise from obscurity to fame.

It is not easy to make a thorough study of Servetus, because extraordinary pains have been taken to destroy all traces of him (p. 11), but Herr Tollin makes the most of his materials, and by use of mere hints, chance references, rumors, and scraps of letters he starts conjectures and proves them to be facts. To those already acquainted with the subject through previous works, many of the statements about to be made will be novel, if not questionable, but all of them Herr Tollin substantiates. And he deserves confidence, for he has made a much more thorough study of his field than any predecessor, as is evident from the fact that, in addition to numerous essays and reviews, he has published, *Lehrsystem Servet's*, 3 Bde. (1876-1878); *M. Servet und die Wittenberger Reformatoren* (Luther and Melancthon) 2 Bde. (1875, 1876), and in the present volume shows upon every page diligence and acuteness. We will now proceed to give a summary of its contents. Butzer (or Bucur) and Servetus met first at Augsburg during the Reichstag (Diet) in the summer of 1530 (p. 75). Servetus came thither in the service of Quintana, the confessor of Charles V. Butzer was on his way to Coburg to meet Luther, but Servetus had previously read and been influenced by Butzer's Commentary on Matthew, 1527 (p. 26 sq.), and thus the way was prepared for the change which then took place, for he became Butzer's amanuensis and in his company continued his journey (chap. 3). At Coburg he met Luther, who favorably impressed him (p. 122). Returning, Butzer and Servetus came to Basel and the latter tarried there to study under Oecolampadius; but not finding a pleasant reception he followed his patron to Strasburg (p. 141). This city was then the harbor of many religious parties, and Servetus with his anti-trinitarian notions found intellectual sympathy among the Waldensians (p. 175), and Anabaptists (p. 181). But such company was extremely distasteful to Butzer, who must have been greatly relieved when Servetus left, as he shortly did. In the following spring, 1531, the famous *De Trinitatis Erroribus* appeared at Hagenau, and Servetus sent a copy of it to Butzer, with a request for instruction (p. 209), but the answer was different from what he expected. As Herr Tollin proves at length in chap. 1, Butzer once held loose notions himself on the Trinity, but in his reply he takes strong orthodox ground. The letter, which is given in full in a German translation, is very interesting (pp. 209, 210), gentle and affectionate in its tone, like a father's to an erring son. The censors of the press at Strasburg condemned the book (p. 217); Oecolampadius desired Butzer to inform Luther that the Zwinglians were not in the least responsible for it (p. 229), and throughout Europe the book created great excitement. Butzer, who was famous for compromises, among the Reformers, was compelled, sadly against his will, to take decided ground. He published nothing on the subject, but denounced the book from the pulpit, and so effectually that Calvin declared he "tore Servetus to pieces" (p. 236). In reply to these criticisms Servetus published his two dialogues on the Trinity, Hagenau, 1532. Butzer wrote him another letter (p. 252), in which he styles him "in Domine dilecto," and closes with "Vale in Christo." It was a last attempt at conversion and was of course unavailing; it ended likewise the intercourse between them.

Our space forbids more than the barest outline of this interesting book, which is manifestly worthy of examination by all students of the Reformation. Besides the main story, it contains a number of brief sketches of persons who were more or less connected with the principal characters. The book might with profit be con-

densed, but the style is clear. It lacks an index and a table of contents, deficiencies perhaps to be supplied in the closing volume of the series. S. M. J.

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. By Rev. J. M. REID, D.D. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 462, 471. With maps and illustrations. New York and Cincinnati. 1879.

It was time that this work should appear. The missionary activity of the most numerous body of American Protestant Christians, as conducted by the oldest but two of our missionary societies, and in progress now for sixty years, involving at present annual gifts and outlays of some \$275,000, is entitled to commemoration in a permanent and accessible form. Rev. Dr. Reid, one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Society, has with great labor and care, and with the co-operation in different parts of his work of those most competent to help him, prepared this history of the Society as an organization, and of its several missions. A map introduces the sketch of each field, and numerous illustrations add to the completeness of the picture. India (Northern and Southern), China, Scandinavia, Germany, Mexico, Japan, Italy, Liberia, South America, and Bulgaria (to name the missions in the order of their present demand upon the treasury) are the fields in which the work of the Society has been for longer or shorter periods, and with diverse success, carried on by the hundreds of consecrated men and women who have gone from this land, and the other hundreds of native helpers who have been associated with them. The episcopal superintendence under which each mission is placed, and the frequent episcopal visitations which contribute both to the intelligence of the plans formed at home, and to the order and vigor of the work done abroad, are characteristic and interesting features of the work. We cannot concur in that view of the Foreign Missionary work which makes Scandinavia and Germany as appropriate fields as Africa or China, and which apparently regards a convert from Lutheranism or Calvinism to Methodism as genuine and glorious a trophy as a Christian convert from Paganism or Mohammedanism.

The successive sketches are full and minute enough to acquaint us with many of the chief workers and many of the important incidents, joyful and sad, of their work. Our Methodist brethren are to be congratulated on the service which they have had the privilege of doing for the Master, and for the attendant tokens of His favor; and then, for this full and faithful record. The numerous benefits to be derived from such a history accrue to many others besides themselves. A like history of the work of our own Church, brought up to date, is a serious want, which should be before long supplied. C. A. A.

GESCHICHTE DER CHRISTLICHEN MISSION UNTER DEN HEIDEN, von Dr. CHR. H. KALKAR, Autorisirte Deutsche Ausgabe, u. s. w. 1 Theil (8vo, pp. xii. 408). Gütersloh, 1879.

The veteran Danish theologian whose latest work lies before us, is no novice in the various departments of missionary literature. His *History of Evangelical Missions* (1857), *History of Catholic Missions* (1862), *Israel and the Church* (1869), and several minor pamphlets and articles, a number of which have appeared in German translations, have in their time done their own work, while contributing to his preparation for the production of a mere comprehensive history. His long service as *Director of the Danish Missionary Society* constitutes an important part of his qualification. Of the numerous works produced during his active literary career of more than a half century, those on Missions have made him best known beyond his own country. All who are familiar with the history of the Evangelical Alliance will remember his participation in person, or by reports submitted, at the meetings in Geneva, Amsterdam, New York, and Basle.

The author's theory in regard to the course of the missionary work comes to view in this history only in the most incidental way in an Appendix to Chap. I. (pp. 58-61).

It is more fully indicated in a series of papers published in translation in the *Neue meiner Literarischer Anzeiger*, in 1873, (see especially Sept., 1873). He conceives of the work as passing through four phases: the soteriological, the anthropological, that dominated by the idea and spirit of Christian humanity, and the eschatological, upon which it is now fairly entering.

The plan of the work, after the Introduction has drawn general outlines, is to describe concisely the missionary work of the Church, Catholic and Protestant, in one country after another. The first volume contains the history of missions in North and South America (from Greenland to Terra del Fuego), Hindostan, Burmah, and Siam. A second volume is to complete the survey.

The missionary organizations of Great Britain as well as Continental Europe appear to be quite fully recognized. Of our American societies, the honored A. B. C. F. M. appears to be the only one fairly identified by the author. The Methodist Society we can hardly regard as known to him, when he describes it as sustaining so peculiar a relation to the organization of the English Wesleyans. We read on p. 50: "Wesley ordained Coke as General Superintendent or Bishop (1784), and since that time it (the North American Methodist Missionary Society) is called 'The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.' Its center (General Society) was formerly in London, but appears now to have been transferred to New York." We repeat the question asked by Prof. Christlieb in his admirable Evangelical Alliance paper: What shall be said, when in the summaries of literature in the general missionary encyclopædias (in the English language), German missionary literature is almost wholly wanting?

We have not observed in any other part of the work so great a failure to gather the appropriate and requisite material. Yet we cannot regard the author's success as marked. A great amount of labor has been expended and very much has been condensed within narrow compass. The references are copious to the sources upon which Dr. Kalkar has drawn. Revised and supplemented, his history would be of very great value. Minor inaccuracies are hardly to be avoided where the details are so numberless and the material so widely dispersed, and much of it wholly unwrought.

C. A. A.

THE LIFE OF JOHN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S., FOR FIFTY YEARS PHILANTHROPIST AND SCHOLAR IN THE EAST. By GEORGE SMITH, LL.D. London: John Murray. 1878.

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER DUFF, D.D., LL.D. By GEORGE SMITH, LL.D., with an Introduction by WM. M. TAYLOR, D.D. In two volumes. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1880.

Missionary biography has, probably, never before received, in the course of a single year, such an addition to its treasures as is furnished by these three volumes. And it is a noble testimony to the power of the missionary sentiment in Scotland that the eminent servants of God, whose lives they record, were her sons. Since the days of John Knox her faith has enrolled few greater and no better men among its heroes.

John Wilson was born December 11, 1804. He died at Bombay on the 1st of December, 1875, after a missionary career in that city of nearly half a century. Bombay is a principal centre of Indian life and thought; and from this centre Dr. Wilson's influence spread far and wide throughout Western Asia. He was not only a great missionary, but a great philanthropist and educator as well. He was also one of the first Oriental scholars of the age. At the time of his death he had come to be regarded as a patriarch and oracle of Protestant missionaries and missions in India. His name is comparatively unknown in this country. Even in Scotland he seems to have been but little known until, in 1870, he was called home to be Moderator of the General Assembly. Then his eminent gifts and exalted Christian character appeared to all observers. His Life, by Dr. George Smith, is an invaluable storehouse of information on the whole subject of India and Indian Missions. We hope it will be

epublished and widely circulated among our churches. It is admirably fitted to enlighten and guide public opinion in reference to the great cause which Dr. Wilson represented with so much ability and wisdom.

But if the name of John Wilson is but little known in this country, that of Alexander Duff, on the other hand, has been for more than a quarter of a century a household word among us. His visit to the United States in 1854 left an impression upon our churches, which has never passed away. His Life, too, is much fuller of interesting and varied incidents than that of Dr. Wilson. About half of the years that intervened between his first going out to India and his death, were spent in organizing and developing the work at home. He was eminently a man of the people; he addressed hundreds of thousands of Christian men and women; and whenever he spoke, vast crowds hung upon his lips and were stirred to the depths of their being by his wonderful eloquence. The story of his extraordinary labors as a missionary in India, first of the Church of Scotland, and afterward of the Free Church of Scotland, as a missionary orator and advocate, and then as Professor of Evangelistic Theology, is told in these Memoirs with singular vivacity, fulness, and power. They have been republished by A. C. Armstrong & Son, and will have, we trust, a very wide circulation. No wealthy friend of Foreign Missions could render the cause a better service than by placing a thousand copies of this work in the hands of the secretaries of our Foreign Board for gratuitous distribution.

Dr. Duff was born on the 25th of April, 1806, and died February 12, 1878. He went to India in 1830, at the age of twenty-four, and returned home for the last time in 1863, having spent nearly a quarter of a century in Calcutta. It would be hard to say whether his labors in India, or in Great Britain and America, contributed most to the great cause so near his heart. He was one of the most remarkable men of his generation, and his name will be in everlasting remembrance as that of an apostle of Christian missions to India. Both Dr. Wilson and Dr. Duff were leaders in initiating and shaping the missionary policy of the Churches of Scotland in the matter of education; and these Memoirs contain a full explanation of the grounds and working of that policy. In reference to this point, about which so much difference of opinion formerly existed, we take the liberty of giving the following extract from a letter recently received from the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, D.D., so distinguished and honored for his labors as a missionary and educator at Constantinople:

"In the educational labors of both Duff and Wilson I have been deeply interested, and they were both heroes in this department. They both, at times distant from each other, visited Constantinople, and I heard from their own lips, in condensed form, the same views that run through these Memoirs. They held firmly and heroically to the true philosophy of education and of its place in missions. Both points were vehemently attacked in their earlier days, both in England and America, and, to some extent, even on mission ground.

"The entire exclusion of English and the exclusive use of the vernacular language in education were strongly urged by some of the most sincere and earnest friends of missions. The American Board carried this system into effect for a while, and finally, in 1860, closed its two seminaries at Constantinople in order to open them elsewhere on the vernacular system. The Baptist Board attempted the same thing, but were so powerfully and eloquently opposed by two of their ablest men, Dr. Anderson, of Rochester, and Dr. Barnas Sears, that the proposed measure failed.

"As to the philosophy of the education they inaugurated, they maintained that the human mind is so constituted that the study of some language foreign to the student is necessary for the best training of the mental faculties and for the highest power over one's own vernacular. Their system being founded upon the nature of things, they gave little heed to the opposition.

"The experiment of the American Board has resulted, as many predicted it would, in the abandonment of the system and the re-introduction of English.

"The other view, viz, that no very high standard of education is adapted to the mission work is equally well disposed of in these Memoirs. The most useful men among the native churches are those of the highest mental training. Piety and natural traits of character being equal, the man of thorough education and severe mental discipline will be the man of power, of resources, of self-denial, and of true humility. These two men, Wilson and Duff, by their high aims in education and the enthusiasm and ability with which they prosecuted them, have made India and the world their debtors. These Memoirs, wherever read, will exert a great influence in favor of a more vigorous prosecution of the higher education in the missionary work. They will also reveal to intelligent men the power there is in this work. It is the great civilizer and the great educator of 'the dark places of the earth.'"

G. L. P.

CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS. By E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D. Translated by A. H. HOLMDEN. 8vo, pp. 400. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1880.

The author, a French divine well known for his eloquence and talent, here presents us with a rich collection of what are appropriately called "Contemporary Portraits," selected from articles published in various French journals and reviews. We have, first, Thiers, "the liberator of the territory of France, the saviour of the country;" then, the "Antecedents of the Vatican Council," and "Strauss and Voltaire." In the fourth article, on the *Culturkampf* in Germany, we note the correct principle (p. 122): "To be consistent Liberals, even toward the worst enemies of liberty, while never tolerating any direct attack upon the State and adhering strictly to law." Then follow articles upon Arnaud de L'Ariège, Adolph Monod, Alexandre Vinet, and Vernet and Robertson. The article on Adolph Monod is a hearty and appreciative sketch of the internal, doctrinal, and spiritual growth of this influential divine, showing how he came out of "the irksome fetters of narrow English Evangelicalism" (p. 161) into a broader conception of Christian doctrine and life. The last article, on Vernet and Robertson, is exceedingly rich and choice, as it is the longest and ablest in the volume. At the close Pressensé states his own views of the future compactly, thus: "We believe firmly in a Church of the future, which, unlike ancient Rome, shall gather into itself the good elements of all existing churches, which shall give us in worship, true adoration without the forms of idolatry, and in doctrine, moral vigor, and definiteness of teaching without an arid dogmatism."

C. A. B.

A MANUAL OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA (formerly Reformed Protestant Dutch Church), 1628—1878. By EDWARD TANJORE CORWIN, D.D. Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Pp. 676, 8vo. New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 31 Vesey Street. 1879.

Dr. Corwin deserves well, not only of his own branch of the Church, but of all others, for his truly elaborate Manual. More than twenty years ago, when he had but just entered on the work of the ministry, he began to gather up the statistics of the venerable Church of his nativity. In 1859 he put forth his first Manual. It was a small quarto of 100 pages. It contained complete lists of all the ministers of the denomination (in chronological order) with their receptions, settlements, and dismissals, followed by lists of the synods, classes, and churches, with the dates of their organization; and brief notices of the Boards of the Church. It was a useful Manual, and much prized as a book of reference.

A second edition in 1869 completely superseded the first. It was an entirely new work of 397 pages, 8vo., evincing great and careful labor in its preparation. An introduction of eighteen pages gave a brief history of the Church; the ministry were arranged in alphabetical order, with brief statements, when known, of their gradua-

tion, ordination, settlements, and decease. In the case of many of the worthy dead, biographical notices, more or less extended, added greatly to the interest of the book. A much fuller view of the churches (alphabetically arranged) with their pastorates, and a much more detailed account of the boards, with similar accounts of the literary and theological institutions of the denomination, added greatly to the value of this second edition. Thirteen admirable portraits of some of the best known of the ministry constituted a peculiar attraction.

Ten years more, and a revised and enlarged edition, with 279 more pages, makes its appearance, the second edition having been disposed of within six months of its publication. The brief introduction of the former edition has now developed into a general history of the Reformed Church in America, with its bibliography, its educational institutions, and its missions, occupying 160 pages. Valuable additions have been made to the ministerial biography, especially as to nativity, and bibliography; also to the account of the churches. Much miscellaneous matter is added, with five additional steel portraits, twenty wood-cuts of church buildings, and two of the college and seminary at New Brunswick.

Our "Dutch" brethren are to be congratulated on the possession of such a Manual. To their ministry it is invaluable and indispensable. It ought to find its way into all the households of the denomination. It is everywhere needed as a book of reference. The ministry of other denominations should prize it highly. It is one of those books that should be found on the shelves of every theological, ministerial, and pastoral library. We anticipate for Dr. Corwin's latest edition a much wider circulation than was obtained for his previous editions. Every denomination of Christian people should, if practicable, secure a similar Manual for itself.

E. F. H.

III.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

SYLLABUS AND NOTES OF THE COURSE OF SYSTEMATIC AND POLEMIC THEOLOGY TAUGHT IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, VIRGINIA. By R. L. DABNEY, D.D., LL.D. Presbyterian Publishing Co., St. Louis; A. D. F. Randolph & Co., New York.

This substantial volume of nearly 900 closely-printed, large octavo pages, contains as solid a mass of theological doctrine as can be found in any volume of the same size with which we are acquainted. We are reminded by it of the older treatises, like the Summa of Aquinas, and the Institutio of Turretine. Dr. Dabney's method is the analytic, which, better than any other, enables an author to compress and combine his material. It affords little opportunity for the more striking properties of style, but much for the most fundamental of all, that of perspicuity. Tested by this quality, this treatise is of high excellence. The author makes himself understood.

We shall not, of course, pretend to do full justice to such a work as this, within the limits of a "notice." Our aim will be to call attention, as briefly as possible, to some of its statements upon a few fundamental topics, and to recommend it as a valuable help and guide in theological study and investigation.

The method adopted by the author is theological, in distinction from christological. The Trinity, rather than a particular person of the Trinity, is the starting point. While there are some advantages in making the science of religion to be the science of redemption, and in gathering the materials of the science about Christ and the Cross, yet we think, with our author, that the method most commonly adopted, in both the ancient and the modern Church, is preferable. Redemption,

while the most important subject of all for man, is, nevertheless, only a part of the ways of God, and a scheme that is to be all-comprehending, should be related to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; the one infinite and eternal God.

Dr. Dabney begins, therefore, with the Divine existence and attributes. His presentation of the principal arguments for the Divine existence is lucid, and his criticism upon them acute. He lays most stress upon the *a posteriori* method, and, in our judgment, somewhat underestimates the *a priori*. This is the more noticeable, because throughout the volume the author is by no means averse to purely metaphysical reasoning, and continually endeavors to ground truth in what is necessary *per se*. In his enumeration he does not notice the construction of the *a priori* argument by Anselm, who, after all that has been done by later minds, like Descartes and Clarke, still stands out as the closest reasoner of them all.

In connection with the spirituality of God, the author discusses that of the human soul, and the distinction between mind and matter. This leads him to examine the questions in the controversy with materialism, from which he passes to the sources of knowledge in the constitution of the human mind, and so to the truths of natural religion generally. Intuitive ideas and judgments are firmly asserted and maintained.

The Nicene doctrine of the Trinity is defended by Dr. Dabney. He speaks somewhat cautiously respecting the patristic explanations of the terms generation, procession, and subordination, and apparently is inclined to stop with the simple affirmation of unity of essence in trinity of distinctions. The citation of texts is made from the Old as well as the New Testament. But few texts, however, are given in this volume, the student being referred to the current text-books for them.

The difficult doctrine of decrees is handled with great discrimination and ability. Marking the distinction between the efficient and the permissive decree, the author finds the substance of predestination, so far as the lost are concerned, in simple preterition. Dr. Dabney has evidently studied the points in dispute between the Calvinist and Arminian with much attention, and we should infer from internal considerations that he has come in contact with the latter system. He states the Arminian objections with particularity, acknowledges their force and weight without reserve, and gives a reply that is as lucid and satisfactory as any we have met with. Any one troubled with the difficulties involved in the controversy between the Calvinist and the Arminian, will find the lectures on decrees practically as well as theoretically helpful and useful.

The author defends the doctrine of creation from nothing, and argues conclusively against the pantheistic theories of emanation and evolution. He objects to the explanation of the six days, in Gen. i., as periods, and favors the view that they are days of twenty-four hours, claiming that this is the most natural interpretation of the Scripture language. This is a common remark, but we think incorrect. The most natural interpretation is that which presents itself to the biblical student when uninfused by physical science. The patristic and mediæval exegete, from the simple study of the written word, and with no reference to physical theories, understood a vast antiquity to be taught in Gen. i. 1, and held that the seven days "resemble ours in being a series, and in having vicissitudes of morning and evening," but are "*multæ et impares*." This is the assertion of Augustine, who also adds that it is difficult to say, owing to the various senses in which it is employed, what "day" does really mean in the Mosaic account. See Confessions xii. 8; De Genesi, ad litteram, iv. 1, 27; v. 1. Augustine's interpretation was as widely accepted as any, in the mediæval Church. Lombard adopts it. Sententiarum II. Distinctio xii. We agree with Dr. Dabney, that the explanation of the origin of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, by "growth" in long periods, is wholly untenable; but do not think that the strict interpretation of Scripture language necessitates that particular explanation of the word "day," which has been so much in vogue for the last two centuries. The dis-

coveries in modern physics have only revived in the Church that earlier explanation of the Mosaic account which was purely philological, and entirely unmodified by physical science.

In anthropology, Dr. Dabney maintains the Augustino-Calvinistic position, that man was created positively holy, and did not begin existence in a negative and characterless state. "His righteousness consisted in the perfectly harmonious concurrence of all the dispositions of his soul, and consequently of all his volitions prompted thereby, with the decisions of his conscience, which in its turn was correctly directed by God's holy will." The author regards the freedom of the will as consisting in its spontaneity simply. He combats the view that freedom consists in indifference and the power of contrary choice. In this connection, he employs the term "self-determination" as synonymous with indifference, and denies that the will is self-determined. In so doing, he follows Edwards' use of the term. While heartily agreeing with the author in his anthropology, we think that there is a strong objection to surrendering this term to the Arminian, who really is not entitled to it. Self-determination is properly the equivalent of self-motion, in distinction from motion *ab extra*. It is the characteristic of mind in distinction from matter. In the Arminian anthropology, self-determination has been associated with the power of alternative choice; but this is indetermination, not self-determination. If a will is indifferent, it has no determination at all, of any kind, and can go with equal facility in either direction. But if it be actually in a state of self-motion or self-determination, it is committed and inclined to an ultimate end, and the facility of indifference and contrary choice is impossible. The elder Calvinists included the moral affections in the will, and carefully distinguished between inclination and volition or choice. By inclination, they meant a self-moving bias, which is the same that Dr. Dabney means by spontaneity. This disposition of the will is motion *ab intra*, and not *ab extra*; a determination in and from the ego, and not from something other than the ego. It is needless to add, that they regarded the self-moving inclination to evil as arising from man alone; but the self-moving inclination to good has its ultimate origin in God, either in the primitive creation of the will, or its subsequent regeneration.

Dr. Dabney asserts the imputation of Adam's first sin to his posterity, founding it, "1st, upon the natural union with him as the root of all mankind; 2d, upon the federal relation instituted in him by God's covenant with him," (p. 329). Distinguishing the first sin itself from the corruption of nature, the author teaches "that it is not Adam's sin which is imputed to us, but the guilt (obligation to punishment) of his first sin" (p. 329); and that "the Christian will, of course, regret the guilt of Adam's first sin, but not repent of it" (p. 654). In thus imputing *reatus*, but not *culpa*, to Adam's posterity, making them punishable, but not culpable, Dr. Dabney follows the later Calvinism. We think that there are strong objections to this, and that the position of the elder Calvinists, that the *reatus* of Adam's sin is necessarily connected with its *culpa*, is the better one.

In his defence of the doctrine of imputation, the author seems not to be satisfied with representation merely, as the ground of the imputation, and yet does not accept natural union in the sense of race-unity and race-participation in the first act of sin. He rejects, as we think the logical Calvinist must, Placæus's theory of mediate imputation, and yet says that "it was unfortunate that the Synod of Charenton fell into the snare laid by Placæus in making his distinction between mediate and immediate imputation, by advocating the 'antecedent and immediate imputation' as the only true view" (p. 340). But one does not see how the Synod could do otherwise. Placæus had said that corruption of nature is imputed as guilt to the posterity, simply and solely because it is in them. The corruption itself is the medium, and the only medium, of the imputation. There is no prior antecedent ground. In reply, the Synod said: This "mediate imputation" can not stand alone in this way; corruption of nature has a cause, namely, the first sin of Adam; this cause itself, therefore, must

be imputed, in order *justly* to impute the effect. Consequently the first sin itself must be directly imputed, antecedently to the imputation of the corruption of nature. But perhaps the author only means that immediate imputation is not the *whole* truth, and that corruption of nature must be taken into account along with the immediate imputation of the first sin, in a comprehensive view of the whole subject of original sin. His extracts from Stapfer and Marck would favor this (p. 347).

Dr. Dabney criticises "Turretine's view of immediate imputation," which he says "has been defined and asserted in its most rigid sharpness by the Princeton school," as "boldly repudiating every sense in which we really or actually sinned in Adam, and admitting no other than the representative sense of a positive covenant," (p. 341). We should not agree with this statement, certainly so far as Turretine is concerned. He expressly mentions the natural union as one of the two grounds upon which he rests the imputation of Adam's sin (*Institutio*, IX., ix. 11, 12); though he gives it the second place, in saying that imputation rests "especially (*præcipue*) upon the moral and federal union." The natural union, he explains, it is true, by creationism, and not by traducianism. But while so doing, he does not empty the idea of natural union of all its contents. He still holds on upon the elder theory of "participation" in connection with representation. "In imputatione peccati Adæ, *justitia dei non irrogat poenam immerenti, sed merenti, si non merito proprio et personali, at participato et communi, quod fundatur in communione naturali et fœderali, quæ nobis cum Adamo intercedit*," (IX., ix. 24). And with regard to traducianism itself, his tone is moderate, as the following remark indicates: "Some are of opinion that the difficulties pertaining to the propagation of original sin are best removed by the doctrine of the propagation of the soul (*animæ traducem*); a view held by not a few of the fathers, and to which Augustine more than once seems to incline. And there is no doubt that by this theory the difficulty seems to be removed, but since it does not accord either with Scripture or with sound reason, and is exposed to great difficulties, we do not think that recourse should be had to it," (*Institutio*, IX., xii. 6).

That the natural union has greatly receded from view, and the representative union has come to the front, almost exclusively, in the defence of the doctrine of imputation since Turretine's day, is certain; and we agree with Dr. Dabney in thinking that this is to be regretted. Our author is not satisfied with Dr. Hodge's explanation of Rom. v. 12-19, as teaching "the exact identity of the two imputations in the covenant of works and of grace," (p. 347), and thinks that this way of explaining immediate imputation by representation simply, logically involves "synergistic regeneration," (p. 345), the "initial purity of the infant soul," (p. 342), and "the Arminian theory of justification," (p. 345). These are weighty charges, and evince that Dr. Dabney feels the difficulties of that view of the imputation of Adam's sin which lays so much stress upon representation, as practically to throw out natural union altogether. None have a higher estimate than ourselves, of the service which the luminous and strong understanding of Dr. Hodge has rendered to Calvinism; but we agree with Dr. Dabney in the opinion that there is a class of objections to the imputation of Adam's sin which are insuperable, if it be made to rest merely upon the federal and representative union. For ourselves, we see no way of answering them so effectual, as that of laying the stress upon the natural union, and making the first sin to be really the common transgression of mankind in Adam.

The author defends the monergistic theory of regeneration. He holds that the renovation of the will, rather than the illumination of the understanding, is the primary operation of the Holy Spirit, in the regeneration of the soul, differing here from Dick, Alexander, and Hodge, (p. 570). In this we think that Dr. Dabney is the more accurate. Sin enters man by the will and affections, and thence passes into the intellect and the entire man. Sin is, first of all, enmity of the heart against God (Rom. viii. 7), and as a consequence is error and blindness of the mind. Hence, it

is more natural to say that regeneration begins at the point where sin began, namely, in the will and affections.

The important subject of justification is examined with great care. The nature of Christ's satisfaction, and its effectual application to individuals, are set in clear light. As in the instance of the decrees, so in that of redemption, the author devotes much attention to the objections on the Arminian side, and the difficulties on the Calvinistic.

Having thus briefly noticed the capital topics in Christian theology, as discussed by Dr. Dabney, we must leave the remainder without notice, simply saying that the same thoroughness in the treatment appears in them all. The Presbyterian Church is under obligations to the author of this volume for re-stating, with so much clearness and vigor, the old faith upon which it is founded, and by which it must live. The circulation and study of this substantial and learned treatise among our rising ministry, would be a blessing. It will make sound theologians and energetic preachers. Dr. Dabney belongs to the Southern branch of the Presbyterian Church in America. Such a treatise as this is an argument for the re-union of the North and South. Calvinism needs and requires the co-operation of all its advocates and defenders. The theologizing of Breckenridge, Thornwell, and Dabney, should be mingled with that of Alexander, Richards, Smith, and Hodge. W. G. T. S.

LEHRBUCH DER EVANGELISCH-PROTESTANTISCHEN DOGMATIK. Von Dr. RICHARD ADALBERT LIPSUS. B. Westermann & Co., New York. 1880.

The author of this theological manual is a professor at Jena. The volume is a striking contrast to that of Dr. Dabney, particularly in respect to the attitude adopted toward revelation and the Church creeds. Dr. Lipsius, in the discussion of topics, follows the order of the Protestant symbols, and quotes their phraseology. The Biblical data in support of theological tenets are also cited. In this way, a systematic structure is the result. But the author does not feel bound either by Scripture or symbol. He dissents from either, whenever he thinks them to be incorrect; and he often so thinks. The Old and New Testaments have no such authority for him, as requires him to conform his opinions to them. On the contrary, they are to be adjusted to his views, whenever there is any adjustment to be made. He finds a conflict of Scripture with itself. Genesis, for illustration, has at least two authors, an earlier and a later, who disagree with one another. The earlier narrator, who furnishes the first chapter of Genesis, knows nothing of sin and the loss of the image of God, because nothing is said of this in the first chapter; agreeing in this, says Lipsius, with the writer of Gen. ix. 6, who speaks of man as still having the image of God; and with St. Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 7; Col. iii. 10, and St. James in iii. 9; who do this same thing (p. 336). This is a specimen of the author's exegesis, and in the use of it he discovers a great number of similar contradictions in Scripture.

Dr. Lipsius maintains that many theological doctrines are true for pious feeling, that contradict reason, and are false in science. The personality of God is true in prayer, but not in philosophy (p. 175). The resurrection of the body is impossible, because it implies an identity of material particles in the body raised (p. 847). Hell and heaven, as final states, are erroneous conceptions, because there is no perfection either of evil or of good. There is only an imperfect development of each, which goes on endlessly (p. 859). The soul and body are not two distinct substances, but made of the same substance (p. 334). No Scripture is quoted in support of these latter positions.

The volume, so far as a positive system of theology is concerned, is subjective and individual. It is the theology of Dr. Lipsius. Yet it has value for a reader who knows how to use it. It states the opinions of the Church in a condensed and clear manner, in order either to modify or to combat them, when it does not accept them. In this way, it contains a great deal of useful information, compressed into a small

space. The chief purpose of its publication was to give students an outline of the author's course of lectures. W. G. T. S.

THE ATONEMENT IN CHRIST. By JOHN MILEY, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Although this volume is our first introduction to Dr. Miley, it makes us quite sure, that, if his life is spared, it is only the earnest of important contributions to theology yet to come from his strong and prolific pen. It is closely packed with reasoning solid and acute, sometimes even to subtlety, on the various aspects of the cardinal doctrine of Christianity it treats. It shows mastery of the literature of the subject, which, instead of having been passed over with superficial glances, has been carefully digested by him in keen and profound thinking.

While the most operose, not to say the most ardent, part of the work is devoted to a critique of views quoted from the Drs. Hodge, father and son, and Dr. Shedd, together with other leading Calvinistic authors and symbols, in an attempted refutation of what he calls the "satisfactionist" scheme, we think his treatise nevertheless, on the whole, very successful and valuable, although this in our judgment is far from being the most successful or valuable part of it. Yet we hail the author as an ally in his able advocacy of a large body of precious truth always, and now more than ever, bitterly and ingeniously assailed. He groups all minor theories of atonement under three principal heads—styled by him respectively the Moral, the Rectoral or Governmental, and the Satisfaction, or penal substitution theories. The first of these, in all its forms, whether merely didactic, martorial, symbolical, mystical, a mere manifestation of love or whatever else by the Incarnation without atoning sacrifice, he peremptorily discards. Among all these he especially signalizes Bushnell's view as empty and groundless.

Dr. Miley himself espouses the rectoral or governmental theory, which, and the penal substitutional, he considers as alone having any real content of Atonement. He rejects the worst elements that have disfigured and vitiated some of the more prominent and accepted forms of this theory. His presentation of it is much more grounded in Scriptural truth, and in far closer approximation to the true system, than any we have before met. He not only insists strenuously, "that the vicarious sufferings of Christ are an objective ground of forgiveness" (p. 100), but declares "unscriptural" the scheme which "denies a proper substitutional atonement" (p. 115). This he insists the Rectoral theory involves (p. 142). He says that "advocates of the Rectoral atonement have unduly lowered public justice" (p. 145). He repudiates "the view of Leibnitz, and of all agreeing with him, 'that justice is a modification of benevolence; a view that has received too much favor from advocates of the Rectoral atonement'" (p. 147). He says, "We admit and maintain a retributive justice in God. We also assert a punitive disposition as a fact of his justice" (p. 154). Also that "Public justice is not a distinct kind of justice. In principle it is one with distributive justice;" that his theory does not "make light of the demerit of sin," or "transform justice into mere benevolence," or "regard the substitution of Christ in suffering as a mere expedient, in place of which some other provision would answer as well;" "that the sole ground of the penalties of administrative or public justice lies in the demerit of sin. The fact is not otherwise, nor in any sense modified by any or all the ulterior ends and utilities of penalty in the interest of moral government" (pp. 218-19).

The question at once arises, how, after eliminating so many of the gross errors which have so largely vitiated the merely governmental scheme, and asserting so much of the precious truth usually associated with what he calls the "satisfaction scheme," any room remains for that contention against the latter on which he expends so much of his force and fire; we are happy to add, however, without bitter-

ness. The points in which he "differs in his thinking or thinks he differs" from what he styles the Calvinistic scheme are mainly: 1. That although Christ's atoning death and sufferings are accepted in lieu of the merited punishment of the believing sinner; they were not themselves penal—that although He "became sin," "bore our sins," "became a curse" for us, this was not in the way of bearing the penalty of sin. Now, as our Saviour did not take upon Himself the pollution of our sins, but did take them upon Himself that relation to them which subjected Him to grievous sufferings and death on their account, it remains to be shown what properly answers to these terms found, not only in Scripture, but in the devotional utterances of the saints of all ages. He contends, 2., that the atonement could not be sufficient for all unless designed for all, although on either system its efficacy is conditioned on faith and repentance, while it is unavailing for the impenitent. He maintains this against those who say that the atonement is sufficient for all, sincerely offered to all, efficient for the salvation of all who receive it, but designed for these and not others, *i. e.*, for the elect only; subject, too, in their case, to the condition of their accepting it, while it, in God's own way and time, ensures such acceptance. The stock arguments against particular redemption, imputation, penal substitution, and their correlates are put by him with clearness and force, but contain nothing essentially new—we need not repeat them or the answers constantly made to them. Meanwhile a glance at the above brief contrasts of the two schemes, shows how nearly they run together, when we look at what each side claims to be the positive truth of its own scheme, and the untruth of the objections charged against it.

After all his contest against the scheme of satisfaction, the author insists that "the Rectoral atonement is also a doctrine of satisfaction to divine justice, and in a true sense" (p. 244). In doing this he even accepts the definition of satisfaction given "by Dr. Symington although a satisfactionist in the thorough sense of the Reformed Soteriology" (p. 245). He admits that the Wesleyan Methodists have had no uniform and consistent doctrine of the atonement, while they have often leaned toward a conditional "penal substitution." He recoils from all theories of the atonement which, in themselves or their application, take shape from divine sovereignty or election, and hence repudiates a form of the governmental theory which, he says, has had currency among many "Congregationalists and New School Presbyterians" (p. 303).

We trust that the following portraiture of what has been the glory of Methodism in the past will remain so in all time to come; and not only of this, but of every branch of the Christian Church:

"Wesleyan Arminianism has ever been true to the fact of an atonement in Christ. In her hymns and prayers, in her utterances of a living Christian experience, in her sermons and exhortations, this great fact ever receives the fullest recognition. In her soteriology 'Christ is all and in all.' In the fulness and constancy of her faith in the reality and necessity of an atonement in Christ, Wesleyan Methodism has no reason to shun any comparison with the most orthodox soteriology. . . . The Scripture terms of atonement have, with all propriety, been in the freest use with us. Nor have we been careful to shun the terminology of the strictest doctrine of satisfaction" (p. 210). So let it ever be, and all will be well, *salva fide, et salva ecclesia*.

L. H. A.

STUDIES ON THE BAPTISMAL QUESTION: Including a Review of Dr. Dale's "Inquiry into the Usage of Baptizo." By Rev. DAVID B. FORD. 8vo. pp. 440. Boston: H. A. Young & Co. 1879.

This work traverses, more or less minutely, all the usual questions in regard to the mode, the meaning, and the subjects of Christian baptism. It is written, mainly, in a Christian spirit, and with a gentlemanly freedom from the rougher forms of controversial asperity. It evinces great industry on the part of the author, and a com-

mendable willingness to take pains in order to give full and exact information. The views expressed in the chapter on "Christian Union" will seem to many of us less defensible than the hearty, genial, fraternal feeling expressed in the same chapter.

Logically, this book cannot seem very formidable to those who substantially accept the views of Dr. Dale. It is not very successful as a criticism upon Dr. Dale's presentation of those views, and is much less so as an attack upon the views themselves.

The patristic writers who lived many generations after Christ may conceivably be mistaken in some of their traditions and interpretations concerning the mode of baptism, as they certainly are in most of their other notions in regard to baptism. The mode of baptism which they currently practiced, and for which they assigned all sorts of superstitious reasons, may possibly not have been practiced from the beginning. Here Dr. Dale plants himself. He denies that we have any sufficient proof that Christian baptism was originally by immersion. He undertakes to show that all the evidence collected by our patient and learned Baptist brethren, to prove that *baptizo* means *immerse*, goes to prove that the baptisms of the New Testament are, in some sense, immersions into remission of sins, into repentance, into Christ, into the name of Christ, into the death of Christ, into the name of the Trinity; and never, in any instance, into the water or into the fire or into the Holy Ghost, by which the baptism is effected. Citing familiar instances of the use of *baptizo*, he insists that just as a spear is baptized into water by its weight, or just as a ship is baptized into the sea by missiles hurled from above, or just as a man is baptized into drunkenness by wine, or another into stupor by a narcotic drug, or another into hopeless dejection by the evils of the times; so, by the absolutely uniform syntax of the New Testament, men are baptized into a new spiritual condition of some sort, by water or by the Holy Ghost. Their being so baptized no more calls for physical immersion into the water, or into the Holy Ghost, than the examples cited call for a physical immersion of the man into the wine in his own stomach, or into the opium pill he has taken.

Here is a perfectly definite issue. In the New Testament, the baptismal element represented by the dative regularly differs from that represented by the accusative. Mr. Ford will not claim that there is a recorded instance of a non-ritual baptism, in which the two elements differ, where the thing baptized is physically immersed in the element represented by the dative. He will admit that there are many instances in which even a figurative immersion into the element signified by the dative is clearly out of the question; and that every instance whatever makes good sense, without supposing an immersion of this sort; and that these statements are equally true whether the dative is or is not preceded by the preposition *ἐν*.

It does not meet the case for Mr. Ford to reply that there may be some sort of figurative immersion of the man in the wine he has drunk, or in the dose he has taken; and that there must, therefore, be physical immersion in the water of the New Testament baptisms. *May be* in the premise does not warrant *must be* in the conclusion. Possible figurative immersion does not prove actual physical immersion. Nor does it meet the case for him to say that Dr. Dale recognizes many cases of drowning by the preposition *ἐν*. The question is not what Dr. Dale recognizes, but what the Greek language recognizes. And it happens that in the instance cited by Mr. Ford, page 142, from Josephus' *Wars*, iii. 10, 9, the preposition is not present. It is not to the point for Mr. Ford to challenge his opponent to produce instances of pouring or sprinkling; for his opponent claims that the early history of the rite, as well as the command to practice it, purposely omits to specify any mode, and thus leaves the mode to be determined by considerations of order and convenience.

Dr. Dale sometimes speaks of the baptisms of the New Testament as immersions and repentance, into Christ, etc. But elsewhere, when he is speaking of the thing denoted by the word, as distinguished from the manner of denoting it, he insists that

baptizo has lost its physical meaning, and acquired the secondary meaning, *to influence controllingly*. Mr. Ford cites Dr. Edward Beecher as assigning to it, in these cases, the secondary meaning, *to purify*; and devotes a very considerable portion of his volume to assailing, in turn, all these three forms of statement, and to exhibiting them as discrepant. And yet, evidently, the phrases "to be immersed into repentance," "to be put under the controlling influence of repentance," "to be purified in respect of repentance," are but different statements of the same essential fact. They are not all equally felicitous, but they show no difference between Mr. Ford's opponents, or between them and Mr. Ford, which at all affects the main questions at issue.

These instances sufficiently characterize the argumentative value of the book. It makes a good many attempts to be mildly funny at Dr. Dale's expense. For instance, the third chapter is entitled "A Dale (J. W.) overwhelmed." On page 105 the author says: "So far as it relates to a ritual physical baptism, Dr. Dale is neither Baptist nor Pedobaptist, nor any part or kind of a Baptist, unless it be of the *kata-Baptistic* sort; for with him a physical baptism 'with' water is drowning, and a destruction of life; and it is a practising of virtual deception on his part to talk of 'ritual baptisms' (ritual drownings) in the New Testament, or for him to imply that he holds to a ritual baptism." On page 136, he says, of Professor Moses Stuart: "Just think of the pressure, on the one hand, resting upon him, to give a correct philological statement; and, on the other hand, the pressure, the almost irresistible weight of personal practice, preference, position, reputation, denominational sympathies and interests, the known desires and hopes and expectations of his brethren, which would naturally and strongly tend to draw him away from making *any* concession to the Baptist theory."

To the credit of Mr. Ford, it should be said that such imputations of motive are very rare in his book. It is the misfortune of his readers that sentences constructed like those just cited are not very infrequent. Yet in the midst of the discomfort of wading through one of them, Mr. Ford can but seem to the reader to be a hearty, pleasant man, who loves his little joke.

W. J. B.

THE BOHLEN LECTURES, 1879. THE INFLUENCE OF JESUS. By the Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS, etc. 16mo, pp. 274. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1879.

No one can open this volume even at random without coming under the charm of the author's thought and style, and learning, in part, why his ministry is so attractive and influential. His freshness and vigor, his earnestness and large manliness, must draw and command men.

In this volume he makes another contribution to that long-neglected branch of our theological literature which seeks to do justice to the human nature and relations of Christ and His work. Some fifteen years ago, Prof. Beyschlag, seeking an explanation, on the one hand of the appearance, and on the other of the reception and influence, of some of the then recent Lives of Christ, said: "Still before the eye of the Evangelical Church does Christ stand chiefly as a mere theophany; as a stranger from another world, disguised in beggar's garments, who is bringing to manifestation on earth merely pre-existent counsels." This description, surely, would not apply to our later Christological literature; there has been no lack of effort to make amends for the supposed incompleteness and inadequacy of earlier views.

In these four lectures Dr. Brooks discusses the moral, social, emotional, and intellectual influence of Jesus. All that is distinctive, pre-eminent, and redemptive, he seems to trace to "the idea of Jesus," which is (see p. 12) "the fatherhood of God, and the childhood of every man to Him." "Jesus must have grown up into the apprehension of it (p. 17) as He grew into the consciousness of His own life. He must have become aware that all men were God's sons, and felt the desire to tell them so and make their sonship a reality, kindling like fire within Him, just in pro-

portion as He came to know, softly and gradually, under the skies of Galilee and the roof of the carpenter, the deep and absorbing mystery that He was the Son of God. "God is His Father, and He may make these men know that He is their Father, too" (p. 152). How this idea "becomes the shaping power of men's lives" it is the lecturer's aim to show.

Dr. Brooks recognizes unequivocally the Trinity (p. 85), the Divinity of Christ (p. 119), and, elsewhere (*e. g.*, "Sermons," p. 134), the absolute necessity of a personal regeneration by the Holy Spirit. We cannot, however, escape the conviction that one who should read only the volume before us would think that he rested on a far lower ground. The way in which "the idea of Jesus" came to Him, and came more and more to possess Him, and the amount of efficacy ascribed to it when presented to men by Christ and in Christ, we do not find it altogether easy to reconcile with other repeated and emphatic evangelical utterances of the lecturer. *E. g.*, on p. 52 Dr. Brooks says of "the immediate moral power" of Christ's "powerful death": "It is the great renewing spectacle of human life. When men look at it, there comes up out of their hearts the pattern of divinity which is there, their sonship to the Holy One; and to attain that holiness, to realize it perfectly, becomes the passion of their lives." Now, is this ever so as a simply natural result? And what warrant is there in the Word of God for the suggestion, that it is enough to look at Christ instead of looking to Him? Further, with reference to this "powerful death" of Christ, not a few of us hold those views to be Scriptural and necessary which the author more than once characterizes as artificial and fantastic conceptions of the Atonement (pp. 53, 121), and cannot find in Christ "the Saviour by suffering" (p. 12) unless there be in that suffering a vicariousness of which we find no recognition here. Neither can we recognize the Church as "elect, not that it may be saved out of the world, but that the world may be saved by its witness and specimen of what the whole world is in its idea" (p. 129). In general, the book looks askance at doctrine and the emphasizing of doctrine in relation to life.

The lectures are crowded with interesting and suggestive Bible studies, bringing out very happily the force of many a narrative and many an utterance. If they purported to set forth no more than "The Human Influence of Jesus," they would be less open to criticism. But inasmuch as they seem, both by what they say and what they fail to say, to make His entire influence the influence of His idea, uttered variously by Him and embodied in Him, and to connect the new life in men with the mere natural working of the idea, we must pronounce the book in its main drift misleading and mischievous.

C. A. A.

CHRIST BEARING WITNESS TO HIMSELF. The Donnellan Lectures for 1878-9. By the Rev. GEORGE A. CHADWICK, D.D. 12mo. pp. xxiii. 284. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. New York.

The general object of these lectures is to test the fourfold record of the life of Christ which the Gospels give us, with a view to a judgment upon the mutual consistency of these records as indicated by the self-consistency of the character of Christ delineated in them. It is rightly held that a Christ of history and a Christ of legend, a natural and a supernatural Christ must soon be discriminated by a careful scrutiny. There are minor traits, delicate characteristics which legend will overlook and art disdain or confuse.

The author illustrates (Lec. 1) by the tact, sensibility, "quick understanding" of situations and of man "which appear alike in the most human and the most supernatural parts of our Lord's work as described in all the Gospels; by a like delicacy of apprehension combined with a supreme regard for truth in all his controversial contact with men (Lec. 2); by the manifest presence of these and other like characteristics in John's Gospel, which critics are so intent upon sundering from and contrasting with the other three (Lec. 3); by the absolute necessity for supernatural el-

men if the portraiture is to be kept consistent (Lec. 4); by the untenableness of the theory that myth or legend is the creator of any part of the Gospel story (Lec. 5); and, finally (Lec. 6), by the inconsistencies and mutual contradictions of the sceptical theories.

Attractive in style, penetrating and forcible in thought and argument, indicating thorough familiarity with the literature of negative and disintegrating criticism, these lectures are a valuable contribution both to constructive and to defensive apologetics. The reserves and omissions, as well as the utterances of the Gospel, are so treated as, with a somewhat rare success, to give vividness to the human elements of the Life and its story, while only magnifying those that are divine. C. A. A.

THE MANLINESS OF CHRIST. By THOMAS HUGHES, Q.C. 12mo. pp. viii. 160. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1880.

Some of our readers, we are sure, have already said to themselves "Muscular Christianity," as Mr. Hughes himself expected. The object of this little volume is, however, a very simple and single one: "to look at the life of Christ from one point of view, and in special connection with one human quality." Mr. Hughes has found among the class of men toward whom tastes and opportunities drew him, a common prejudice against Christianity as unfriendly to manliness; as appealing constantly and necessarily rather to men's fears than to bolder and braver qualities. To meet this prejudice he prepared for a course of Sunday readings for a class in the Workingmen's College, and wrote out, in a series of papers for *Good Words*; and has now republished in this volume, an examination of the character of Christ. By emphasizing loyalty to truth and surrender of personal will, he corrects that common notion of manliness which makes it little more than courage; and then, passing in rapid review the successive periods and some of the special junctures in the life of Jesus, endeavors to show how in Him was always found and everywhere exemplified that loftiest manliness, which by teaching, as well as by this wondrous example, He would commend to His people. Simple in its aim, direct in its style and method, this book well recommends a Christlike manliness of piety to those whose misapprehension Mr. Hughes was seeking to remove. He is thoroughly alive to the temper of the times, which he characterizes, in the closing sentence of an appended address, as "charged on every side with signs of the passing away of old things, such as have not been seen above the horizon in Christendom since Luther nailed his protest on the church door of a German village." Steadfastness against the onset of the "new gospel" of materialism and worldliness he urges upon the boys and men of England, and to the ears of many he has access as few others have.

C. A. A.

AFTER an Academic career of fifty years, Prof. Reuss* gathers up in a little volume a few addresses delivered on various University occasions. Aside from their interest to former pupils they exhibit to the general public another side of the life and work of the veteran expositor; his genial spirit, his interest in the general movements of the day, his views of life.

In the address customary at the opening of the college year at Manchester New College, Prof. Upton† takes as his starting-point the modern scientific and philosophic disposition to depreciate Theology; and after tracing somewhat this movement, finds in Spencer's Agnosticism the beginning of better things, so far forth at least as it "admits the existence of an unknowable mystery behind man and nature."

* "Reden an Theologie Studierende u. s. w." von Eduard Reuss. 2. Aufl. 12mo. pp. 173. [B. W. & Co.] Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn. 1879.

† "The Present Agnosticism and the Coming Theology." An opening Lecture, etc., by Charles B. Upton. [B. W. & Co.] London: Williams & Norgate. 1879.

He acknowledges special indebtedness to an essay of Mr. Francis A. Henry (author of an interesting article in the *Princeton Review* for Jan., 1880) "though I am from being able to accept in its entirety the Hegelian philosophy which pervades it and on which it is founded."

Dr. Ebrard,* while rebuking that curiosity which would be ever peering into the future life, and that temerity which in much of our questioning, at least, seems to prescribe to God what must be done if we are to be happy hereafter, takes the limited intimations of the Scriptures as authorizing our reverent inquiry, and as signed to help us in Christian living here. Dissenting only in some particulars connected with the author's Millenarian beliefs, we find in these sermons interesting and profitable views of the transfiguration of love, knowledge, and activity in "state after death."

Under the editorship of Profs. Frommel, of Heidelberg, and Pfaff, of Erlangen, there is appearing a series† of pamphlet "lectures" on various topics of living interest, all of which are treated from the Christian point of view. The subjects of those which have fallen under our eye are such as these: State and Church in the view of the Reformers (Prof. Geffcken); The Influence of Darwinism on our Political Life (Prof. Pfaff); The Credibility of the History of Jesus and the N. T. writings (Prof. Ebrard); Slavery and Christianity in the ancient world (Prof. Zahn); The Popes of the Renaissance (Prof. Tschackert); The Beginnings of Christianity in Rome (K. Schmidt). The subjects announced for the future are equally attractive.

The expectation awakened by the subjects and the writers with whose names they are associated, is not disappointed when we come to the proof. The series is valuable, some of its parts not only strong in themselves but well fortified by references to sources of ampler information, and should be widely popular.

Socrates, Cæsar, and Christ—the three great standard-bearers of human progress who all died for their ideas, while yet their ideas survived, and in their union guarantee to the race a unity that can never come of politics, or religion, or any other constraining power—these ideas, self-conscious morality, self-mastering liberty, self-denying love:—this appears to be Prof. Hecker's doctrine of human welfare (see pp. 38, 59). His "The Israelites and Monotheism,"‡ is one of the extremest products of modern Dutch criticism. He develops, e. g., the O. T. conception of a God who is "God of gods, Lord of lords" out of the influence of a theocratic government, which must invest its god with all that belongs to an Oriental despotism (p. 17), and out of a people naturally mild and peaceable makes, through the influence of their particularistic religion, one of the most ferocious and remorseless of nations (p. 29).

Dr. Pressensé edits a small volume | containing nine apologetic addresses delivered in Paris at the time of the Exposition of 1878, and under the auspices of the Christian Evidence Society of London. The addresses are as follows: The experimental method and Christianity, by E. Doumergue, pastor and editor, of Paris; The Earth and the Biblical account of the Creation (two), by B. Pozzy; The Royalty of Man, by De Pressensé; The Destiny of Man, by Prof. Godet; The true conditions of hap-

* "Der Zustand des Christen nach dem Tode." Drei Predigten von Dr. A. Ebrard. pp. 32. [B. W. & Co.] Erlangen: A. Deichert. 1879.

† "Sammlung von Vorträgen." Herausgegeben von W. Frommel und Friedr. Pfaff. Bd. I., 1-10; II. 1-4. [B. W. & Co.] Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1879.

‡ "Die Israeliten und der Monotheismus," von Dr. W. Hecker, Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Groningen. 8vo. pp. 66. [B. W. & Co.] Leipzig: Otto Schulze. 1879.

| "La vérité Chrétienne et le doute moderne." Conférences données à Paris, etc. Avec une Préface par E. de Pressensé. 12mo. pp. xii. 320. [B. W. & Co.] Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher. 1879.

piness, by E. Monod, pastor, Marseilles; The Books of the New Testament, by **Prof. J. Monod**, of Montauban; Miracles and the laws of Nature, by Prof. Bois, of **Montauban**; The divine authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, by Dr. Coulin, of **Geneva**. Some of these addresses are of marked interest and value, fine specimens of **their** class, and admirably adapted to the occasion which called them forth.

C. A. A.

IV.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

HOMILETICAL AND PASTORAL LECTURES. Delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral before the Church Homiletical Society, with a Preface, by the Right Rev. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1880.

The multiplication of books on the subject to which this volume is devoted is an evidence of the interest which is felt in it, alike by pastors and students of theology. **W**hether it be at the same time a prophecy that the ministers of the next generation **shall** attain greater pulpit efficiency than that possessed by those of the present, will **depend** on the wisdom with which the subject is treated in them, and the attention **which** is given by them to the principles which underlie it. If the thoughts of the **preacher** are turned away by them from the great purpose for which his office was **instituted**, while he is led to look exclusively at methods and mere external matters, **he** will be injured rather than benefited. But if he is taught to keep, high over all **things** else, before his mind the one great ambition that should animate the preacher; if **he** is made to feel in any profound measure, as Paul did, that "necessity is laid **upon** him," or as Peter did, that "he cannot but speak" to his fellow-men concerning their salvation, then all other practical hints will fall into their proper place, and **will** be exceedingly helpful. To make a sermon is one thing, but to seek to help a **struggling**, tempted, sinful, sorrowful, or heavy-laden fellow-mortal through a **sermon**, is quite another. He who looks at the sermon as an end in itself may become a **polished** rhetorician, but will never be a great preacher; but the man who **seeks** always through the sermon to accomplish some beneficent work in the souls of his **hearers** will, unless he be hindered by some accidental defects, become in the best **sense** of the word a great preacher, even if his sermons do not in every respect **come** up to the homiletic standard. For Homiletics, rightly viewed, is the analysis of **the** qualities which have commanded success, rather than the prescription of rules **for** the attainment of success; and when the preacher seeks simply to work by rule, **he** makes it evident that he lacks the spirit without which he can do nothing through **his** rhetoric.

The merit of the work before us consists in the fact that, for the most part, the **authors** of the lectures of which it is composed have turned the preacher's mind **away** from himself, and fixed it on the purpose which, as a servant of Christ, he **ought** to keep in view. The discourses were originally delivered in the chapter **room** of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, to the members of the Church Homiletical **Society**, and printed in the *Clergyman's Magazine*. They are on such subjects as **the** Preparation of a Sermon; the End or Object of a Sermon; Study, in its bearing **on** Preaching; the Study of the Holy Scripture, with a view to the preparation of **Sermons**; Texts; Pastoral Visitation; Cottage Lectures; How to reach working-**men**, etc. And it is scarcely possible that men of the calibre of Archbishop Thom-**son**; Bishops Thorold and Goodwin; Deans Howson, Freemantle, and Perowne; Canon Barry, and others like them, can speak on such themes without dropping many **valuable** hints. The number of contributors deprives the book of unity; but then, **on** the other hand, there is truth in Bishop Ellicott's words, that "such teaching is best **communicated** by the co-operation of several different minds; and for this plain

reason, that hardly any single mind is sufficiently many-sided to set forth the various aspects of the answers to the great question—"How most effectually to influence the souls of others by the spoken word, and how most powerfully to modify life and practice?"

So much has been written on these subjects recently, that little that is new will be found in this volume. It may be described as a whole by the title of Dean Henson's Lecture, as *Homely Hints on Preaching*; and just as one is quickened by hearing the relation of an older minister's experience, so the student will be benefited by coming into contact with the spirit and aims of these writers as they are here set forth. He will not agree, perhaps, with all that is advanced. He will find many things more suited for Episcopalians of the National Church of England, than for Presbyterians in America. He may even be compelled to utter a strong protest against such an advice as that given by Dean Freemantle where he says, "Let the personal pre-millennian advent of Christ occupy a prominent place in appeals to the conscience of your hearers." But he will be stimulated and strengthened by the book as a whole, and will go to his work with new energy, and deeper devotion. As a systematic treatment of the subject of Preaching, the work will not bear comparison with the great standards in that theme; but as a collection of Familiar Talks from the lips of men whose experience and views are of much value, it is worthy of high praise.

W. M. T.

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The three volumes are in marked contrast. They will probably find their various readers, but it is quite impossible that the same minds will be drawn to each with the same relish. The sermons certainly show a very different order of ability.

Dr. Mozley's are brief, unique, and suggestive. Homiletically considered, they are anything but models. His texts are sometimes mere pretexts, not even answering the purpose of a sign-board. Sometimes they are points of departure to which the travelling preacher never returns. Almost always the passage is treated in utter disregard of its nexus. This suggests at once two of the chief defects of the sermons; they are not rich in Scripture, and they are not systematic unfoldings of the mind of the Spirit. They lack, moreover, breadth and comprehensiveness. No sermon is profound or great. Mozley does not go round about any of his topics, so as to present them with anything like complete or exhaustive treatment, but he is ever piquing curiosity, challenging attention, and luring the reader on by his freshness and suggestiveness. Now and then one is reminded of F. W. Robertson, but not of Robertson's deep sympathetic spirituality. Mozley's sermons are constant surprises. They are original, sharp, and incisive, conveying commonly excellent points, and emphasizing some most practical truths. Flippant, superficial souls that flout at fear, would do well to read the sermon on "Fear." They might be led to see the danger they are in of "a total delivery to frivolities;" and that "with fear goes all the mystery and depth of religion." The sermon on "The Teaching of Events," has sayings like this: "The general thought of death is not without its meditative satisfaction; and for this reason, that it gives us repose." It has "a greatness which overcomes us, and stills us by overcoming us." The sermon on "The Heroism of Faith," rings out questions after this sort: "If people were asked now, . . . what one single part of their lives could the generality point to as a proof of belief in eternity?" Other themes are richly suggestive, such as "The Secret Justice of Temporal Providences."

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the principle of Talleyrand's familiar saying: "All the world is a wiser man than any man in the world."

T. S. H.

GABRIEL BIEL,* "the last of the scholastics," is one of the two philosophers of the fifteenth century deemed by Niedner and other Church historians, worthy of mention. Luther, Melancthon, and others indicate his prominence among the thinkers of the later pre-Reformation period. Dr. Plitt, in an interesting study, describes him as a preacher, with the design of showing through him how a theologian and philosopher of his school and spirit presented truth from the pulpit; what his themes, what his method, and what his practical views of the relations of the truth and the Church to spiritual life.

In opposition to a strong tendency, especially within the Lutheran Church, to increase greatly the prominence of the liturgical element in public worship, Pastor F. W. Wirth,† vindicates for preaching the central place. The testimony of Scripture is examined as supplying the basis on which worship must stand, while ever seeking to meet the needs of the Church: the doctrine of worship is set forth, with emphatic vindication for preaching of its pre-eminent right, even in relation to prayer and sacraments; and homiletic inferences follow, as to what preaching should be to fulfil its function. The doctrine is salutary, and worthy of Evangelical Protestantism.

An essay‡ from the *Revue de la Philosophie Positive* by Littré on the two great historical junctures in which Semitic and Aryan peoples contended for the dominion of the world, not only sketches the struggle between Rome and Carthage, and the Arabians and Christians of W. Europe, but discusses the significance of the two events in the world's history.

C. A. A.

V.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

THE EMOTIONS. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton College. 12m, pp. 225, with Index. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

Dr. McCosh, by this volume, has done good service in a branch of philosophy too little cultivated. He has labored with a good degree of success, to bring order and system into a field where vagueness for the most part prevails. He has recognized and combined elements belonging to the sphere of the emotions which have never before been contemplated from the same point of view. The felicity and fullness of illustration with which he treats many parts of the subject, particularly the grouping and classifying of the motives, and the freshness with which he invests old and familiar facts, remind us, more than his other recent works, of the charm which invested his "Method of the Divine Government," to those who made his acquaintance as a writer on philosophical subjects nearly thirty years ago. What would otherwise be barren abstraction he clothes with the flesh and blood of experimental fact. The vast number and wide diversity of those states of the mind, almost defying scientific treatment, of which we are aware as emotions, are brought under general laws and their distinguishing features are developed and analyzed. Dr. McCosh finds four

* "Gabriel Biel als Prediger," geschildert von Dr. Gustav Plitt. 8vo. pp. 78. [B. Westermann & Co.] Erlangen: A. Deichert. 1879.

† "Die Predigt im evangelischen Cultus." Eine liturgisch-homiletische Abhandlung von F. W. Wirth. 8vo. pp. 75. [B. W. & Co.] Erlangen: A. Deichert. 1879.

‡ "Comment dans deux situations historiques les Sémites entières en compétition avec les Aryens pour l'hégémonie du monde, et comment ils y faillirent." Par É. Littré. 16mo. pp. 52. [B. W. & Co.] Leipzig et Paris.

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Leipzig, 1876"), and Professor Schrader has found himself called on to defend, merely his own scholarly reputation, but the science upon which he justly puts high an estimate. No one is better fitted for the task than he. He divides his book into a General and a Special Part, the latter four or five times as large as the former. The General Part has to do with the trustworthiness and value of the interpretations, particularly of historical inscriptions. The Special gives and defends actual results of the decipherer, first in the geographical, secondly in the historical field.

In the General Part, the author first restates (from ABK, pp. 4-59) and maintains, briefly, but decisively, his list of helps for the decipherer. These are: (1). Trilingual Inscriptions, of the Persian period, where the easier Persian cuneiform texts give the key to the more difficult Babylonian. (2). Parallel texts—different copies of one and the same document, confirming and interpreting each other. (3). Syllabaries—made by the Assyrians themselves, and consisting of long lists of significant characters, with their values given in separate columns. (4). Bas-reliefs, illustrating the texts. (5). Historical tradition, independent of the inscriptions. (6). Historical combination, to be used, of course, with great care and judgment. It was in most cases sufficient to refer to ABK, to show the real value, as well as the limits, of each one of these. Nos. (2) and (5) the author does not again touch upon. He passes on to show how the polyphone nature of the Assyrian characters, by which the same character may represent either a word or only a syllable, is relieved by various contrivances, so as to lose much of its difficulty, and how the so-called homophony, by which several characters occur for the same sound, is in reality a help rather than a hindrance. To the subject of mistakes in the inscriptions, due to the workmen who cut them, he devotes several pages, and shows their unimportance both in kind and number. He combats with vigor v. Gutschmid's position that the Assyrian language was dying out—was no longer well understood by the people themselves, at the time when the great historical inscriptions were made, and then considers, by way of transition, the aid which the results of interpretation afford the historian—containing, as they do, contemporary records of events which are elsewhere recorded imperfectly or not at all.

So he comes to the Special Part. The first half of this is geographical. The contributions of Assyriology to geographical knowledge are too numerous even to be named. At the head of the list stands "Ur of the Chaldees," which Schrader identifies—this against Dillmann—with the old Babylonian city Uru, now Mugheir. He adduces two grounds: (1). No Ur has been actually found anywhere else. (This Dillmann admits, "Commentar über die Genesis," p. 224). (2). This Ur is in the land of the Chaldees. The Babylonians are called Chaldaeans (Kaldai) in the inscriptions, and no people elsewhere is so called, and as far back as the cuneiform records go (at least to the time of Dungi, the earliest mentioned king but one, B.C. 2000), there was this Semitic people in Southern Babylonia, where the ruins of Ur (Mugheir) now lie.

Of the following, much care is given to the identification of the land "Kummu" with the classical Kommagene, and its location west of the Euphrates, between Melitene and Karkemisch. The discussion is interesting as showing the minute and intelligent way in which even slight indications are interpreted by a scholar of keen insight. Karkemisch itself (Biblical, מִצְרַיִם, scene of the great defeat of Pharaoh-Necho by Nebuchadnezzar, Is. x. 9, Jer. xlv. 2, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20), is no longer identified with the Greek Circesium (the traditional view, still put forth by Mühlau and Volck, in the eighth edition of Gesenius' Heb. Lex., 1877), at the junction of the Chaboras with the Euphrates, but put much farther north, indeed somewhat north of the latitude of Nineveh, in the neighborhood of the ruins called Dschirbâs. The names for Egypt are fully discussed, Musri (מִצְרַיִם) being

- “The Right Eye and the Right Hand,” “Growing Worse,” “Jacob as a Prince,”
 “Temptation Treated as Opportunity.”

Dr. Liddon's sermons are fuller and broader and statelier. They smell a little of the University. They do not run in the narrow lines of Dr. Mozley's; they are not so piquant and provocative and suggestive, and they are heavier in style; but they are weightier in thought. They analyze and unfold more fully. His “Courage of Faith,” on the text, “I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation,” is grand and inspiring. Under this text, this is the way he flings out his challenge to unbelief: “There are metaphysical and physical claimants to the throne of the heart, names which have won the thinking and unthinking homage of educated Europe. But what has been achieved by them that could, by any defensible use of language, be described as ‘a power of God unto salvation?’” There are passages in his sermon on “Growth in the Apprehension of Truth,” and on “Worth of Faith in a Life to Come,” worthy of our foremost writers. Liddon's style is not sparkling and fresh; sometimes it is labored and heavy. His meaning does not always stare the reader in the face, but his sermons are full of grand truth.

Dr. DeKoven's sermons breathe an earnest Christian spirit, but they are marked by no intellectual force and no originality. There is nothing striking or suggestive about them, except that they suggest a sincere and godly man smitten with a great zeal for “the priesthood” and “the altar” and “baptismal regeneration” and “sacramental” union with Christ, and “the outward and organic unity of the Church.” Witness the following: “We are made one with Him in holy baptism;” “Each baptized person before me has received the awful gift of baptismal innocence and sacramental grace,” p. 316; “What is the sacrament of the altar, but the self-same act?” (as the presenting in the midst of the throne Christ's blessed human nature bearing the marks of His adorable passion) “done in His earthly kingdom,” p. 223. And think of outward and organic unity being brought to paternity after this fashion: “Inward oneness is the direct result of visible unity,” p. 113. After reading these discourses, we can only attribute to the enthusiasm of an ardent friendship and to the fact that there was far more in the man than ever got into his sermons, this statement by Dr. Morgan Dix, in the Preface: “To have given such a man as James DeKoven to this age is glory enough for the Church of one generation; we need not expect to live to see his peer.” H. J.

THE LIMITATIONS OF LIFE, AND OTHER SERMONS, by WM. M. TAYLOR, D.D.; with Portrait on steel, by Ritchie. A. C. Armstrong & Son. New York. 1880.

Dr. Taylor has already made generous contributions to our religious literature. His “David, King of Israel,” “Elijah the Prophet,” “Daniel the Beloved,” and “Moses the Lawgiver” are admirable specimens of the class they belong to, mingling the biographical and the practical with rare skill and ability. The present volume consists of twenty-five sermons relating to as many points of Christian life and doctrine. And every one of them bears the mark of the Master's favor. “There is not a discourse here reproduced which has not already been useful to some souls,” says the author in his Preface. We can ourselves testify to this in reference to the first sermon, from which the book takes its name: “The Limitations of Life.” We shall not soon forget its cheering influence, as with a very dear friend, now at rest in God, we once listened to its wise, encouraging words. Among other topics discussed are: The Incarnation, The Atonement, Our Father, The Vision of God, If not to Christ, then to Whom? The Element of Unconsciousness in Character, Providence, The Power of God's Gentleness, Emptied from Vessel to Vessel, Sowing and Reaping. The selection of subjects strikes us as excellent and timely. While the great central ideas of the Gospel form its ground-work, most of the discourses deal with vital truths of daily Christian experience, both grievous and joy-

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W. A. P.

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as Dr. Woolsey. Few are so well informed that they would not gain new knowledge from this modest volume; few have thought these subjects through so thoroughly that they would not be helped by it to more intelligent and resolute convictions.

C. A. A.

THE WORKMAN: HIS FALSE FRIENDS AND HIS TRUE FRIENDS. By Rev. Jos. P. THOMPSON, D.D., LL.D. 16mo, pp. 254. American Tract Society, New York.

During his entire residence abroad as well as throughout his busy ministry in New York, the honored and lamented author rendered many valuable services to many good causes. As preacher, scholar, philanthropist, patriot, his was a work that told. During these last years of his foreign residence few have done so good service in expounding and vindicating American ideas where such a service could be peculiarly effective, and all the more when rendered in the style and spirit of a high Christian culture.

This little volume, prepared within the last months of his life, is admirably adapted to instruct and benefit not the class only to which its title commends it, but proprietors and employers as well as legislators, and Christian pastors and workers might to great advantage take counsel of it. It is sound, wise, sympathetic, and Christian in its dealing with the nature, rights, dignities, responsibilities, and manifold perils of labor, and should find a wide circulation.

C. A. A.

A MANUAL OF THE CHALDEE LANGUAGE, containing a Grammar of the Biblical Chaldean and of the Targums and a Christomathy. By DAVID McCALMAN TURPIE, D.D. 8vo, pp. xxiii., 147, 52. London: Williams & Norgate. New York: [B. W. & Co.] 1879.

There does not appear to be any occasion for the publication of this book, external to the writer's own mind. It is professedly a compilation from all the Chaldean grammars in his possession, and he has been so faithful to the originals that we recognize in it frequently the familiar language of the old text-books. He has not even taken the trouble to correct the old current mistakes as to the early home and relations of the so-called Chaldee, so that the historical part of the Introduction, taken chiefly from Winer, is entirely worthless. In the grammar proper he seems to have copied his predecessors faithfully, and the errors and misleading statements which abound are evidently his own. The Christomathy is full and useful; but the accompanying vocabulary is hopelessly spoiled for beginners by the absence of any indication of the genders of the nouns, a matter of special importance in the Aramaic, on account of the ambiguous form of the emphatic state.

J. F. MCC.

LEHRBUCH DER HEBRÄISCHEN GRAMMATIK. Von BERNHARD STADE, der Theologie ordentlichem Professor zu Giessen. Erster Theil; Schriftlehre, Lautlehre, Formenlehre. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel. 1879. 8vo, pp. xviii. 426.

The volume before us is the first part of a work on Hebrew Grammar which is to embrace the results of the author's experience as a teacher of Hebrew in Berlin and Giessen since 1874. Part second, containing the Syntax, he hopes to issue soon, though as he rightly says, this subject requires a more thorough working up than does the subject of Forms.

A treatise on the Forms of a language may be legitimately written according to two different methods. The grammarian may take up those forms as they appear in living speech through the whole of the literary history of the idiom, confining himself to a systematic presentation of the mere facts of the language, without regard to the question as to their production or their antecedents. This is, of course, to be done in any case. But the critical student requires something more than this: he wishes to know how the current elements of speech have been developed through what previous stages they had passed before the language reached its

literary period ; and, going further back still, he seeks to determine, as far as he can, the history of the same forms and sounds as they existed in the primitive speech from which they proceeded. Since Gesenius, all the leading Hebrew grammarians of Germany—Ewald, Olshausen, and Stade—have aimed to follow the latter plan, each in a fashion of his own. The mode of dealing with the forms in their historical development is, of course, largely dependent upon the views taken of the original structure of the Hebrew, and of its relations to the sister dialects as throwing light upon the former. Differences of opinion on this subject have given distinguishing marks to all of their grammars. The *Lehrgebäude* of Gesenius (1817), and the different editions of his smaller grammar that were issued by himself, did not contain any definite theory of the development of Hebrew sounds and forms, the author being more anxious to exhibit the actual state of the language, than to speculate on its earlier stages ; yet with his extensive knowledge of the Semitic tongues, and his unsurpassed judgment, he could not fail to cite many striking and just analogies from the kindred languages which throw light upon the phenomena of the Hebrew. Ewald, whose grammatical works are unrivalled among Semitic writings for their insight into the living force of language as expressing the ideas of the speakers, and for their philosophic treatment of the present relations and significance of its forms, was hampered in his discussion of the development of individual sounds and formative elements, by his theory, to which he clung through life, that Hebrew itself in its present form stands nearest to the primitive Semitic tongue, and therefore has but little need of elucidation in these matters from the cognate languages. This is the chief fault of Ewald's *Lehrbuch*, and it is due to the fact that the author, though a great philologist and the most philosophical and penetrating of German Semitic grammarians, was not, strictly speaking, a great etymologist or glottologist. The sixth edition of his *Ausführliches Lehrbuch* appeared in 1855, the seventh in 1863, the eighth and last in 1870. In 1861, Olshausen produced a remarkable grammar, designed to oppose the system of Ewald, especially in the views held by the latter as to the historical relations between the Hebrew, the kindred dialects, and the mother-tongue. He maintains that the Hebrew sprang from a language which was a "twin-sister of the Arabic," and therefore the Arabic must be the great source of material that will clear up and bring out correctly the earlier Hebrew forms, which determine so much the aspect of the language in literary times. In availing himself of this principle, and in laboring to present more clearly the growth of the sounds and formative elements from their prior stages, it is not to be denied that he was generally more successful than Ewald, though it would be difficult to show that even as far as his treatise goes (he did not take up the subject of the *Syntax*), it ought to be held more valuable, on the whole, than the work of the latter. Even in this special regard his views were false and partial. In making Arabic the norm for Semitic morphology, he committed an error as grave in its sphere as that of Schultens and his school in the province of Semitic lexicography and exegesis. Arabic does not contain all the Proto-Semitic forms ; nor does it always present in their primitive aspect what it does preserve. Moreover, he necessarily fell into error from another danger. Arabic has plainly developed new sounds and new forms, as well as a vast multitude of roots unknown to the primitive Semites. But these sounds and forms Olshausen took to be the prototypes of Hebrew phenomena. There is not, in fact, any one of the four great Semitic divisions which does not throw light on the Hebrew in this department. The work thus taken up and disposed of by Olshausen in such an off-hand style can only be properly done when all the dialects are compared, and the Proto-Semitic forms from which those of the Hebrew arose, are eliminated by a profound and cautious induction. That the work of Olshausen should have been so much deferred to in Germany, shows that even there comparative Semitic study is yet in its infancy.

This review of some of the differential features of the leading grammars of Ger-

many is necessary to make the reader understand the position assumed by our author with relation to the same questions. He stands professedly midway between Ewald and Olshausen, putting Hebrew more on a level with the other dialects as representing the primitive speech, and denying the exclusive sufficiency of Arabic. He evidently shows, however, a preference in general for the views of Olshausen in matters of detail, and sometimes follows him when he is grossly wrong. Before taking up the special points we think worthy of criticism, we ought to speak of the general plan and most striking features of the work.

One of the most acceptable features of the *Lehrbuch* is its admirable clearness in the arrangement of the whole system and of all its parts, so that the doctrine of the book as well as its value can be apprehended in a very short time. No less praiseworthy is the judicious distribution of its matter, that which is subordinate and merely illustrative being never found in the large-type paragraphs. Thus the work is almost an ideal for convenience, and, as a practical book of reference or instruction, would be found much more manageable than Ewald or Olshausen. As to the systematic arrangement of the subject, however, we must say that we prefer that of Ewald with its severely logical and profound development of principles. In the order of treatment, Stade follows Olshausen in making the subject of noun-formation precede that of the verb. We doubt the propriety of this. It is questionable on the score of practical utility, and still more so on the ground of logical accuracy. Of late it has become the fashion to say that in Semitic the noun preceded the verb, as in Indo-European the verb preceded the noun. Strictly speaking, it is probable that neither preceded the other, but that the first sentences contained both; or, rather, that in the earliest affirmations a verbal noun or noun of action (the Hebrew infinitive) united the functions of both. However this may be, it seems certain that the verb was the first to attain its full development, and the study of the language is made more intelligible and enjoyable if that which is first in the order of growth and thought is put first in order of treatment. This inversion seems to be the only important defect in the book, viewed as a manual for the early student. The classifications made are striking, lucid, and easily remembered, and even the printing is a real delight to the eye—a matter calling for special mention in a German book. The remarks to be further made will concern the correctness of the treatise mainly on theoretical questions.

We have said that the author, while following Olshausen's methods in the main, seeks to use, for the elucidation of Hebrew matters, not only the Arabic, but also other Semitic languages. In this he has improved greatly on Olshausen. We note with special approval the use made not only of the Aramaic, but also, particularly, of the Phœnician and Moabitic dialects. But he has unaccountably failed to employ the Assyrian, except very rarely, and then, evidently, at second-hand. No critical and historical grammarian of Hebrew can afford to do this; and his work loses thereby not only in theoretical completeness, but also in accuracy of statement.

The treatise begins with an introductory chapter of twenty-two pages upon the Hebrew language in general. In this the author has a good deal to say of the cognate languages as they bear upon the Hebrew. He offers the old division into North-Semitic and South-Semitic tongues. There is a certain sense in which this distinction is valid; but it is now doubtful if it ought to be retained, at least, without important qualifications, which the author does not furnish. Prof. Stade speaks of these divisions as forming two great branches of the parent stem. The phraseology is misleading, and we more than suspect that the author misses the truth of the matter. The implication is, that all the dialects of Semitic, except the Arabic and Ethiopic, represent a language spoken long by one family after the Arabo-Ethiopic was separated from the parent stock. This cannot be proved, and seems improbable. The Assyrio-Babylonian, the Aramaic, and the Hebraic dialects resemble one another more in the fact that they have all undergone more or less degen-

eration from the primitive type, than in the matter of primal and distinctive elements. The Assyrio-Babylonian, moreover, while resembling Hebrew most closely, has nearly as many essential associations with Arabic, and differs from Aramaic much more seriously than it does from either of the others, thus showing, along with other evidences, which we cannot here adduce, that there are really four great divisions of Semitic speech. But we really think it a serious defect in Dr. Stade that in this discussion, so full, and, in many respects, so admirable, he should have ignored the Assyrio-Babylonian almost completely. A few hours' study of its features is sufficient to convince any one of its very great value for comparative purposes, and would have prevented our author from making the statement, which is strange enough on all grounds, that "the Aramaic is, of all the Semitic languages, the most important for the understanding of the Hebrew" (p. 6). But we cannot pursue this interesting subject further in this place. We will only say, that in general, Dr. Stade seems not to be aware what linguistic elements furnish the true criteria of closest affinity between related dialects. In this special connection it ought also to be mentioned that of the phenomena cited (p. 7) as showing the close relations of Hebrew and Aramaic, none are fundamentally important, and the two most striking are of no value at all. The aspiration of the mutes, as a reference to Ewald would have shown (*Lehrbuch*, 8. Ed., p. 124), appears in several languages as diverse as possible from one another, and in this relation it is highly probable that the Hebrew was simply influenced by the Aramaic in its neighborhood; while the tendency to drop or assimilate the letter *n* in a mixed syllable appears also in Assyrian.

Before leaving the question of elucidation from the Assyrian, it should be noted that the treatment of the imperfect verbs historically might have been immensely improved by a comparison with the forms of that language, which is here specially instructive. At § 159 he might, with its light, have written much more luminously on causative stems. At § 168 (cf. 161 *a*) he might have adduced from the Assyrian the only existing parallel for the use of the Niphal as a pure passive, supplanting the proper passive of the Kal. In general, we may say, the treasures of the Assyrian are used scarcely at all, and in the few instances we have noted, rather in the interest of single words, than for the clearing up of forms or in the exposition of principles. (see §§ 171, 4; 177 *b*; 179, 2; 362 *c*).

We had noted many things that seemed worthy of comment, but lack of space will compel us to allude briefly to only a few. The treatment of the primitive types of root-structure is good, and his remark (§ 12, note) that we must not hold that *all* roots were once biliteral is a much-needed caution. At § 63 he is probably wrong in holding (with Olshausen) that Hebrew had once the Arabic *gh* as a fixed definite sound. The sound of *y* probably varied in certain words and in certain localities. The other development was peculiar to the Arabs among all the Semites. The same stricture applies to a supposed regular double pronunciation of the *ay*. He is wrong in claiming in § 70 *a* that a syllable cannot begin or end with two consonants, making the punctuators responsible for the common misunderstanding on the subject. In § 63 (cf. 35 *a*) he makes what appears to us to be a very serious blunder in asserting (after Olshausen) that the sound of *d* had once disappeared from the language, being displaced by *δ*. His arguments, for this theory are partial and superficial, and its falsity is easily proved. The truth seems to be that *ā*, outside of the *toni-syllable* only, had an obscure sound which easily ran into *δ*, but elsewhere the *ā* remained. Here one of the Teutonic phenomena would be of good service as illustrative. The Anglo-Saxon *a* unaccented becomes through precession an *o*, which is often heard in English. But neither Anglo-Saxon nor English ever lost the sound of *ā* (March, p. 26).

On the origin of *yy* roots the true view is doubtless taken when the author says

(§ 143 *a*) that the biliteral form is the older; and in general he seems to have just conception of the process of root-formation. In §§ 144-147, he gives some sagacious remarks on the development of secondary from primary roots. The examples given as proofs are, however, not always correctly chosen, and the list of sounds used as determinatives is incomplete. For example, he gives only א and ה as pre-fixed gutturals, whereas both ה and ע are found as predeterminatives. The root קח to be high, shows secondaries that may furnish examples for all the gutturals. The first class that he gives of indeterminatives, or inserted secondary formative letters, namely, the so-called vibration-sounds, has probably no existence. The examples he alleges of ש and ר being so used are fanciful and preposterous. At § 341 *ff.* we have some excellent remarks on the remains of case-endings in Hebrew, though here, as in the subject of noun-stems with suffixes, there is a good deal that is speculative and to be read with caution. The same remark applies to his treatment of the doctrine of the verb and the development of its forms in § 381, *cf.* 478 *ff.* The reader is to be particularly cautioned against accepting, on the word of the author, the theory that all the persons of the Perfect and Imperfect were originally nothing but nouns. One or two errors as to single words may be mentioned. כתן (§ 141, 2) does not come from a demonstrative, but from a predicative root; nor is it (§ 145 *b*) — *tantan*, as though reduplicated from the primary *tan*. The *n* is simply a predeterminative. מְשִׁיחִי (§ 162) is probably a reflexive secondary stem, but not causative reflexive. It is altogether improbable that עֲשִׂהָרָה (§ 149) is a quadriliteral developed from the root עֶשֶׂר with inserted *t*. It is most likely of Akkadian origin, meaning the light-bringer.

The writer is always sure of the correctness of his opinions. "We know," he says, "that this book (Daniel) was written not during the Exile in Babylon, but about 167 in Palestine" (p. 8). He is certain (§ 155 *a*) that כְּפִלְז Ez. xxviii. and צִמְחָתוֹרָה Ps. lxxxviii, 17, are typographical errors.

J. F. McC—

Several important notices, already prepared, are deferred for want of space. A considerable number of valuable books reached us too late to be reviewed in the present number; for them we make acknowledgment to the authors or publishers.

We have received from the publishers:

EWALD'S PROPHETS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Vol. III. [Theol. Transl. Fund Lib.] London: Williams & Norgate. 1878. [B. W. & Co.]

THE HISTORY OF JESUS OF NAZARA. Vol. IV. By THEODORE KEIM. [Theol. Transl. Fund Lib.] London: Williams & Norgate. 1879. [B. W. & Co.]

THE BIBLICAL MUSEUM. By J. COMPER GRAY. Old Testament, Vols. I and V. (Kings and Chronicles; Ezra to Job). New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

TIMES BEFORE THE REFORMATION. By WILLIAM DINWIDDIE. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1880.

Also, from the last mentioned house:

THE KINGDOM. By CHRISTIAN REDFORD.

PALMS OF ELIM. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D.

PEBBLES FROM THE BROOK. By RICHARD NEWTON, D.D.

THE INTERPRETER'S HOUSE. By REV. WILLIAM W. NEWTON.

BIBLE CHILDREN. By REV. JAMES WELLS.

THE MAIDEN'S LODGE. By EMILY SARAH HOLT.

MURIEL BERTRAM. By AGNES GIBERNE.

SONGS OF THE SOUL. A new popular edition. By REV. S. I. PRIME, D.D.

THE PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.

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I.

THE FUTURE OF HUMANITY ON EARTH.

H E would be a bold thinker who should undertake to foretell the fortunes and the state of an American Republic five or ten centuries hence :—who should attempt not only to describe the type or types of government which may then exist here, but also to delineate the personal characteristics of the men and women of that distant era, the social life of the period, the grade of development and of civilization which our humanity will then have attained on this broad and elect continent. How much bolder would he be who, in full view of the present medley of antagonistic elements, religious, political, social, in European society and life, should propose to tell us what Europe will have become, after the agitations and the mutations of the next thousand years ! Bolder still would he be deemed who should attempt to prognosticate the future at that distant period, not of any single nation or continent, but of all the continents and all the races of mankind : who should assume to say what this world, in its controlling elements and tendencies, its prevailing spirit and principles and life, will be at the end of five or ten more centuries of activity and of growth. But would not he be boldest of all—daring beyond all comparison—who should venture to prophesy concerning the career and development of our humanity, not for any such given period however prolonged, but down to the last century and the last hour of recorded time : unfolding before our vision that ultimate issue in which the whole of human life on earth shall be consummated, in the decisive day

when God shall sum up all earthly things in His own comprehensive conclusion?

Yet this is precisely what the Bible professes to do: it in a word, the Book of the Future of Humanity. With reference to the past, it may be described as the condensed and the sublime biography of mankind, even from the beginning of time: a complete record of the origin, experiences, developments, and career of the human race. With reference to the present, it is the one authoritative law and guide for all men, furnishing the regulative principles which should control all human activities, and breathing forth a spirit which—were it everywhere admitted—would transform man into an angel, and change our world into a paradise of holiness and of bliss. Yet this Book concerns itself no less closely or solemnly with "the things which shall be hereafter." A singular element of prophecy flows like a silver stream throughout its vast expanse: now disclosing simply the future destinies of an individual, a city or a nation: now bringing into view the onward procession of great principles or tendencies or dispensations: now revealing in awful form and coloring even the end of earthly things, the scenes and issues of the final consummation. In this respect, as well as in so many others, the Bible is a book without an equal or a parallel. Neither the ancient dream of an Atlantis, nor the ideal Republic of Plato, nor the Utopia of Thomas More, nor any other fancy or anticipation in literature, can be compared for a moment in clearness, in breadth, in splendor, with its predictions concerning the future of man and of the world. Whether truthfully or falsely, it undertakes to tell us not merely whither our humanity is to move during the successive generations and ages before it on earth, but also what are to be the laws and inspirations which shall control that broad development, and the grand result in which our race will reach its "most consummate flower." The whole course of mankind is herein most clearly described: the end and fruition of that course are most elaborately revealed.

It is also worthy of note that the Bible stakes its claim to be regarded as the Book of God for man, largely on the historical verification of these varied and comprehensive predictions. In the Mosaic, and specially in the prophetic era,

taken its claim upon Jewish credence, not merely on the pendent miracles which accompanied and endorsed it, but on the clear and unquestioned fulfilment of its particular prophecies respecting individuals like Cyrus, cities like Tyre, peoples or nations like the descendants of Ishmael. In the Messianic and apostolic era it again rested the question of its authenticity, chiefly indeed on what our Lord himself did and said, but also largely on the wonderful verifications of prophecy seen in His life, in the outpouring of His Spirit, and in the supernatural development of His Church. So now this singular Book consents to have its right to be received as divine, turn on the exact and ever-growing parallel between human history as it transpires, and its recorded prognostications and foreshadowings of that history. It asks us to compare its declarations concerning the career of humanity, century by century, with the facts as they are gradually traced on the historic page: and then to say whether any mind less than divine could have furnished such a delineation, and followed it in such a realization. The history of the world is continually verifying the divine Word, not merely in its predictions, but by consequence in all its statements, and in all its claims upon human acceptance.

We may expect the Scripture to justify itself more and more conclusively by this peculiar and supreme test of prophecy. Suppose indeed that the world, as it moves on toward some destined close, should progressively develop a future entirely different from that foretold in the Bible:—suppose that the thoroughly pessimistic theory of humanity should turn out to be the true one, and the race, instead of rising into any gloriously worthy consummation, should go down at last into some utterable abyss of corruption and of misery:—suppose, even, that the unfolding history of man should, in fact, bring to light no providential ordering in things, and disclose nothing but an endless series of events, with no worthy movement, no developing purpose, and no adequate result: an unending in of revolving occurrences, bringing nothing to pass, but only clattering on age after age, without aim or end. In either case, the claim of the Bible to be the Book of God would sooner or later be overthrown irrecoverably; for nothing is clearer to any thoughtful student of that Book, than the

fact that its predictions are in utter and irreconcilable contrast with every such supposition. If such should prove to be the actual course and end of man in this world, not only would the prophecies of Scripture be cast aside as illusive, but every doctrine, every precept, every asserted right to rule in man or over man, would be swept away together. But if, on the other hand, what the Bible predicts to-day, turns out to be the fact a thousand or ten thousand years hence: if it is found that there really is in history just such an order and movement as this Book foretells, and if that history should at last be crowned and glorified in just such a consummation as this Book promises, and the actual outcome of things should stand forth before the world as an exact parallel to what was here foretold a thousand ages previous: then at the end, if never before, all men will be compelled to say: It is divine! The conclusion will be simply irresistible. The Mind that so shaped the unfolding future of the world, must have been the same Mind that dictated this volume: and the Mind that could thus both foretell and shape such a vast, progressive, glorious future, can have been none other than divine.

I. But what is the sum of this revealed future, as delineated in Scripture? What, according to this witness, is to be the line of historic development for mankind? What, if these inspired predictions be true, will be the nature and contents of the final consummation? Three things, each wonderful beyond all comparison, seem to be blended together in the biblical conception:

Of these the first is a thoroughly regenerated or renewed human nature. The Bible clearly foretells the fact of a profound, comprehensive, vital change as yet to occur, not in here and there an individual, but in mankind: not a physical or constitutional change primarily, but rather a moral, a spiritual change, pervading all the higher nature, and involving the complete and permanent rectification of manhood and womanhood throughout the world. It declares not merely that such a transformation as this is possible even in our degenerate human nature, and that the divine Word and the divine Spirit are agencies adequate to produce it, but also that it is the divine purpose in and through the Gospel to bring this transformation to pass in the heart of humanity, and

ally to present the race thus faultless and sanctified fore the throne of a reconciled God. It is unquestionable at the Bible stakes the issue of its own divinity on the monstrated ability of the Gospel to work such a change as s in certain specific cases: the whole Christian scheme is sed on the truthfulness of this assumption. But it is hardly s obvious that this Book in like manner claims to possess ility to make this change universal—to bring humanity in neral into such an improved moral condition. If we must y that, in case regeneration be not a fact in human experi- ce, the Scriptures cannot be from God; much more must : say that the fact of regeneration must ultimately become iversal, or the Scriptures, which predict such universality, e not from God.

A regenerate human nature, produced by forces inherent in hristianity and essentially universal, clearly stands out at the d of things as one vital element in the consummation toward ich humanity is moving. Nothing short of this could be ognized by a thoughtful and upright philosophy as meeting e moral needs or satisfying the higher aspirations of man- nd: nothing short of this could be regarded as essential to e realizing on earth of that promised age of peace whose ite glories are so strongly brought to view in the later riptures. How much may be involved in such renewal of manity, or what may be the specific forms in which such newal will make itself apparent in that glorious era, it ould be difficult now to anticipate. Much more than all that : now indicate by such terms as conviction, or repentance, or nversion, may be included in it: it may carry in it moral volutions and moral growths of which the maturest saint is rdly now conscious: it may include phases of experience d types of character far beyond any now apparent in the life the Church. The regenerative capabilities of the Gospel : certainly far from being exhausted: the potencies of the ord and the potencies of the Spirit may in that era be ex- ited on a scale quite above any yet realized by man. What w, sweet, purer thoughts may then arise in human con- ousness: what higher, more celestial, and blessed senti- ments may then throb through the renewed breast of human- : what holier purposes, and larger capacities for effort, and

expanded ability to serve God in all appointed spheres of duty, may then be developed under the action of these divine agencies, it is not given to man now to discern. It is enough to know that, in that blessed age, human nature, so long corrupted and enfeebled by sin, will be renewed, regenerated, sanctified.

As a consequence of this vital transformation in humanity, the Bible clearly predicts a corresponding change in human society:—such a reorganization of that society, on the basis of this spiritual renewal, as shall progressively include : all usages; principles, arts, institutions, governments; and shall finally work out a structural and organic, as well as individual, regeneration for the world. How far that world now is from any such organic process of renewal according to the divine ideal set forth in Scripture:—how vast, complex, and difficult such a process must be in such a world as this, we may to some extent conceive, though we can hardly comprehend the methods to be employed in it, or imagine the completeness and the glory of the result. Yet the Christian Revelation affirms that such a reconstructive process is going on, and that such a result will eventually be realized. The Christian scheme not only declares its intention and aim to establish among men such a kingdom of heaven, but also asserts that such a kingdom will, in fact, be established, and such a social revolution be consummated, in some grand earthly hereafter.

It is a beautiful picture which the Bible paints; of a society thus renovated organically, and thus brought into more than paradisiac purity and blessedness:—a state of things of which the bright vision of Milton, as he contemplates the morn of the Nativity, is only an imperfect emblem. In that fair era, all the customs and usages of the world, now so often tributary to the diffusion and the sway of sin, will be sweetly subordinated to the prevalent authority of the divinest virtue. In that era all the arts, instead of ministering to the vanities and passions of men, will become true servitors of religion, true ministrants at the altar of devotion. In that era the principles that rule in all the social fellowships of life, the laws that order mutual relations and obligations, will be drawn entirely from the divine Word, and infused into men through the divine Spirit. In that era, the governments of men will be sanctified through

the supreme authority of the Gospel; the administration of affairs in capital and court will be thoroughly Christian; and in the words of prophecy, the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdom of our Lord and of Christ. Organically, as well as individually, humanity is to be redeemed and restored; and over all Immanuel is to be supreme.

The biblical delineation fairly justifies the raising of a third question, whether this grand spiritual and social renovation is to be accompanied by some corresponding changes in the material world itself, fitting it to be the abode of a race thus individually and organically restored. The Bible seems not indistinctly to point forward to such a physical rejuvenescence of the material world in connection with the regeneration of mankind. We know on its authority that this earth was once judicially cursed out of man—so changed in its structure and phenomena as to indicate in every part the divine displeasure with human rebellion: bringing forth everywhere, in mute rebuke, the thorns and thistles that were to scourge man and the burdensome disabilities which in countless forms were to try and discipline him for his sin. Does not Paul seem to point forward to a correcting process of restoration, by which the creation now groaning together in sympathetic pain, and waiting patiently to be delivered, shall yet share in the higher life that shall be brought to our humanity? And does not Isaiah, in the vivid pictures he has drawn of the fir-tree supplanting the brier, of the wilderness blossoming as the rose, of the leopard lying with the kid, of a placid age where *nothing* shall hurt or destroy, seem in like manner to tell us of a material world to be more beautified and restored as by a divine Hand, until it shall be the fit abode of a regenerate, as it is now the fit abode of an apostate, race?

It may be said that such images are to be taken as metaphors throughout: that they are simply the material forms in which the Holy Spirit describes the work which He is performing in the heart and life of humanity. Let it be said that such material images often recur in Scripture, and that they must be taken as symbols, and not merely; but it will follow that the material world is the conception of the future world, and that the material world is one of the

crowning issues in the scheme of grace? Contemplating the fact of an actual degeneration of the earth on account of the degeneracy of man, are we not spontaneously led to look forward to a corresponding fact of restoration for the creature now, in apostolic phrase, waiting to be delivered? Does not a judicial cataclysm in the interest of sin foretoken a gracious cataclysm in the interest of salvation? And to the believing mind, that sees everywhere a divine Hand holding all the resources of nature in its grasp, and turning them whithersoever it will—a Hand that once did actually modify the forces and movements of nature, and bring new shadows upon the world as an expression of divine wrath and divine sorrow over human guilt—what intrinsic difficulty is there in believing also that the same Hand may yet work graciously in these material elements until every desolate place shall become a garden, and nature herself, restored to her pristine beauty, shall join all her voices with those of humanity, in responsive love and adoration? He who can change man into an angel, can change our earth into paradise again.

In these two or possibly three generic aspects, the Word of God clearly promises a grand future for humanity on earth—a Millennial Age of truth, of righteousness, of purity and peace, incomparably beyond the recorded experiences, or even the brightest dreams of mankind. The restoration of our spiritual nature to more than its primitive grace and strength, the reconstruction of human society so that in all its elements and developments it shall become the very kingdom of heaven, and possibly the renewal of the earth we dwell in, so that it shall be as the garden of the Lord, more bright and fair than the original Eden: these supernatural processes are to go on together, under the action of forces already developed or symbolized in the Gospel, until they eventuate even in that New Jerusalem which John in prophetic vision once saw descending as from heaven, and dwelling among men—the *Civitas Dei* within whose sacred walls our race is at last to dwell. Glorious vision! will it be realized?

It is not the purpose of this essay to present the specific evidence that such is, in fact, the future which the Bible promises to mankind. Such a presentation would of itself require an ample volume. That evidence lies partly in the Messianic

promises which brighten so strangely the early dawn of the **race**, and which so singularly foretell the breaking forth of a **millennial** noontide, not for the Hebrew merely, but for man. It lies partly in the prophetic declarations of the Old Testament, from David to Isaiah, from Daniel to Malachi: declarations which evidently reach out far beyond the Jewish people, and include in their beneficent scope all nationalities, all lands, all dispensations. It rests largely on the striking affirmations of our Lord—in aphorism, in parable, in simple suggestion, respecting a kingdom of truth and righteousness, wide as the world in its sphere, and bearing in its hand all possible blessing and hope for mankind. It also lies largely in what the apostles were led by the Holy Spirit to affirm concerning the future of the world:—in the sublime prophecies of Paul, and in the apocalyptic vision of the seer of Patmos. It lies incidentally in the declarations, the aspirations, the efforts, and hopes of the apostolic Church: and in the singular verification of all these in the actual history of that Church during the first supernatural century. It may be said to lie also, as a just inference, in the biblical conception of the Gospel itself, viewed as a grand remedial measure, and of the forces which are divinely joined together in making that Gospel efficacious in the world:—forces whose potency is incapable of being exhausted, and whose full effect and influence can be realized in nothing less than a regenerated and paradisiac world.

All such scriptural argumentation waived, what is here **claimed** is simply this: that in the clear light of Providence and of history, on a fair and thoughtful examination of things as they have been, and are, and to our eyes seem likely to be, this scriptural view of the Future of Humanity amply justifies itself as not merely in a high degree probable, but even as certain to be realized. If human experience thus far has not afforded data from which the events of a hundred ages hence may be scientifically computed—if a reverent philosophy, inquiring into the causes, the laws, and the drift of our earthly life, is not able to determine exactly where and how that life will find its consummation, still philosophy and experience may combine together in furnishing the materials for at least a probable judgment: they may shed such light on the problem as shall enable us on one side to cast aside certain hypoth-

eses as untenable, and on the other to reach a conclusion which is approximately and morally, though it be not scientifically, sufficient. To the broad question whether the biblical conception already defined is thus rendered probable, and in a moral sense certain, by what we may learn from these tributary sources, considerate attention is now invited.

II. Two or three false or defective opinions concerning Providence as revealed in history, and the indices of the future, containing within itself the germs and the indices of the future, need to be briefly mentioned here:

Of these the first is the atheistic theory, which in various forms denies in fact the existence of what we term providence and pronounces the past and the present too chaotic, too void of method or order, to be any index as to the future. Ninety years have passed since Constantine Volney, one of the most witty, brilliant, and specious leaders in the French atheism of the eighteenth century, wrote his famous treatise, "*Les Ruines, ou Méditations sur les Révolutions des Empires*." The aim of that treatise was not merely to show as Depue had already attempted to do in his "*Origine des Cultes*," that historical Christianity was only one in a long series of natural religions, and therefore as insufficient in its claims and evanescent in its influence as any of its predecessors; but also that all religions, all states, all human institutions and usages and interests, exist only in a perpetual flow, dissolving successively without method even in their disappearance. It was an attempt, able and audacious, to eliminate God from human history—to exclude the idea of providence as at work in any form in the management or the movement of human affairs. All we see, it was said, is simply an endless succession of births, developments, decline, and decay in the religious, the civil, and the social institutions and life of men. No divine purpose or agency is apparent anywhere; there is consequently for the race no determinate career, and no appointed consummation. As the unhappy king of Israel declared in the days of his scepticism, so this type of unbelief affirms: "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and which is done, is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun."

It was even affirmed by some successors of Volney that the Bible itself, regarded as an historical record merely, reveals nothing more than this: that while the doctrine of providence there inculcated as a dogma, the Scripture history is enough itself to prove the doctrine untrue. Reference was made to empires like the Egyptian or the Persian, coming into prominence, living out their brief life, and then changing into dust: to cities like Babylon or Tyre, springing into splendor, controlling the world for a time, and then crumbling into ruin:—

the Jewish nation itself passing through precisely the same experiences as other nationalities, and at last becoming a shattered, fragmentary, hapless race. Nowhere even in Holy Writ do we discover, it was said, any historic evidences of a divine wisdom at work in the affairs of men, or any comprehensive scheme and order of things in which these shifting affairs shall ultimately be seen to be obvious, orderly, harmonious elements.

So far as this atheistic theory claims to find a warrant for itself in the assumed confessions or contradictions of Scripture, the answer must be a quick and decisive challenge of the same interpretation employed. It may justly be maintained that, studied on a broader scale, the Bible as a historical record simply does rather indicate most clearly both a realized fact of progress and a divine law of progress: its narratives of men and nations, not contradicting, but abundantly confirming its doctrinal affirmations. The biblical evidences of such a providential ordering and movement are too abundant to be enumerated here; but the general fact must, in the estimate of any thorough student of Scripture, be quite beyond question. And if to this be added the direct teaching of the Bible as to the existence and the attributes of God, as to His sovereign will and guidance in human life, as to His mighty and just and beneficent orderings of events on earth, the answer must be still more immediate and decisive. In the light of such teaching it is safe to say, either that there is such a providence at work in the world, or that the divine Word is wholly a delusion.

Without considering at this point the further proposition that the story itself, apart from Scripture, reveals the existence and potency of such providences, we may pass to note another

kindred theory, springing from the soil, not of atheism, but of materialism: a theory which admits in some degree the general fact of a progressive order in history, but maintains that such order is due exclusively to physical or other natural causes, rather than to religious agencies. This theory sometimes even extols the manifest progress in human history, and spreads out in large and imposing array the various forces, material and intellectual and social, out of whose combined action that progress is supposed to flow. It even assumes both to furnish the only explanation possible in the case, and to be alike the exponent and the chief agent in such human advance. It boldly excludes the supernatural from the field of history, and remands God to some lofty isolation where indeed He may contemplate, but meanwhile does not control this grand earthly evolution. And it is hardly too much to say that one of the most serious hindrances to true progress in this day, is the prevalence of such materialistic conceptions of history, expounded in able treatises, regnant in some popular reviews, and largely affecting the practical judgment of multitudes on many important issues of the time. If it be an injurious error to declare that there is no order or progress in history, it must be regarded as an error hardly less injurious thus to regard that order and that progress as traceable to natural causes only.

That no really adequate consummation for humanity can be counted upon, as the result of such instrumentalities, must be apparent. A material consummation, in which the earth we live in is in the highest measure utilized, and in which the utmost limits of physical development are reached, cannot satisfy the demands even of a materializing philosophy, so long as man himself, in the loftier elements of his nature, does not attain the largest growth and blessedness of which that nature is capable. A consummation merely intellectual or æsthetic, or one in which the social instincts and life of man reach their best practical development, cannot satisfy, unless his religious capabilities are brought into full exercise, and bloom into their divinest beauty. If his powers of thought were trained to their utmost capacity; if his taste, his sensibilities, his heart, were elevated to the completest degree of culture; if he were provided with a perfect social and civil state, and the earth

ound him were transformed into an Eden of delight, there would be for him no really satisfying outcome of life, no adequate consummation, while his higher spiritual needs were unmet and unfed. It is an incontestable fact that religion in some form must enter as a vital and central element into any future of our race, that can be accepted by the mind as right and worthy. To shut out this highest factor, and to look for an issue that will be adequate from the continuous action of material or other human forces alone, is certainly not philosophic: it savors rather of a folly which is as degenerate as it is unwise.

The biblical doctrine is also confronted by another theory of the future which may be termed the catastrophic: a theory which, indeed, differs from both of the preceding in recognizing religion as an essential factor in all present, and even in all prospective development under existing conditions, but which holds that religion, even in the form of spiritual Christianity, will never bring the human race into any such consummation as the world is looking for, and as the Bible is here affirmed to predict. It is asserted by writers of this school that the human race, even under the influence of such Christianity, is making no essential advance in moral condition: that the Christian scheme cannot be expected to do much more than it has done already; that even under its influence humanity is the rather growing worse and worse; and that the end of the present order of things will be, not a consummation, but rather a catastrophe, in which wrath and judgment and flame will finally sweep aside the larger portion of a race which even the Gospel seems unable radically to improve. On this theory the future of humanity can in no sense be regarded as an orderly progression under the action of forces already existing, and especially of the forces actually employed in the Gospel. Convulsions, earthquakes, retributions, are to take the place of the Word and the Spirit as agents in improving mankind; and the issue of their action is not a true restoration of human nature or of human society, or the renewal of a sinful earth, but rather the rescue of some proportion of that race, amid the smiting and overthrow of the vast remainder.

Without bringing this catastrophic theory to the test of

Scripture, we may measure it sufficiently by what we know Providence as revealed in the actual career of humanity, and especially as presented in the records of historical Christianity. It is a species of Christian Volneyism;—not, indeed, denying the existence of God or the divine relations to humanity, nor expressly questioning the doctrine of a providential order and potency in the world, yet regarding the movements of Providence as a series of experiments and even of failures, and contemplating in the end an issue which seems as derogatory to the divine wisdom and love as it is destructive to the best hopes of man. The answer of fact is conclusive against it. What we perceive of the nature and adaptations of Christianity as a moral force, unexhausted and exhaustless: what we know of the actual progress of Christianity in the past: what we know of its present position and influence and prospects: what we know of its demonstrated capacity to work out the completest spiritual renovation in man and in society,—all conspire to assure us that the hypothesis of a vast final cataclysm in which the present order of things, Christianity included, shall be engulfed in an abyss of vengeance, is alike unwarranted and illusive.

III. In presenting more specifically the evidence of providence and history in favor of the biblical conception of the future, as against all such theories, we may start from the cardinal proposition that God must be conducting our race toward some adequate, satisfying, sublime result. If there be a God, He must be a Being capable, not merely of foreseeing all that is to come to pass in the progressing career of humanity, but also of determining and controlling the vast, complex succession of events in that career. To conceive of Him as either ignorant of the future, or unable to control it, would be fatally derogatory to the idea of Him as divine. But not only must He be capable of thus foreseeing and predetermining: He must in some sense actually foreknow and control. He must plan, order, rule; and the result, as it is progressively evolved, must exhibit in every part His capacity to plan, order, rule. Whatever difficulties we may encounter in framing such a conception, or whatever mysteries may seem to us to encircle the actual developments of such providence, we cannot throw aside the conception itself without plunging into the

ss of atheism with Volney, or yielding ourselves to the
 upting influences of some kindred delusion. There must
 a Providence—wise, foreseeing, beneficent, and sover-
 1—or there is no God.

Vaiving any further statement of the general doctrine of
 vidence, we may safely affirm that, if there be such prov-
 ice, man must be included in it, and his earthly career from
 beginning to the close must be one of its sublimest expres-
 is. Such is the position of man in nature, and such are
 relative capabilities and worth, that a providence which did
 specifically include man, or which was not administered
 cifically in the interest of man, would hardly be worthy of
 name. Such also are the peculiar relations of man as
 le in the image of God to the great Author of his being,
 such the peculiar value of man as an immortal spirit, that
 cannot for a moment conceive of a providence which does
 concern itself with man, even primarily and chiefly. For
 t claim could any actual providence have on human respect
 onfidence, which was occupied with grasses and flowers,
 with revolving masses of matter set in rhythmic order in
 skies, but which left man out of the account, and made no
 vision for that future in which man is to circle when all
 e material things have perished, and the very stars have
 n forever from their places in the heavens? And what
 ible explanation can be given of the creation of man by
 hand of such providence, of his perpetuation through
 vidence, and of his tributary activities in providence, if
 e be after all for him no real, adequate, satisfying future
 d by providence?

it be said that the plan of God in nature appears to
 lve no progress, and be moving forward to no definite
 summation—that nature rather seems to be an endless
 itution of the old, with no organic advance, the answer
 t be that this lies in the very constitution of a material or
 sical system, while movement, progress, growth, rather
 1 such repetition, lie in the very nature of moral beings
 as man. If it be said that the divine plan—should there
 one—hardly appears to be unfolding itself in fact:—that
 world goes on, cycle after cycle, with little else than repe-
 n and reproduction, the answer must be that some prog-

ress at least is historically visible; and that this progress—however slow or small to human vision, is always prophetic of further and better progress, and of some truly grand result at last. Say what men may about the primeval man in his peculiar estate: say what men may about golden periods in the past history of man as sinful, yet no thoughtful observer can deny that the world of to-day is better, in the best senses of that term, than the world of a thousand years ago, or the world at the Augustan stage in the development of the Roman Empire. The voice of history, when calmly heard, assures us that God has a plan for man, and that He is slowly, but surely, working out that plan; the voice of history assures us that this plan is worthy alike of God and of man as a being made in His image, and created for His glory; the voice of history assures us that in the unfolding of this plan something higher, worthier, grander, will be continually revealing itself; and that at last the world and man will together reach some appointed, some adequate consummation. To deny that any such testimony can be derived from history—to shut the eyes to all signs of a divine purpose and control in human affairs, and either to reject the conception of providence altogether with atheists, or to misconceive and belittle it as the materialistic school is doing, is certainly not a process which, in view of the facts, a wise, just mind can approve.

It is another cardinal proposition to be noted here, that, in the future thus divinely ordained for man, religion, and specifically historical Christianity, seems destined to be a central and controlling force. This proposition is not to be urged in the present discussion on the authority of Scripture, though the Bible abundantly declares it. It may be rested rather on the recorded evidence of history as to the peculiar capabilities of Christianity, and on the actual effects of Christianity as exhibited in human life. In the broadest sense of the term, religion must be recognized as one of the most potential factors in human affairs. Even in its crudest forms, where it seems to be simply the outgrowth of the merest instincts in man, and is not dignified by the presence of aught that is capable of commanding his intelligent respect and adoration, religion still possesses his thoughts, masters his feelings, assumes control

over his life. What has not religion wrought in the world? **It** has changed social customs, moulded public as well as individual character, dominated over the household and the court **no** less than the temple and the altar; it has modified the **deepest** characteristics of strong races, revolutionized proud **governments**, stimulated to the grandest enterprises, worked **out** the largest changes, and more than any other influence **that** can be named, swayed the life and destinies of humanity. **And** all this must be in accordance with a divine purpose and **in** harmony with some deep principle in the constitution of **man**. We can account for it only by supposing that man is **constitutionally** a religious as truly as a domestic or political **being**: and that in his development as such, God has intended **that** religion should bear a most conspicuous part.

All this is specially true and significant in the case of Christianity. Tried by the most comprehensive and searching tests, the Christian religion has shown itself to be thus far the strongest element in the life of the race. It has wrought more changes, produced greater revolutions, worked out larger reforms, and more deeply affected the institutions and usages as well as the principles and sentiments of men than any other influence that can be named. Its history, at least since the advent of Christ, has been the history of humanity: for the past thousand years no agency has been so potent in human affairs; at this hour, everything besides seems to be bending to **it**, as the sheaves of his brethren bowed before the sheaf of Joseph. Thus far at least, Christianity is clearly first among the quickening and elevating forces in the life of men. Nor is **there** any present evidence that its potency is as yet exhausted. Its sway seems rather to be growing more imperial, more **complete**; as if its capacities to affect human affairs were **rather** increasing than declining. Its sphere seems to be **steadily** growing wider and more full of promise: its purposes **and** aims are continually broadening, and to human view seem **more** and more likely to be realized. If the apostles and their **associates** could indulge any hope of success, drawn from the **aspect** of the world in their day, such hope may be justified a **thousand-fold** by the present aspect of that world, as studied **in** relation to the place and influence of Christianity within it. The dream of their age has already become a fact in ours:

and the dream of our day is changing, even while we gaze upon it, into a still more glorious reality.

Studying the problem before us even in this general aspect, it is much more reasonable to infer that this rare promise in Christianity will yet be realized, and that the race under its benign guidance will yet attain such a blessed future as the Bible seems to foretell, than to say with Volney that all such signs of order or progress are illusive, or with certain modern catastrophists that the force of the Gospel is exhausted and its mission substantially at an end. But the reasonableness of such an inference becomes still more apparent when we inquire more closely into the secret of this amazing success. What is that inherent potency, what are those indwelling forces, which have given Christianity so prominent a place in history, and which seem to be moving on with such resistless energy toward universal influence? Is it a fact that these forces are not only unexhausted, but inexhaustible; and have they power to produce not merely all that has been, but all that according to Scripture shall be, down to the end of time? In a word, is it true that the Christian scheme, once planted in the soil of humanity, can and will grow on and on till it produces a millennium on earth?

A partial answer to this question may be found in the system of truth embodied in Christianity. Examining that system in the light of philosophy alone, its substance and its influence seem alike to justify the largest anticipations as to its future career in the world. While it would not be correct to say that the recorded effects of the Christian religion are due only to the truth contained in it, it would be a mistake still more disastrous to say that this truth has no inherent power to convert and regenerate the world. The truths of Christianity clearly have inherent power: and the mental and moral nature of man spontaneously bows before their sway. Account for it as we may, we cannot question the fact that these truths do singularly affect men of all classes, all conditions: that they constrain all other truths of like nature to pay them tribute as supreme; that they both assume authority over man and maintain it: and that there seems to be no limit to their potency, and no successful rebellion against them.

The history of the Christian Doctrine is a history of wonderful triumphs—of triumphs such as have attended no other system of truth since the world began. That doctrine has conquered ignorance, conquered error, conquered the most determined unbelief. Though the heart of man has been arrayed against it, it has subdued that heart; it has quickened and elevated that heart, and led it forward into purer feeling, and a holier life. No victories have been so complete, and at the same time so beneficent, as those which this doctrine has won. Nor is its capacity to win new triumphs in the least impaired: it is as potent now as in the day when Christ first committed Himself to it as a vital factor in His scheme for renovating the world, or that in which the Apostles, confiding in its power, went forth to disciple humanity. Is it reasonable to suppose that such a system of truth will suddenly retire from the world, as from a lost battle? May we fancy that the Christian doctrine, though it be as strong, as vital, as beneficent as ever, is to withdraw itself from the world before its task is half accomplished—before that world has been led to see and to feel its blessed presence! Surely a future produced, not by power of any sort, but by this truth, and for it, is the only future which a wise philosophy can regard as likely to occur; if such truth cannot win its way to universal control, all other agencies may well give up the struggle in despair!

Associated with this peculiar system of doctrine we may recognize as another among the potencies working steadily toward the biblical future we anticipate, the peculiar spirit inculcated in Scripture and inherent in practical Christianity. That spirit is as much a factor in the development of mankind as such doctrine: and we cannot account for the historic career of Christianity without considering duly its presence and its power. What is that spirit? It has been claimed that the ethical precepts of the Bible are not superior to those of natural morality; and that there are even blemishes in Christian ethics against which natural morality revolts. It has been claimed that the Bible is, in some of its parts, an impure book; and that its influence is so far forth injurious and corrupting. It has been claimed, on the other side, that the moral temper inculcated in the Bible is one impossible of attainment—one which cannot be realized in the ordinary

life of man. A thousand taunts have been hurled from various quarters against this book; taunts which, if they were just, would have had force enough wholly to arrest its influence, and even to sweep this unique volume out of sight.

Yet the spirit of the Scripture survives as truly as its doctrine. The Bible is found to be not an impure book, but the purest of books and the source of all the whitest, sweetest sanctities the world has ever seen. The ethics of the Bible not only justify themselves before the closest scrutiny of reason and the moral judgment: they are not only found to rise above all dictates of natural morality and all the best moral aspirations of men: they are not only the recognized source of the finest systems of ethics and the purest laws and the worthiest moral activities: they are also regnant and supreme in their control, and at this moment they constitute the last court of appeal on earth, and become the final judge in all human conduct. Instead of being an impractical Book, moving in a sphere so high that man cannot follow it, and so baffling the very desires which it aims to enkindle in the breast, the Bible enters, both quietly and imperially, into every human relation, breathes its benignant influence on every connection and interest of life, suffuses humanity with both a sweeter grace and a loftier purpose; and so rules, as no other power has ever done, the heart and the career of man. That spirit has subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, stopped the mouths of lions: it has quenched the violence of fire, turned weakness into strength, made the valiant more strong: it has breathed on the world, and by that gentle breath like the warm air of spring has wrought changes in this icy earth which all the might of the Cæsars could never have secured. Even to an unbeliever, it must sometimes seem like the very Spirit of God thus entering into and sanctifying the life of man.

Is this spirit dying out—is it even declining? Is the world growing so corrupt that the sanctifying temper of Christianity can no longer move it, or so elevated as no longer to need such assistance? Is it not rather true that the spirit of the Bible is becoming more and more the ruling spirit in the social and civil life of man, in the laws and the administration of all civilized governments, in the intercourse of nation with nation, and even on the field of battle? And is it not true that the ulti-

mate triumph of this spirit is becoming more and more apparent : that its capacity to win such triumph is steadily increasing ; and that it has only to go on, continuing to accomplish what **i**t is already accomplishing, to bring the entire race finally into **w**illing subordination to itself, and so to fill the world with the **g**lories and the blessedness of its dominion ? To one who duly **a**ppreciates the real nature of spiritual Christianity, who **r**ealizes what Christian love is as the fulfilling of all law, and who **h**as felt in his own breast the quickening potency of such love, it will be impossible to accept any other conclusion. His spontaneous conviction must be : such a spirit ought to rule, and will sooner or later rule the earth !

Looking still at the religion of Christ as a providential and historical fact simply, we may find another of these potent and growing forces in the Christian Church, viewed merely as a structure endowed and equipped for a specific purpose. Saying nothing as to the supernatural origin or quality of that Church, we may point to its continued existence, to its extensive and varied developments, to its aggregated and constantly increasing resources, to the amazing growth of its influence in the world, and to its avowed aim and purpose yet to rule the world. That the Church exists in providence, and has some providential mission to fulfil, seems as clear as that man himself exists in providence and has some providential mission. Even Hobbes, with his low conception of the Church as a creation of the State, would be willing to admit such a proposition, so long as he admitted that the State had its origin in God. The Church exists in providence at least as really as the family so exists ; and its career must therefore be regarded as subject to the ordering of providence, and as moving on toward some predestined end. What is that end ?

If one who rejects the Scripture would admit the doctrine of miracles in any form, he would admit that the history of the Christian Church is little less than a standing miracle. As he sees how it has gone on century after century, often changing its form, but never changing its aim : as he sees it surviving all the mutations of time and the convulsions of empire, living on serenely while everything about it was perishing : as he sees it ever rectifying itself, improving its methods, gathering in resources of every sort, cultivating its own capabilities, until

it becomes, as every thoughtful observer knows it to be, the strongest organization in this world: as he sees how steadfastly it moves on toward what it never hesitates to declare as its true design—to subjugate humanity to itself and to make the whole world the Church of God:—as he sees all this, he must be not only astounded at the providential miracle thus brought to light in the actual career of the Church, but also assured that it will ultimately reach the sublime result toward which he sees it to be ever aspiring. The regeneration of humanity, the renovation of society, and even the renewal of the earth, so far at least as a regenerated race of men might transform it into more beautiful shape, all these seem possible, probable, certain, in and through this triumphing Church. Surely it cannot be that that Church is to be arrested, its members caught away into some inscrutable rapture, its plans all abandoned, and its influence evaporated, just as it is engaging, and engaging successfully, in a task so glorious as that of bringing the whole world back to allegiance to God. Rather must it be true that, so far as anything is probable, it is probable that the Church will yet be universally extended until it fills and glorifies the whole earth.

In speaking of the doctrine and the spirit of Christianity, and of the living Church, as constituting the three providential potencies whose work among men might be expected to last, and whose influence if lasting would produce in the end just such a future as the Bible describes, no reference has been made to what every Christian mind must recognize as the underlying and the most vital and efficient potency in the case—the Holy Spirit. It might easily be shown that God may work directly upon the developing future of humanity, as He is now working and has always worked in human history; not merely through chosen instrumentalities, such as have been named, but even immediately—pouring His own power directly into the current of dependent being, and shaping human life by deep interior ministrations. A sound philosophy, reverently recognizing God as a real Being and a providential Ruler, can hardly refuse to accept such a proposition. But if we may for a moment imagine God as thus personally acting in the history of mankind, Himself planning,

shaping, producing that history in any sense, our faith in the future delineated in Scripture must be immensely enhanced. **W**ith God, if not with man, all things are possible.

Nothing can be more derogatory to the character of God **t**han to view the divine administration of things as in any **s**ense a failure, or to anticipate only some terrific catastrophe **a**s the final outcome of human life. Even on the general **p**lane of providence, such suppositions seem to be condemned **a**like by our most sober judgment and by our worthiest feeling. But by so much as we admit, even as a possibility, the **b**iblical conception of the Holy Ghost, working personally in **h**uman hearts, revealing the things of Christ to the moral as **w**ell as the intellectual nature, transforming the spirits of men **i**nto filial resemblance to God, acting graciously in and for **t**he Church, and ordering all things in the interest of religion : **i**f we admit such a conception as this, even in the smallest **d**egree, by so much we must admit the strong probability, the **g**lorious certainty, that the knowledge of God and the grace **o**f God shall yet fill the whole earth, as the waters fill the **s**ea. In the presence of that truth, all doubt as to the possibility of a grand future for humanity seems instantly to disappear.

One marked illustration of this grand providential movement, and of the peculiar potencies employed in it, may be seen in the history of modern missions. For it must be admitted that modern missions have originated distinctively in the conception of a renewed humanity, individual and social, regenerated through the forces inherent in spiritual Christianity. These missions are an attempt, and the first general and organized attempt since the apostolic century, to carry out in letter and spirit the final command of our Lord to disciple the nations—to preach repentance and remission to every creature. In contemplating the development and the features of this sublime undertaking, we are led to note such facts as the following :

First, the remarkable rise of the spirit of missions, especially within the general sphere, not of Romanism or Liberalism, but of evangelical Protestantism—a development more broad in its aim, more elevated in its quality, and every way more significant, than the historic uprising of Europe to cap-

ture the holy places of our faith. Second, the rapid growth of this spirit, not only among the most cultivated and most spiritual sections of Protestantism, but also in many individual minds, confessedly foremost in the ranks of evangelical belief and representative of the purest convictions and experience of the age. Third, the striking manifestations of this spirit not merely in direct missions, domestic and foreign, but equally in efforts for the evangelization of specific classes, in contributions for the poor and the afflicted, in institutions and instrumentalities almost beyond number, all concerned in some way with the mighty task of bringing this world back to perfection by bringing it back to God. Fourth, the amazing success of many of these particular efforts, the victories already won in the name of Christianity, the missions planted and influential, and the enlarging hopefulness and devotion of the Church, under the inspiration of this sublime purpose to secure through the Gospel the regeneration of humanity. Fifth, the suggestive developments of providence in harmony with this high aspiration, the singular opening of doors and avenues to the Gospel, the spread of commerce, the tributary movements of political parties and of state diplomacy, and even the decisions of the battle-field, all conspiring to prepare the way for the universal diffusion of spiritual Christianity.

These are facts—facts as perceptible and as characteristic as were the revival of sound doctrine and the consequent increase of interior activity among the churches of the Reformation. And these facts evidently rest on the broad propositions which have already been considered: on the idea of providence really at work among men, and ordering all things in the interest of some truly worthy result: on the idea of spiritual Christianity as the strongest and best force now affecting the life and career of humanity: on the conception of a divine revelation and a divine Spirit and a divine Church sent forth to illuminate and sanctify the whole world. The connection between the facts named and these underlying propositions is vital and essential: apart from the latter the former must be inexplicable. Are we, then, at liberty to say that all this development of missions, the most sublime manifestation of modern Christianity, rests on a hypothesis which has no warrant in either philosophy or Scripture, and which

s really at variance with the purpose of God, and with the true interest of man? May we affirm that there is really no redemption for our humanity as such, and that the Gospel of redemption was never really intended to convert the world; that the Church has entirely misapprehended her vocation, and undertaken a task to which she was never divinely called; that neither the Word of God nor the Spirit of God has ever warranted such aspiration and such effort; that the prayers of the Church, her hymns of faith and hope, her offerings of silver and gold, her consecration of sons and daughters to this work, are founded on an illusion as to the future; and that the final consummation of human history—if there is to be one—is a consummation to be secured by agencies which have little or nothing in common with existing Christianity? Does not this remarkable development, so characteristic of the age we are living in, rather indicate the existence of a divine plan and end to which all this is grandly tributary? Does it not rather foretell the certain coming of a time when our prostrate humanity shall rise again; when human society shall become in fact the glorious kingdom of heaven which God from the first designed it to be, and when the very earth, sanctified by the presence of such a spirit, shall become again an Eden more beautiful than that on which the eyes of Adam opened so wonderingly in the morning prime of his existence?

These suggestions as to the providential and the historic indications in regard to the future of humanity are at least sufficient to show that neither the atheistic nor the materialistic nor the catastrophic theory of that future can be true. The history of the world thus far, the providence of God thus far, the tendencies and aspirations of the race thus far, the story of Christianity thus far, the actual experience of mankind thus far both without the Gospel and under it, seem sufficient even to show, first, that there is to be for man and for the world a noble and blessed future; and secondly, that this future is to be introduced by forces inherent in spiritual Christianity, contemplated as a religion not of power, but of love. Such is the conclusion to which wise and patient study of history and of providence will surely lead: such is the con-

clusion in which the devout and thoughtful student of the Scripture may quietly rest.

Yet it is not to be imagined that such a future as this will come upon the world without conflict with antagonistic forces—without further struggle and further sacrifice on the part of those who labor and pray for its early dawning. It is an assured fact, obvious alike in history and in Scripture, that human sin has not yet reached its ultimatum: that the last and strongest positions of unbelief have not yet been taken. Even now, in the days of John, are there many Antichrists: malevolent systems, philosophies, tempers, tendencies, which would trample Christianity out utterly, were they able. But other similar forces are yet to arise; the crown prince of evil has yet to receive his dark coronation. The Bible indeed contains a strange and dreadful biography of sin; but the world is constantly adding its confirmatory witness to that tragic story, and the record grows more terrific as time goes on. It is specifically true that, since the Reformation and eminently in our own century, unbelief has exhibited in many ways such a process of growth and maturing: the forms of scepticism which we are obliged to meet, being more profound, more subtle, more difficult to overcome, than any which the Church in previous ages has been called to encounter. It will be so in the future. There will be a downward as well as an upward movement in the moral career of mankind: Christ and Antichrist continuing their antithetic manifestations and activities even to the end. Nay, more! Is there not reason in both Scripture and philosophy for believing that the victory which our regenerated humanity is yet to win through grace, will be accompanied by remarkable signs of the completest overthrow of everything that opposeth itself—the last and highest Antichrist going down only as the true Christ is seen to be rising to the zenith of His power and His glory? The morning of that promised time of restitution will be beautiful—more beautiful than that on which the stars sang together and the sons of God shouted for joy:—but may not that morning rise out of a darker night than any which the world has thus far seen: and on the horizon behind it may there not hang the heavy shadows of a storm such as never before shook the solid pillars of the earth!

In the presence of such a future to be thus grandly won, in the presence of all the inspiring events and the rare promise of the age we are living in, it seems strange that there should be men who are bent on making a philosophy, and even a religion, out of the lowest possible conceptions of what our humanity is and is to be. Blind must he be whose studies of human nature lead him down to the hopeless conclusion that deterioration and decay lie in the constitution of the race: mankind being at the best no better than the trunk of some old oak once shivered to its centre by the lightning stroke. Blinder still must he be who reads his Bible in such a way as to draw from it nothing but prognostications of some final and awful failure on the part of the Gospel, and of some correspondingly awful catastrophe to be experienced at last by a race whom God cannot save, and must therefore crush with the blows of omnific vengeance. He who is both a pessimist in his speculative thinking, and a catastrophist in his religious expectations, has certainly lost sight, not merely of much that shines out in Scripture, but also of all the best teachings of both providence and history. The natural effect of such thinking is to paralyze all healthful and hearty effort after the realization of that higher future toward which revelation and providence alike are really pointing.

Better views bring with them better inspirations. It is said by an eminent historian that the last word which was whispered from the lips of Peter the Great in his dying hour was the pregnant word—*Hereafter*. And the historian not without reason suggests, that it was not his own future in that eternity on whose threshold he was pausing, but rather the earthly future of the great and cherished empire of Russia, of which the expiring Czar was then thinking. But what is the *Hereafter* of any single nation, however vast or full of promise, compared with the unfolding Future of the World:—compared with the development of a kingdom of righteousness and truth and love, in which all human states and empires are to be but parts, and in whose consummation man and the earth he inhabits are to be perfected and glorified together! To be taught to live, labor, suffer, and even to die if need be, for such a *Hereafter*, is one of the richest privileges which God in His providence and by His Word has bestowed on man.

EDWARD D. MORRIS.

II.

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH IN THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE MASSES.

THE word, "Evangelize," is one of God's silver trumpets, by whose clear, clarion peal, His modern Israel are to be rallied for the onward march, stirred and spurred to action. Evangelization means simply this: bringing the evangel, or gospel, into contact with unsaved souls.

Paul writes to the Church at Corinth, "Christ sent me, not to baptize, but to evangelize" (1 Cor. i. 17). Baptism represents one important department of the offices entrusted to the Church and her ministry, viz: the administration of ordinances and sacraments. This is of great importance, but it is not of the first importance. Baptism, for instance, is a sealing, but not a saving, sacrament. It is not, like "repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ" (Acts xx. 21), one of the primary terms of salvation. It implies a saved state, present or prospective; in the adult believer, it is simply the first signal act in a series of acts, by which he expresses and exhibits his allegiance and obedience to his new Lord; in the case of the infant, it is the sign and seal of parental faith in a covenant relation, which shall issue in a saved state, by the operation of grace; and it recognizes the unity of the family, in a representative act, performed by the believing parent, in expectation and anticipation of the voluntary and intelligent self-dedication of his offspring. To lift even this solemn sacrament to a level with faith, is to do a great wrong both to truth and to souls. Faith justifies the soul, by the appropriation of Christ's merit and mediation; baptism justifies the faith, as one of those holy works by which the existence and genuineness of faith are proven.

It is easy to see why Paul puts, first and foremost, this, viz: "to evangelize," rather than "to baptize." Those who explic-

tly or impliedly attribute to baptism a saving efficacy, or who seem to think that there lies in baptism a regenerative power, must have forgotten that "Jesus himself baptized not" (John iv. 2); that, probably, Paul himself was the only apostle who received strictly Christian baptism, the others of the apostolic college having received only the baptism of John, which, as we learn from the case of the Ephesian disciples (Acts xix 1-5), was only preparatory to the baptism of Christ. Cornelius and his household received not only regenerating grace, but the blessed baptism of the Holy Ghost, even before the baptism with water, as though God meant to teach us not to give even to this sealing sacrament a saving power.

Here, then, is Paul's emphatic declaration: "Christ sent me, first of all, to evangelize." Of all the duties committed to the Christian Church and to her ministry, this is primary; this is first in the order of time; first in the order of importance. It is first in time, for without this there would have been no believers to be baptized; the New Testament Church was formed from new converts to the faith, made such by the preaching of the Gospel. It is first in importance, for without this the Church cannot grow, and it is growth which keeps it in being. To the Household of Faith, as to the family of man, the condition of continuance is obedience to the divine law, "Increase and multiply." Evangelization is the method of propagation, by which God's seed is kept alive upon the earth. The administration of ordinances, organization, co-operation, edification—all these hang upon evangelization; for if there be no converts to the Gospel, whence shall come the raw material, to be wrought into better, more beautiful, and more useful forms?

The Church of God is responsible, therefore, not for conversion, but for contact. She must see that all men hear the Gospel, as surely and speedily as practicable; and so far as she fails to bring God's good tidings into contact with souls, she disobeys Christ's last command, declines in her spiritual life, forfeits her commission, and runs the risk of the removal of her candlestick out of its place. In the last words recorded by Matthew, our Lord solemnly enjoins upon His disciples two things: first, to disciple all nations; and, secondly, to teach them to observe whatsoever He commands (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20). The two Greek verbs, *μαθητεύσατε* and *διδάσκοντες*, should not

both be rendered by the one word, "teach," as in our English version; for they represent the two branches of our great duty and trust: first, to go out and gather in new disciples, and then to teach and train them in the knowledge and practice of all truth and duty; first, to disciple men, then to discipline them.

At risk of seemingly needless and tedious amplification, we repeat this grand truth for the sake of emphasis: The Church must first of all evangelize. She is to bear and to rear offspring for her divine Lord; but before she can rear, she must bear. She must not shrink from the pains of travail, for only through the throes which accompany spiritual birth, does God's household grow. That last promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," is joined to that last precept, not by the accident of collocation, but by a living link; for that presence is enjoyed only as that precept is obeyed! If the Church is faithful in making and teaching disciples, she basks in the smile of her Lord. If her zeal in evangelizing gives place to cold neglect of souls unsaved, then as surely does He withhold or withdraw the glorious tokens of His gracious presence and power.

In various ways, the great Head of the Church has sought to impress on His disciples this double duty of making and training disciples. In Matthew (xiii. 31-33), we have a pair of parables: the "mustard seed," illustrating the law of inward growth, and the "leaven," the law of outward extension. In the interview between the risen Redeemer and His disciples recorded by John (xx. 19-22), we observe first a word of peace, next a word of commission, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you," and then a word of conferment, bestowing power to fulfil the commission: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost."

I. How the Church shall evangelize is, therefore, a vital question; and it is plain that, first of all, the *Gospel should be made attractive*, by the exhibition of its true and normal charms, as found in the good news, and in the life of real disciples. Let Zion arise and shine, let a pure Gospel be preached and a pure type of piety express its saving truth in the language of life; and from the deep darkness souls will be drawn by the shining; Gentiles will come to her light and kings to the brightness of her rising.

Paul cautions us not to pervert this doctrine of attraction, by confounding spiritual and secular charms: "not with wisdom of words," he says, "lest the cross of Christ be made of none effect." The Gospel must be, first of all, effective, and attractive in order to be effective. We shall make the worst and saddest of mistakes, if, while seeking to render it attractive, we lessen or even destroy its effectiveness, by investing it with false attractions. The possibility of running such a risk may well rivet our closest attention.

What, then, is "wisdom of words"? Some think it means the golden and silver tissues of ornate speech, by which the simplicity of the plain, homely Gospel message is veiled. Others understand by it, a show of wisdom, the empty pretence of learning and genius. Yet others refer it to wisdom of a worldly sort, and take Paul as refusing to connect or corrupt the wisdom of God's teaching, with human speculations, however wise. In the view of others, wisdom of words has to do not with matter, but manner; the presentation of spiritual truth after the style of the schools.

There is, we are persuaded, a deeper thought latent in this phrase. Paul doubtless refers to both matter and manner: human wisdom he would not preach, for, in its highest reach, it knew not God and failed to save men; nor would he preach the wisdom of God, as though that were but another school of philosophy. "*Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth*, comparing spiritual things with spiritual" (1 Cor. ii. 13). He conceived the Gospel as having *a dialect of its own*. The secret of true preaching lies, first, in a vital insight, by the Spirit, into the divine truths of the Gospel; and then in the use of a form of words which is begotten of such spiritual insight. Unction begins with imparting a knowledge of divine things, and then bestows its sacred chrism of fragrance and power upon the utterance of truth, and indeed upon the whole man who speaks God's message.

A true apprehension of the mind of God will create its own form of expression, and not import and force upon Gospel truth a form of speech foreign and unsuitable. The height of taste in dress is adaptation. Fashion is often unnatural, artificial; but when fashion, feature, and form are a unit, no attention is

called to apparel—you simply feel pleased with the unity and harmony. Paul would have the fashion of the Gospel suit and fit its divine form and feature, and not clothe God's message with a dress of words drawn from other spheres of life and thought, a garment spotted by the flesh. He would not make this saving Gospel of none effect by robing it in an unsanctified rhetoric; he would speak, not as a converted scholar, logician, or philosopher, but as a herald and witness for Christ.

There is a way of preaching the Gospel which makes it of none effect; lifts it above the level of the average man, veils its sweet simplicity; diverts attention from the Word to the golden mouth of the speaker; which calls forth a cold, intellectual assent, awakens an æsthetic pleasure, touches the sensibilities, but fails to pierce the heart, grapple the conscience, move the will, or mould the life. The naked truth, like the naked sword, is the Spirit's weapon of power. How many there are who swing the sword, as though more intent on showing the flashing diamonds with which culture decks its hilt, than on thrusting its keen blade and sharp point into the very vitals of the soul!

It is perhaps a better metaphor to express the truth which we wish to emphasize, when we say of words that they are the body of thought, rather than its dress; or, as Wordsworth finely and philosophically says: "Language is the incarnation of thought." As God, even to the sprouting grain, giveth a body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed His own body, so to the vital principle which is the germinal life in His own seed of truth, He has given its own body, for which human culture can never successfully substitute any other. "There are also bodies celestial, and bodies terrestrial; but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another." To attempt to join the body of terrestrial eloquence to the soul of celestial truth, is to make the Gospel of none effect. The divine soul will have, must have, *its own body*, and the glory must be celestial, alone. Then there is harmonious unity; men hear the message of heaven in the dialect of heaven, and unto God only they give glory.

The Gospel, then, demands its own peculiar sacred dialect, in which to be preached. The Spirit chooses His own channels, through which to pour His flood of grace. The power of the

the Word of God, read or repeated without one word of addition to add to it, adorn it, or even expound and apply it, is an offence of its divine origin. Nettleton began his famous sermon on the text, "I thought on my ways and turned my feet unto Thy testimonies," by the slow, solemn, impressive repetition of those words, once, twice, thrice; and, before he uttered the first syllable of his sermon, a vast audience had been instantly pierced by the Spirit through the thrust of His sword. So when Peter, in the house of Cornelius, "began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word."

Robert Hall preached for seven years in Bristol, and rendered great service in the cause of Christian apologetics; his courses both educated and edified believers, and formed even a rich legacy to Christendom. Yet George Müller says those magnificent pulpit orations, which were not eclipsed in brilliancy by any others of that day, were not fruitful in conversions. On the other hand, an unlettered evangelist, who was privately advised by his refined pastor, a score of years to keep quiet, because he lacked the gift of speaking to the masses, has been moving two continents by simply holding the cross!

We need, even in the ministry, a revival of faith in the conquering power of the simple word of God, unmixed with an apology or apologetics. We are constantly drawn down by the challenge of critical culture and scientific scepticism upon the plain, in the vain attempt to cope with human learning, or fight these Syrian sceptics and scientists with their logical weapons; whereas, if we but kept on the hills, and stood on the hill of Calvary, and only lifted up the cross so that all might be drawn to Him who bore our sins, we might convince those whom no argument could touch, and convert those whom no eloquence could reach. A great church divine has remarked that it is always some *word of God* in our sermons, and not any words of ours, that brings souls to Christ; and that the use of our words seems to be found in that they are "the feathers which carry the divine arrow straight to the mark." If we would have the Gospel effective to convert men, let it be the pure truth of God, according to the thought of a spiritual mind, according to the speech of an

anointed tongue: the wisdom of God without unsanctified wisdom of words; Gospel truth in a Gospel dialect!

This thought of Paul is but a starting-point, not a goal: a golden milestone, from which many roads radiate, leading us into wide territories of thought, stretching across a whole continent of practical truth. One suggestion which lies very near to the very starting-point thus afforded us, is this, that in making the Gospel attractive we must beware not only of the wisdom of words, but of the *wisdom of the world*.

This peril is always a present one: that the Church, leavened by the world, shall adopt worldly maxims, cater to worldly minds, and robe the Gospel in worldly charms, seeking, by making it thus attractive, to make it effective. There have been times when, in deference to the dictation of a worldly spirit, the pulpit has been lowered into a platform for lectures more fit for the lyceum, or even into a stage for dramatic acting more fit for the theatre. The service of sacred song has at times been turned into a display of artistic talent, in which the appeal to æsthetic tastes has taken the place of the divine savor and flavor of worship. In His house, where the Lord alone is to be exalted, "classical music" is sometimes exalted; papists and pagans are hired to lead the praise of Protestant worshippers, and a profane organist uses the keys of the grandest of instruments to dissipate the impressions of the Gospel. We may build Gothic fanes, furnish them with crimson and gold, garnish them with the pencil and chisel of art, secure for the choir an operatic quartette, and for the pulpit a splendid orator; then multiply concerts, lectures, fairs, and festivals, entertainments and excursions; but all these allurements will not draw the people to the house of God, except it may be for a time. The reason is plain. The attractions of Zion are peculiar to herself: they are not of the world even as her Lord is not of the world; they belong to another order of beauty, the Beauty of Holiness. The Church of God, robed in the charms of the world, instead of drawing the world to herself and to Christ, actually takes the infection of the worldly spirit; and it was for this reason that the Master has warned her to keep herself "unspotted from the world," "hating even the garment, spotted by the flesh."

If souls are to be drawn to God's house with cords not easily

broken, it must be by the proper charms of a pure Gospel, **simple**, spiritual, satisfying to the soul; by praise, full of **devotion**, and prayer, full of devoutness; by that "atmosphere" **peculiar** to the assembly of true worshippers and the presence of the Holy Spirit. Secular attractions, even while their **power** lasts, make the cross of Christ of none effect: they **turn** the mind from the things of God; even while they draw, it is in the same direction as the world draws, bringing men **under** the power of the world that now is, and not under the **powers** of the world to come!

If the Church would attract worldly souls, she must woo **and** win them by offering them what the world does not, and **cannot**—solid, substantial, satisfying food and drink. She **must** feed them, not on ashes, but on the bread of life; give them draughts of living water from a divine fountain, instead of stagnant water from a broken cistern. Feed the hunger and **quench** the thirst of souls, and souls will come! Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle is always full; yet there is about the man, the house, the service, no worldly charm. The hymns, "lined-out" after the old style, are sung without a show of art, and the rear part of the congregation chases the fore-part, in a vain **attempt** to keep pace in time; an exposition, long enough for a **sermon**, is followed by an hour of preaching: and yet men **never** tire of going, for they find there salvation and sanctification. God's Spirit honors the simplicity of a service of worship **that** aims only at His glory, and so, after a quarter of a century, the charm, once attributed by many to novelty and curiosity, **has** not lost its power. The Tabernacle would doubtless be **full**, if instead of five thousand it could hold twenty thousand.

One cannot but feel the marked contrast of a cathedral service, with all its attractions. A colossal organ, whispering **plaintive** melodies, or rolling billows and pealing thunders of **sound** along the lofty arches; a choir of surpliced lads, warbling like larks; a grand sermon from a great preacher: yet all these **wiles** fail to lure the people. You find only a few nominal worshippers there, and they move about or stare around as if in a **mere** museum. There is an abundant array of facts from **which** the Church of God may learn, if she will, the important lesson, that, in her methods of administration, she is to be "separate unto God;" that, if she will invite the spirit of the

world to her courts, she cannot have the Spirit of God; unless indeed He comes, not as the shining Shekinah, but as the consuming fire—not as Jesus with the breathing of the Holy Ghost, but as Jesus, with the lashing scourge and the flashing eye!

II. In order to *evangelize*, we must, however, do more than open our church-doors and say, "Come." The Church cannot fulfil her commission by doing all that is possible to make the preaching of the Gospel *both attractive and effective*, even though the attractions savor of the beauty of holiness: to make the sanctuary free to all, and add a cordial welcome, is not enough. Our Lord says, "Go!" "Go out into the streets, lanes, highways, by-ways;" "Go ye into all the world!" and "*bring in*—compel to come—the poor, maimed, halt, blind, that my house may be filled!" No words can have a plainer meaning. To evangelize, disciples must *go after* the lost, and not *wait for the lost to come* to them: and, more than this, they must go and bear the Gospel to those most remote and most needy, the most distant and the most destitute.

Upon this plain platform of practical doctrine and duty, it is time that we firmly planted our feet. The whole witness of Scripture warrants us in framing this as an article of our faith, viz: any Church that loves Christ and souls enough, to *go out* and by love's sweet compulsion, *bring souls in*; drawing no invidious lines between poor and rich, high and low; but seeking the lost, and seeking most earnestly those who are most desperately lost; that is the Church where God will show His presence and power by a perpetual Pentecost!

The matter we are discussing is vital. It is no insignificant issue with which we are dealing; for the usefulness of the Church may be involved. It is a plain fact, that for some cause, the great mass of the people are not habitually found in our places of assembly; immense numbers do not attend even occasionally. We fail to draw them; they do not "come," and we do not "go." Why they do not come, is a grave question, demanding an extended answer; but there is one part of that answer that falls within the scope of this discussion, viz: we who are entrusted with the Gospel commission are not fulfilling it with sufficient earnestness. Let us enter somewhat into particulars.

These unevangelized multitudes are not commonly *expected* in our assemblies: they are not always provided for. Sometimes we do not build with reference to gathering them in, and could not give them room if they should come. The writer of this paper is a pastor in the City of the Straits; and he observes that, in that city, for instance, the church-sittings fall from thirty thousand to fifty thousand short of the demand, if a mere numerical estimate be made the basis of the calculation. Of course there is no practical inequality between the supply and the demand, inasmuch as these thousands do not go to our churches; but can we heartily invite them to come if we have not room for them?

No doubt the poor are kept from our assemblies by the pride of poverty more than they are repelled by the pride of wealth. Yet possibly there are some fashionable synagogues which fill out Mr. Cook's quaint profile: whose "aristocratic members must be fanned with eloquent sermons, sprinkled with the lavender of ease, and swung in a hammock, one end of which is fastened to the cross while the other is held by the fingers of mammon." There is a superb little gem of a church-edifice, built by a few select families, luxuriously fitted and furnished, which the common folk style "the Pullman palace-car church." Whether right or wrong, they think that the poor, maimed, halt, and blind are not bidden to the Gospel feast as there spread, and not expected to ride to heaven in that car. Will there not be a new reformation in the Churches if we earnestly desire the non-church-goers to be brought in?

The mission of the Church in evangelization has been greatly hindered by the unbelief of God's people as to the practical power of the Gospel. How often do we hear it said, that "the Gospel has *lost its hold* upon the masses!" Has it ever, in these days, *had hold* of them? Has the modern Church, as a whole, set herself vigorously to *try* to lay hold of the people at large? It is not true that her hold is relaxed, if she has not yet taken hold. A few distributors of Bibles and tracts have been, here and there, sent out to scatter religious literature among the ignorant and degraded, many of whom cannot even read. There have been occasional visits by missionaries and Bible-readers, along the alleys of our great cities, whose round of calls it requires a six-month to complete. Services have

been held in places, often so unfit that to go is almost to forfeit one's own respectability. Churches and chapels have been built for the poor, and invidiously attached to our better class of churches, under the name of "Missions." We build elegant structures that rival cathedrals in size and splendor, for ourselves, and then erect cheap chapels for the poor. What if there be a voice in the very contrast, which seems to say to the lower classes of society, "We hold you at arm's length!" That Christian philanthropy has need to remodel its methods which organizes Sabbath-schools for the children of poverty and calls them "Ragged schools," as though to taunt poverty with its rags.

To the heathen abroad, we send our best men and women, trained scholars and linguists, skilful physicians, educated teachers and preachers; we use on pagan soil our costliest apparatus and means of grace, ~~and~~ taking all things into account, our success in evangelizing is three-fold as great as at home. To the heathen about us, we offer a dainty gloved hand or a finger-tip, as though we feared that contact might contaminate; we do not identify ourselves with the want and woe that is beneath the very shadow of our church spires, and then we wonder at the indifference of the masses to the Gospel, and ask why it has lost its hold!

The *extent* of the neglect of the house of God, in our great cities, is startling. At an anniversary of the "Open-Air Mission" at Islington, the Earl of Shaftesbury stated, that "not more than two per cent. of workingmen are wont to attend public worship." We have no accurate statistics upon which to base an estimate, but it is believed that at least *forty per cent.* of our city population attend no place of worship, Papal or Protestant. Is there anything in these "workingmen" that makes it impossible or impracticable to evangelize them?

To the doubting John the Baptist, our Lord gave this as the crowning mark of His Messiahship: "To the poor the Gospel is preached," that is, the most destitute and desperate classes were most surely reached with the good tidings. Yes, "the common people heard Him gladly." St. Luke gives upward of twenty instances in which the hate of scribes, pharisees, and rulers plotted Christ's ruin; and as many instances

n which the common people stuck to His cause, foiled the **malice** of His foes, and held them in check.

Our Lord both preached to the people, and reached them : **they** formed the bulk of all His hearers and followers. Human **nature** has undergone and can undergo no radical change. If **our** Saviour's brief sojourn on earth had fallen in these days **instead** of those, the multitudes who do not come to our churches, **and** the problem of whose evangelization the Church seems **unable** to solve, would be found now, as then, thronging about Him. **But** He would not enthrone and enshrine Himself in some grand **metropolitan** temple, and seek to draw the people by attractions **that** savor not of the salt of godliness. He would go wherever **He** could find the common folk, to street corners and river-banks, **to** private houses and public marts. He would make Himself **one** among them, one of them, eating with publicans and **sinners**, not afraid to touch even the loathsome leper, lifting up **the** fallen, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the **sick** and those in jails ; saying to the outcast and abandoned : " **Neither** do I condemn thee ; go and sin no more ! " Our **profound** conviction is, that if we, Christ's disciples, will not **shut** ourselves up in our gilded fanes, will not enshrine **mammon**, where we claim to enthrone God ; if we will go and make **ourselves** saviours to the lost, one with, one of, the least and **lowest** ; take hold of poverty and misery, want and woe, with **an** ungloved hand, through whose firm grasp may be felt the beat **of** a warm heart, we shall reach the " common people," as our **Master** did. We are called to " take up the cross and follow Christ," not only as individuals, but as a body of believers ; we must shape our corporate action upon the principle of self-denial and self-sacrifice for Christ's sake, and then we shall be of service in saving souls. And, until in these things, we have followed Him, and have still failed to reach the common heart of humanity, it is not candid for us to talk and act as though the " evangelization of the masses " were a problem too hard to solve !

The teachings of Holy Scripture do not form the only guide, **in** matters of duty. To a thoughtful, careful eye, God's **Providence** becomes, often, in the very night of our darkness, a **luminous** and moving pillar of cloud and of fire. In these **latter** days, God seems to be thus providentially advancing before

His Israel. Is there no meaning in the repeated and remarkable success reached in "Gospel tents," public halls, theatres, and opera houses? The attention of the writer was providentially turned to the study of the subject upon which this paper treats, by the very unusual effectiveness of preaching services, held in the Whitney Grand Opera House of Detroit, in gathering under the sound of the Gospel, the neglectors of God's house. The Fort Street Presbyterian Church, of which he is pastor, lost its beautiful edifice by fire, in March, 1876. During some fifteen months succeeding, while the new building was in process of erection, a harvest was reaped, entirely without a parallel in the previous history of that church, no fifteen years of which had done as much to evangelize the masses, as those fifteen months in a place where all were free to come, and where all classes were, for the time, upon a sovereign level of equality. Are we more quick to read the face of the sky than to discern the signs of the times? Is not God, in the language of events, which are vocal with solemn significance, saying to us all, that if we wish to reach the people, we must be willing to hold services where the people go, as well as to ask them to come where we hold services?

But, we are quite too conservative to turn our backs upon the church-edifices, consecrated to the service of God and surrounded by a hallowed atmosphere of associations. Nor is there need of forsaking our sacred places of assembly. Our work has more than one aspect. First, there is need of the stated preaching of God's Word, in God's own proper house, fragrant with an atmosphere of holy memories, for the sake of its influence on habitual hearers. The church is a family home for Christian households, and for many who, without professing piety, feel bound up in the same bundle with God's people. Secondly, there is need of all that group of spiritual methods for the education and edification of believers, which we so well call, "means of grace." For such objects, the church-building, set apart for sacred uses, is the fit place, perhaps the only really fit place.

But, thirdly, we need as a right arm, for the sole or supreme end of evangelization, the preaching of the Word in such outside places as the common people, the neglectors of God's worship, frequent or will attend. It is true they ought to come

to our churches; they ought to prize sanctuary privileges so highly, as to be willing to give whatever they are able, for the support of the Gospel. But, the fact is, that they *do not come*, and do not, perhaps, feel willing to pay even a very moderate and reasonable pew-rent. What, then, are we to do? Shall we leave them to neglect Christ and perish? And, because they are wrong in their feelings and course, abandon them to their lost state? It must not be! We are "to seek and to save that which is lost!" Go where the lost may be found, woo them, win them. Give them the Gospel, when and where they are most likely to hear and heed it! If we cannot "bait" the fish and draw them to our stationary net, let us seek out their favorite resorts, where they throng, and use the casting-net to surround and enclose them. If once in any way the Gospel-net has caught them, we shall be able to draw them to the shore. Let those who will not come to the assemblies of saints to hear the good news, once taste its sweetness, and they will both come to God's house and give to the support of the Gospel.

There are not a few in the Church, both among her ministry and her membership, who yearn to make a fair and a faithful trial of a more simple, scriptural model of church organization and administration, uncontrolled by worldly minds or worldly maxims, with a severe simplicity of work and worship, with no attempt at worldly attractions, in choir or pulpit; where everything shall exalt God, fulfilling the literal intent of worship, viz: ascribing *worth* to God; where there shall be no salaried preacher, hired choir, or rented pew, and where the preaching of the Gospel and benevolent work shall be supported by the voluntary gifts cheerfully offered by consecrated hearts, rather than wrung by impassioned appeal from the unwilling and worldly-minded, and even the unconverted. Not because these things are in themselves wrong and sinful; neither, perhaps, is "wisdom of words": but because these resorts mean a lack of faith in God, in the pure unmixed Gospel, in the power of prayer, and in the promised presence of the Holy Ghost; because they mean that the policy and the spirit of the world infect and infest the life of the Church. We try all these things, in hope to draw and hold the people; and, with them all, we fail, because these are not God's methods! The spirit

of the world, which, as we too often forget, is the spirit of Satan, invading and pervading the Church, *secularizes* the Church, *i. e.*, takes away its separate character: and so God's Holy Spirit is grieved and quenched, for He will not dwell among us unless the divine law of separation is observed (see 2 Cor. vi. 14-18). We may preserve our orthodoxy and our morality, and yet, that peculiar "Holiness to the Lord," that unique "power of the Holy Ghost," by which the Church of God is to be distinguished, as by a mark upon her very forehead, and by which she is to witness for Christ and win victories over the powers of darkness, may be withdrawn!

As a hint has been dropped in the course of this paper, that possibly the "*free*" principle in Church administration might be found helpful and wholesome in reaching higher results in evangelization, it may be well to add, that it has been tried successfully as the financial basis of Church life. We quote: "The Free Church Association of Philadelphia have prepared a paper in which it is stated that only four churches in that city pay expenses by pew rents. The pew rents of all the churches pay only three-fourths of the expenses, and average \$6.16 per sitting. The free churches, it says, contribute \$9.60 per sitting. In the country churches the balance is the same way. The average cost of sitting is \$3.58, and the rentals do not support the churches; while the free churches, leaving out the "mission" churches, pay \$6.50 per sitting."

This great question of a necessity for some new method of reaching the practically heathen souls immediately about us, is absorbing the best thought of the best minds in the Church. It may lead to some expedients which will prove effective only for a time, but we feel confident that an angel from heaven is troubling the pool, and that some lasting cure of our churchly impotence will result from the moving of the waters. Our Episcopalian brethren who have led the van in the worldly charms of their church edifices and services, their music and ritual, are to-day, perhaps, leading the van in this country, in the work of evangelizing the people. Some of them have the grace to see that souls are not won by those worldly charms which are vainly used to compensate for a lack of spiritual life and power; and with a heroic and holy courage, to abandon them for methods which partake more of primitive, apostolic simplicity.

A gifted rector in New York city, who had well-nigh been dropped out of the "apostolic succession," because he would preach wherever he got a chance, has sought to set in play a many-sided benevolence and to make his church a sacred Bazaar, with an hundred hands stretched out to help; pitching a "Gospel tent" right amid the people, and feeding the body that the soul may afterward be fed. On Sunday afternoons the "Andrew and Philip Society" serves hot meat and oysters, tea, coffee, and bread, to hundreds of hungry men, as, on Tuesday afternoons, the "Mary and Martha Society" serves hungry women. How natural that those who throng the supper-tables should stay to hear of One who taught us to feed the hungry, and preach the Gospel to the poor; and that the drunken and degraded should be led to Him, and no longer be recognized by their old companions, because of their changed look and life! If we have the will and the self-sacrifice, the outcast may be reached, and some, whom no man could bind or tame, may be found sitting at Jesus' feet, clothed in His righteousness and in their right mind!

A greater zeal in evangelizing may prove a means of supplying the lacking element in our Church life. Statistics show that the net increase of our Church membership in the Presbyterian Church, for example, is rapidly decreasing. It has gone from 29,000 in 1876 down to 7,000 in 1879! God's Spirit is not among us largely in converting power. In some parts, prayer languishes, our best methods are like a vast machine without an adequate motor, and our benevolent schemes drag, from sheer lack of vital vigor in our spiritual life. Dr. Duff said, "The Church that ceases to be evangelistic will soon cease to be evangelical;" and all Church history proves it.

The only hope of a growing, or even continuing, spiritual life is found in unceasing work for souls. Mr. Spurgeon's church goes out constantly to gather in. From the pastor's college, students scatter by the score every Lord's day in every direction throughout London and its suburbs, to teach and preach, wherever there is an open door; and this evangelizing effort both reaches the unsaved and reacts upon the life of the mother Church. The very effort to drive the blood by a pulsation of power to the extremities, keeps the heart beating warmly and vigorously at the centre. It is a curious feature

of God's economy of Christian life, that the most unselfish and self-sacrificing effort to save souls, shall do more to expand and enrich the soul of the worker, than the most concentrated and unceasing endeavor directed simply toward self-culture!

III. In closing this paper, we return toward our starting-point, for that is also our goal; and affirm that our great dependence in all evangelistic work must be upon the *simple, sincere proclamation of the Gospel*. Both the attractiveness and the effectiveness of all methods to bring souls to God will depend largely upon the *simplicity of the message* and the *sincerity of the messenger*.

1. One grand secret of Gospel power lies in the prominence given to "*Christ crucified*." This is the heart of the Gospel, and it is this alone which fits, feeds, fills the human heart: this is the power of God and the wisdom of God. The great peril is that this shall not be preached with enough plainness, faithfulness, and constancy. "I, *if I be lifted up*, will draw all men unto me." We must draw men by lifting up Christ on the cross. The one truth to be declared, magnified, exalted, is this: "He bore our sins in His own body on the tree." Nowhere else are true repentance, faith, and love awakened as at Calvary. Woe be to us if as heralds of salvation we lose sight of the cross, or let others lose sight of it. No philosophy or poetry; no learning or culture; no honesty of purpose or nobility of character, can atone for the intrusion and obtrusion of any other object between the soul and God. Nay, if by undue devotion to scholarship and rhetoric, we call attention rather to our manner than our matter, we may, even while preaching the spiritual Gospel, obscure it by allowing self to come between men and Christ; there is a way of holding up the cross so that we are still before it and not behind it; a way of preaching the Gospel which diverts human eyes from the crucified One.

2. This thought leads naturally to a consideration of the conditions which in the *Messenger* himself contributed to success. By a worldly spirit in the herald, as well as in the hearer, the Gospel is shorn of practical power. It may be, after all, that our sorest need lies just here: more than any change in the methods or the message, we, the messengers, need a new spirit to fill and thrill us, a new inspiration to put life into old,

to give new force to old truths. Like Peter, we
 re-conversion—a reformation, transformation,
 to Christ's likeness. A little more faith in
 of sin, and the real ruin of sinners, and in
 in its naked simplicity to meet all
 the soul, would lead us to sow the pure
 the tares of our own self-confident
 moral essays. A little more of
 assuming zeal for Christ and souls that
 between the porch and the altar, beseeching
 over His heritage to the reproach of barren-
 make the seed more fruitful by first steeping it in
 tears. A little more confidence in the promises of
 prompting us to speak and pray and work in the firm
faith that, "as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven,
and returneth not thither *until* it has watered the earth and
maketh it bring forth and bud," so God's "Word shall not re-
turn to Him void," or until it has wrought its blessed results—
O, how this would cast out that unbelief because of which
He does not and cannot do many mighty works in us and by
us !

With one man, whose faith, humility, and consecration make
 possible a large use of him by God, what wonders are often
 wrought, even through methods the most unpromising ! Vis-
 itors at the late Paris Exposition, who saw so many copies of
 portions of the Word given away at the palace of the Trocha-
 dero, little knew how much of this hunger for the blessed
 Gospel in that priest-ridden metropolis was owing to one
 obscure Scotchman. In Belleville, that suburb of Paris, out
 from whose narrow lanes, walled in by lofty tenement-houses,
 issued forth the fierce and fiery Commune, the rough hand
 of a French laborer was laid, not long ago, on Mr. McAll's
 arm, as a voice pleadingly said : "Why do you not come back
 to us, and tell us more of the true religion ?" He returned
 home, but, above the rattle of cars and the roar of the channel,
 that voice sounded in his ear. Friends said "No," but God
 said "Yes;" and Mr. McAll went back, hired a room in that
 very gateway of hell, whence demons of arson and murder had
 gone forth in days of anarchy ; and began to tell the old, old
 story. He spoke barbarous French, but a few poor outcasts

heard through his blundering, stammering speech, the voice of a crucified Christ, and, through eyes dim with tears, got a glimpse of the cross. The numbers grew—a larger room **must** be hired—the largest room overflowed, and other “stations” must be opened, and other helpers secured to feed these hungry souls that had been starving on the husks of papal superstition: and now, at twenty-three places in Paris, and at least **six** elsewhere, a full and free Gospel is preached and taught by that one Scotchman and his fellow-workers—all this with the hearty sanction of the Government, which openly favors Mr. McAll’s work, as the best “police measure” for promoting order and morality. Nothing impressed these poor Communists more than the fact that in all this work, and for all, Mr. McAll asked them not for a centime: it has been throughout an unselfish labor of love; and even Belleville is turned into a law-abiding district; the home of the lawless Commune is evangelized! And yet we talk as though those who, under the very shadow of our churches, live as heathen cannot be reached; or, as though that old centre of light and love and life on Calvary were like some burnt-out sun!

The Church is put in this world to evangelize; by God’s help the Church can fulfil her mission. But success is to be assured only at some cost. A spirit of self-sacrifice, a deep, divine love for souls; a firm faith in the Word as the sword, in the hand of the Spirit as the power of God, will beget concentration of aim and action before which no obstacle could stand. In the assault on Fort Pulaski, every ball fired in the first volley of seventy guns, struck within a circle of twelve feet. There was no use in resisting guns that could hit like that; and so down came the flag! Many a flag of Satan would be lowered in token of surrender, if he saw the hosts of God in desperate earnest pointing all their guns in one direction! When we hurl the hot and heavy shot of a pure Gospel, a pure life, a true faith in prayer and a love like Christ’s at the defences of sin, the very kingdom of darkness will shake! “Is there anything too hard for God?” Our failures must lead us or drive us to lay hold on His strength. We must preach a pure Gospel in simple faith, and by prayer command the power of the Holy Ghost. Paul was not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; even in imperial Rome it was the power of

unto salvation, and all the culture of Corinth could not t him to corrupt the simplicity of "Christ crucified." To- as then, here is still found both the power of God and wisdom of God. What has saved us can save others; but : must be *contact*, and every believer must look upon him- is one of the living links by which contact between the of man and the salvation of God is to be secured.

ie Word of God makes no timid apologies for sin, but s it in scarlet dyes: it speaks in no doubtful terms of s ruin, but paints it black as starless midnight! The Word od tells us of man's universal need of Christ; the highest ot above the necessity of salvation, and the lowest not ath the possibility of salvation. Standing in the burning of divine love on Calvary, we shall feel, kindling within love for man as man that makes the vilest soul seem precious than all the suns and stars; that makes the blest sphere of service a radiant orbit of duty and delight, rich we work with God, and "fill up that which is behind e afflictions of Christ," in bringing souls to Him.

od grant us a new Pentecost, when the kingdom of heaven suffer violence and be taken by force in the eagerness of st souls to press into it. A transformed Church will be : to souls a perpetuation—almost an incarnation—of the g Christ, whose healing word and touch bring sight to the l, hearing to the deaf, cleansing to the leprous, and life to dead: every place of prayer will become a Siloam of ing, a Bethesda of healing; and the shining Shekinah once more flood with the uncreated glory the courts of Lord!

ARTHUR T. PIERSON.

III.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

IT was a great idea of the Little Dionysius—a Roman monk of the sixth century—to date a new era from the birth of our Saviour, who is the turning point not only of chronology, but of all history. The incarnation of the Son of God marks the end of the old, and the beginning of the new world; it closes the ages of darkness, preparation and aspiration after the true religion, and opens the ages of light, fulfilment, and enjoyment.

But Dionysius made a mistake—we do not know how—of at least four years in putting the Nativity of Christ, which occurred during the lifetime of Herod, four years after Herod's death. The New Testament gives us no precise dates and leaves us to conjecture and calculation. But it gives hints enough to lead us to almost certain conclusions. It connects the life and death of Christ with the ruling powers of that age, with the Emperor Augustus, King Herod and his sons, the Emperor Tiberius, and Pontius Pilate. All these dates and hints go to prove the realness of the historical surroundings of the Gospel history and to establish its credibility. "Within a purely historical presentation," says Hausrath (in his "History of the New Testament Times," second ed. 1873, Vorrede, p. 9), "there is no room for the poetical world of the religious legend; its images fade away when thrown before a clear historical background. . . . Even that assumption which supposes that the concrete life of the New Testament history is only the mythical figure of the phantasy of a later time, does not find here any support."

There is a remarkable harmony between the life of our Lord as described by the evangelists, and His chronological, geographical, and historical environments as known to us from contemporary writers, especially from Josephus, and illus-

ed and confirmed by modern discovery and research. s harmony is a strong argument against the mythical and endary theory of Strauss, Renan, and the author of "Sunatural Religion." The more we come to understand the : and country in which Jesus lived, the more we feel, in ding the Gospels, that we are treading on the solid ground real history, illuminated by the highest revelation from ven. The poetry of the canonical Gospels—if we may so their prose, which is better than poetry—is not, like that he apocryphal Gospels, the poetry of human fiction—

"No fable old, no mythic lore, nor dream of bards and seers."

t is the poetry of revealed truth, the poetry of the sublimest s, the poetry of the infinite wisdom and love of God, ch never before had entered the imagination of man, but ch assumed human flesh and blood in Jesus of Nazareth, solved through His life and work the deepest problem ur existence.

I.—THE YEAR OF THE NATIVITY.

'o ascertain the year of Christ's birth, we have a number ndications in the Gospels which lead within two years to same result.

. *The Death of Herod.*—According to Matthew ii. 1 mp. Luke i. 5, 26), Christ was born "in the days of King rod" I., or the Great. We know from Josephus that he d at Jericho, A.U. 750, just before the Passover, being rly seventy years of age, after a reign of thirty-seven rs. This date has been verified by the astronomical cal- ution of the eclipse of the moon, which according to the ie historian took place March 13, A.U. 750, a few days ore Herod's death. Allowing two months or more for the nts between the birth of Christ and the murder of the In- ents by Herod, the Nativity must be put back at least to ruary or January, A.U. 750 (or B.C. 4), if not earlier. rome infer from the slaughter of the male children in Beth- em, "from two years old and under," that Christ must e been born two years before Herod's death; but he nted from the time when the star was first seen by the

Magi (ii. 7), and wished to make sure of his object. There is no good reason to doubt the fact itself, and the flight of the holy family to Egypt, which is inseparably connected with it. For, although the horrible deed is ignored by Josephus, it is in keeping with the well-known cruelty of Herod, who from jealousy murdered Hyrcanus, the grandfather of his favorite wife, Mariamne; then Mariamne herself, to whom he was passionately attached; her two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, and, only five days before his death, his oldest son, Antipater; and who ordered all the nobles assembled around him in his last moments to be executed after his decease, so that at least his death might be attended by universal mourning. For such a monster the murder of one or two dozen infants in a little town was a very small matter, which might easily have been overlooked, or, owing to its connection with the Messiah, purposely ignored by the Jewish historian. But a confused remembrance of it is preserved in the anecdote related by Macrobius (a Roman grammarian, and probably a heathen, about A.D. 410), that Augustus, "on hearing of Herod's murder of boys under two years, and of his own son, remarked that it was better to be Herod's son than his son." The cruel persecution of Herod and the flight into Egypt were a significant sign of the experience of the early Church, and a source of comfort in every period of martyrdom.

2. *The Star of the Magi.*—Another chronological hint of Matthew, ch. ii. 1-4, 9, which has likewise been verified by astronomy, is the Star of the Wise Men, which appeared before the death of Herod, and which would naturally attract the attention of the astrological sages of the East, in connection with the expectation of the advent of a great king among the Jews. Such a belief naturally arose from Balaam's prophecy of "the star that was to rise out of Jacob" (Num. xxiv. 17), and from the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah and Daniel; and widely prevailed in the East since the dispersion of the Jews.

The older interpretation of that star made it either a passing meteor, or a strictly miraculous phenomenon, which lies beyond astronomical calculation, and was perhaps visible to the Magi alone. But Providence usually works through natural agen-

cies, and that God did so in this case is made at least very probable by a remarkable discovery in astronomy. The great and devout Kepler observed in the years 1603 and 1604 a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, which was made more rare and luminous by the addition of Mars, in the month of March, 1604. In the autumn of the same year (Oct. 10) he observed near the planets Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars a new (fixed) star of uncommon brilliancy, which appeared "in triumphal pomp, like some all-powerful monarch on a visit to the metropolis of his realm." It was blazing and glittering "like the most beautiful and glorious torch ever seen, when driven by a strong wind," and seemed to him to be "an exceedingly wonderful work of God." His genius perceived that this phenomenon must lead to the determination of the year of Christ's birth, and by careful calculation he ascertained that a similar conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, with the later addition of Mars, and probably some extraordinary star, took place repeatedly A.U. 747 and 748, in the sign of the Pisces.

It is worthy of note that Jewish astrologers ascribe a special signification to the conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of the Pisces, and connect it with the advent of the Messiah.

The discovery of Kepler was almost forgotten till the nineteenth century, when it was independently confirmed by several eminent astronomers, Schubert of Petersburg, Ideler and Encke of Berlin, and Pritchard of London. It is pronounced by Pritchard to be "as certain as any celestial phenomenon of ancient date;" although he rejects its identity with the star of Matthew, because he understands his description to mean a strictly miraculous star which "went before" the Magi, and "stood over" the abode of Christ in Bethlehem. It certainly makes the pilgrimage of the Magi to Jerusalem and Bethlehem more intelligible. "The star of astrology has thus become a torch of chronology" (as Ideler says), and an argument for the truthfulness of the first Gospel.

It is objected that Matthew seems to mean a single star (*ἀστὴρ*, comp. ver. 9) rather than a combination of stars (*ἄστρον*). Hence Dr. Wieseler supplements the calculation of Kepler and Ideler by calling to aid a single comet which appeared from February to April, A.U. 750, according to the Chinese astro-

nomical tables, which Pingré and Humboldt acknowledge as historical. But this is rather far-fetched and hardly necessary for that extraordinary star described by Kepler, or Jupiter at its most luminous appearance, as described by Pritchard, in the memorable constellation, would sufficiently answer the description of a single star by Matthew, which must, at all events, not be pressed too literally; for the language of Scripture on the heavenly bodies is not scientific, but phenomenal and popular. God condescended to the astrological faith of the Magi, and probably made also an internal revelation to them before as well as after the appearance of the star (comp. ii. 12).

If we accept the result of these calculations of astronomers, we are brought to within two years of the year of the Nativity, namely, between A.U. 748 (Kepler) and 750 (Wieseler). The difference arises, of course, from the uncertainty of the time of departure and the length of the journey of the Magi.

3. *The Fifteenth Year of Tiberius.*—Luke, ch. iii. 1, 2, 3, gives us an important and evidently careful indication of the reigning powers at the time when John the Baptist and Christ entered upon their public ministry, which, according to Levitical custom, was at the age of thirty. John the Baptist began his ministry "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius," and Jesus, who was about six months younger than John (comp. Luke i. 5, 26), was baptized and began to teach when He was "about thirty years of age."

Tiberius began to reign jointly with Augustus, as "collega imperii," A.U. 764 (or, at all events, in the beginning of 765), and independently, Aug. 19, A.U. 767 (A.D. 14); consequently, the fifteenth year of his reign was either A.U. 779, if we count from the joint reign (as Luke probably did, using the more general term *ἡγεμονία* or *βασιλεία*), or 782, if we reckon from the independent reign (as was the usual Roman method).

Now, if we reckon back thirty years from A.U. 779 or 782, we come to A.U. 749 or 752 as the year of John's birth, which preceded that of Christ about six months. The former date (749) is undoubtedly to be preferred, and agrees with Luke's own statement that Christ was born under Herod (i. 5, 26).

Dionysius probably (for we have no certainty on the subject) calculated from the independent reign of Tiberius; but even that would not bring us to 754, and would involve Luke in contradiction with Matthew and with himself.

The other dates in Luke iii. 1, generally agree with this result, but are less definite. Pontius Pilate was ten years governor of Judæa, from A.D. 27 to '37. Herod Antipas was deposed by Caligula, A.D. 39. Philip, his brother, died A.D. 34. Consequently, Christ must have died before A.D. 34, at an age of thirty-three, if we allow three years for His public ministry.

4. *The Census of Quirinius*.—Luke, ch. ii. 2. Luke gives us another chronological date by the incidental remark that Christ was born about the time of that census, or enrolment, which was ordered by Cæsar Augustus, and which was "the first [enrolment] made when Quirinius (Cyrenius) was governor of Syria." He mentions this fact as the reason for the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem. The journey of Mary makes no difficulty, for (aside from the intrinsic propriety of his company for protection) all women over twelve years of age (and slaves also) were subject in the Roman empire to a head-tax, as well as men over fourteen, till the age of sixty-five. There is some significance in the coincidence of the birth of the King of Israel with the deepest humiliation of Israel, and its incorporation in the great historical empire of Rome.

But the statement of Luke seems to be in direct conflict with the fact that the governorship and census of Quirinius began A.D. 6, *i. e.*, ten years *after* the birth of Christ. Hence many artificial interpretations. But this difficulty is now, if not entirely removed, at least greatly diminished by archæological and philological research independent of theology. It has been proved almost to a demonstration by Bergmann, Mommsen, and especially by Zumpt, that Quirinius was *twice* governor of Syria; first, A.U. 750 to 753, or B.C. 4–1 (when there happens to be a gap in our list of governors of Syria), and again, A.U. 760–765 (A.D. 6–11). This double legation is based upon a passage in Tacitus, and confirmed by an old monumental inscription discovered between the Villa Hadriani and the Via Tiburtina. Hence Luke might very properly call the census about the time of Christ's birth "the first" (πρώτη) under Quirinius, to distinguish it from the second and better known, which he himself mentions (in his second treatise on the history of the origin of Christianity, Acts v. 37). Perhaps the experience of Quirinius as the superintendent of the first census was the reason why he was sent to Syria a second time for the same purpose.

There still remain, however, three difficulties not easily solved: (a) Quirinius cannot have been governor of Syria before autumn, 750 (B.C. 4), consequently *after* Herod's death and still more *after* Christ's birth; for we know from coins that Quintilius Varus was governor from A. 748 to 750 (B.C. 6-4) and left his post *after* the death of Herod. (b) A census during the first governorship is nowhere mentioned but in Luke. (c) A Syrian governor could not well carry out a census in Judæa during the life-time of Herod before it was made a Roman province (*i. e.*, A.U. 759).

In reply to these objections, we may say: (a) Luke did not intend to give an exact, but only an approximate chronological statement, and may have connected the census with the well-known name of Quirinius because he completed it, although it was begun under a previous administration. (b) Augustus ordered several *census populi* between A.U. 726 and 767, partly for taxation, partly for military and statistical purposes; and, as a good statesman and financier, he himself prepared a *rationarium* or *breviarium totius imperii*, that is, a list of all the resources of the empire, which was read, after his death, in the Senate. (c) Herod was only a tributary king (*rex socius*), who could exercise no act of sovereignty without authority from the emperor. Judæa was subject to taxation from the time of Pompey, and this seems not to have ceased with the accession of Herod. Moreover, towards the end of his life he lost the favor of Augustus, who wrote him in anger that "whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he would now use him as his subject."

It cannot, indeed, be proven by contemporary testimony of Josephus or the Roman historians, that Augustus issued a decree for a universal census, embracing all the Provinces ("that all the world," *i. e.*, the Roman world, "should be taxed," Luke ii. 1), but it is in itself by no means improbable, it was necessary to enable him to prepare his *breviarium totius imperii*, and it is directly asserted by Cassiodorus and Suidas, who mention a number of circumstances derived from other sources than Luke. In the nature of the case, it would take several years to carry out such a decree, and its execution in the provinces would be modified according to national customs. Augustus also carried out a measurement of the empire begun by Julius Cæsar.

empt assumes that Sentius Saturninus, who was sent as governor to Syria A.U. 746 (B.C. 9), and remained there till (B.C. 6), began a census in Judæa with a view to substitute a head-tax in money for the former customary tribute in kind; that his successor, Quintilius Varus (B.C. 6-4), conducted it, and that Quirinius (B.C. 4) completed the census.

It would explain the confident statement of Tertullian, who was a well-informed lawyer, that enrolments were held under Augustus by Sentius Saturninus in Judæa. Another, but less probable view is that Quirinius was sent to the East as special commissioner for the census during the administration of his predecessor. In either case Luke might call the census "the first" under Quirinius, considering that he finished the census for personal taxation or registration, according to the Jewish custom of family registers, and that afterwards he executed the second census for the taxation of property according to the Roman fashion.

The problem is not quite solved; but the establishment of the fact that Quirinius was prominently connected with the Roman government in the East about the time of the Nativity is a considerable step towards the solution, and encourages the hope of a still better solution in the future.

The Forty-six Years of the Building of Herod's Temple.

John, ch. ii. 20, furnishes us a date in the remark of the Jews, in the first year of Christ's ministry: "Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days?"

We learn from Josephus that Herod began the reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem in the eighteenth year of his reign, *i. e.*, A.U. 732, if we reckon from his appointment by the Romans (714), or A.U. 735, if we reckon from the death of Antigonus and the conquest of Jerusalem (717). The latter is the correct view; otherwise Josephus would contradict himself, since, in another passage, he dates the building from the fifteenth year of Herod's reign. Adding forty-six years to 735, we have the A.U. 781 (A.D. 27) for the first year of Christ's ministry; deducting thirty and a half or thirty-one years from 781, we come back to A.U. 750 (B.C. 4) as the year of the Nativity.

The Time of the Crucifixion.—Christ was crucified in the consulate of the two Gemini (*i. e.*, C. Rubellius Ge-

minus and C. Fufius Geminus), who were consuls A.U. 782 to 783 (A.D. 28 to 29). This statement is made by Tertullian, in connection with an elaborate calculation of the time of Christ's birth and passion from the seventy weeks of Daniel. He may possibly have derived it from some public record in Rome. He erred in identifying the year of Christ's passion with the first year of His ministry (the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Luke iii. 1). Allowing, as we must, two or three years for His public ministry, and thirty-three years for His life, we reach the year 750 or 749 as the year of the Nativity.

Thus we arrive from these various incidental notices of three Evangelists, and the statement of Tertullian, essentially at the same conclusion, which contributes its share towards establishing the credibility of the Gospel history against the mythical theory. Yet in the absence of a *precise* date, and in view of uncertainties in calculation, there is still room for difference of opinion between the years A.U. 747 (B.C. 7) as the earliest, and A.U. 750 (B.C. 4) as the latest, possible date for the year of Christ's birth. The French Benedictines, Sanclemente, Ideler, Mûnter, Wurm, Ebrard, Jarvis, Alford, Jos. A. Alexander, Zumpt, Keim, decide for A.U. 747; Kepler (reckoning from the conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars in that year), Lardner, Ewald, for 748; Petavius, Ussher, Tillemont, Browne, Angus, Robinson, Andrews, for 749; Bengel, Wieseler, Lange, Lichtenstein, Anger, Gresswell, Ellicott, Plumptre, Merivale, for 750.

II.—THE DAY AND MONTH OF THE NATIVITY.

The only indication of the season of the year when our Saviour was born is the fact that the shepherds were watching their flocks in the field at that time (Luke ii. 8). This fact points to any other season rather than winter, and is therefore not favorable to the traditional date, though by no means conclusive against it. The time of pasturing in Palestine (which has but two seasons, the dry and the wet, or summer and winter) begins, according to the Talmudists, in March and lasts till November, when the herds are brought in from the fields, and kept under shelter till the close of the rainy season. But this refers chiefly to pastures in the wilderness far away from towns and villages, and admits of frequent exceptions in the

close neighborhood of towns, according to the character of the season. In Switzerland the herds are driven to the mountains in May, brought back in August or September, and then pastured in the valleys before the winter sets in. A succession of bright days in December and January is of frequent occurrence in the East, as in Western countries. Tobler says that the weather about Christmas in Bethlehem is favorable to the feeding of flocks, and often most beautiful. On the other hand, strong and cold winds often prevail in April, and explain the fire mentioned John xviii. 18.

No certain conclusion can be drawn from the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, and to Egypt; nor from the journey of the Magi. As a rule February is the best month for travelling in Egypt, March the best in the Sinaitic Peninsula, April and May and next to them Autumn the best in Palestine; but necessity knows no rule.

The ancient tradition is of no account here, as it varied down to the fourth century. Clement of Alexandria relates that some regarded the 25th Pachon (*i. e.*, May 20), others the 24th or 25th Pharmuthi (April 19th or 20th), as the day of the Nativity.

(*a*). The traditional 25th of December is defended by Jerome, Chrysostom, Baronius, Lamy, Ussher, Petavius, Bengel, (Ideler), Seyffarth, Jarvis, and McClellan. It has no historical authority beyond the fourth century, when the Christmas festival was introduced first in Rome (before A.D. 360), on the basis of several Roman festivals (the *Saturnalia*, *Sigillaria*, *Juvenalia*, *Brumalia*, or *Dies natalis Invicti Solis*) which were held in the latter part of December in commemoration of the golden age of liberty and equality, and in honor of the sun, who in the winter solstice is, as it were, born anew and begins his conquering march. This phenomenon in nature was regarded as an appropriate symbol of the appearance of the Sun of Righteousness dispelling the long night of sin and error. For the same reason the summer solstice (June 24th) was afterwards selected for the festival of John the Baptist, as the fittest reminder of his own humble self-estimate that he must decrease, while Christ must increase (John iii. 30). Accordingly, the 25th of March was chosen for the commemoration of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, and the 24th September for that of the conception of Elizabeth.

(b). January 6 has in its favor an older tradition (according to Epiphanius and Cassianus), and is sustained by Eusebius. It was celebrated in the East from the third century as the feast of the Epiphany in commemoration of the Nativity as well as of Christ's baptism and His manifestation to the Gentiles (represented by the Magi).

(c). Other writers have selected some day in February (Hug, Wieseler, Ellicott), or March (Paulus, Winer), or April (Gresswell), or September (Lightfoot, who assumes on chronological grounds that Christ was born on the feast of Tabernacles as He died in the Passover and sent the Spirit on Pentecost), or October (Newcome). Lardner puts the birth between the middle of August and the middle of November; Lichtenstein in summer; Robinson leaves it altogether uncertain.

III.—THE DURATION OF CHRIST'S LIFE.

This is now generally confined to thirty-two or three years. The difference of one or two years arises from the different views on the length of His public ministry. Christ died and rose again in the full vigor of early manhood, and so continues to live in the memory of the Church. The decline and weakness of old age is inconsistent with His position as the Renovator and Saviour of mankind.

Irenæus, otherwise (as a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John) the most trustworthy witness of apostolic traditions among the fathers, held the untenable opinion that Christ attained to the ripe age of forty or fifty years and taught over ten years (beginning with the thirtieth), and that He thus passed through all the stages of human life, to save and sanctify "old men," as well as "infants and children and boys and youths." He appeals for this view to tradition dating from St. John, and supports it by an unwarranted inference from the loose conjecture of the Jews when, surprised at the claim of Jesus to have existed before Abraham was born, they asked Him: "Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?" A similar inference from another passage where the Jews speak of the "forty-six years" since the temple of Herod began to be reconstructed,

while Christ spoke of the temple, his body (John ii. 20), is of **course** still less conclusive.

IV.—DURATION OF CHRIST'S PUBLIC MINISTRY.

It began with the baptism by John and ended with the **crucifixion**. About the length of the intervening time there are (**besides** the isolated and decidedly erroneous view of **Irenæus**) three theories, allowing respectively one, two, or three **years** and a few months, and designated as the **bipascal**, **tripascal**, and **quadripascal** schemes according to the number of **passovers**. The Synoptists mention only the last passover **during** the public ministry of our Lord, at which He was **crucified**, but they intimate that He was in Judæa more than once. **John** certainly mentions three passovers, two of which (the **first** and the last) Christ did attend, and *perhaps* a fourth (**w**hich He also attended).

(1). The **bipascal** scheme confines the public ministry to **one** year and a few weeks or months. This was first held by **the** Gnostic sect of the Valentinians (who connected it with **their** fancy about thirty æons), and by several fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and perhaps by Origen and Augustine (who express themselves doubtfully). The chief **argument** of the fathers and those exegetes who follow them, is derived from Isaiah's prophecy of "the acceptable year of **the** Lord," as quoted by Christ (Luke iv. 14), and from the **typical** meaning of the paschal lamb, which must be of "one **year**," and without blemish. Far more important is the **argument** drawn by some modern critics (*e. g.*, Keim), from the **silence** of the synoptical Gospels concerning the other **passovers**. But this silence is not in itself conclusive, and must **yield** to the positive testimony of John, which cannot be **conformed** to the **bipascal** scheme. Moreover, it is simply **impossible** to crowd the events of Christ's life, the training of **the** Twelve, and the development of the hostility of the Jews, **into** one short year.

(2). The choice, therefore, lies between the **tripascal** and **the** **quadripascal** schemes. The decision depends in part on **the** interpretation of the unnamed feast of the Jews, John v. 1, **whether** it was a passover, or another feast; and this again

depends much (though not only) on a difference of reading (*the* feast, or *a* feast). Tischendorf, following his favorite Codex Sinaiticus, reads *ἡ ἑορτή*, while Westcott and Hort, with Codex Vaticanus, omit the article. The parable of the barren fig-tree, which represents the Jewish people, has been used as an argument in favor of a three years' ministry: "Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none." The three years are certainly significant, but according to Jewish reckoning two years and a half would be called three years. More remote is the reference to the prophetic announcement of Daniel ix. 27: "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease." Internal reasons prevail in favor of a ministry of three years and about three months. This view leaves ample room for arranging the discourses and miracles of our Lord, and has been adopted by Gresswell, Robinson, Andrews, and the majority of harmonists; but Ussher, Wieseler, and Tischendorf confine the ministry to two years and a half.

V.—THE DATE OF THE LORD'S DEATH.

The day of the week on which Christ suffered on the cross, was a Friday, during the week of the passover in the month of Nisan, which was the first of the twelve lunar months of the Jewish year, and included the vernal equinox. But the question is whether this Friday was the 14th or the 15th of Nisan, that is, the day before the feast, or the first day of the feast, which lasted a week. The Synoptical Gospels clearly decide for the 15th, for they all say (independently) that our Lord partook of the Paschal Supper on the legal day, called the "first day of unleavened bread," that is, on the evening of the 14th, or rather at the beginning of the 15th (the paschal lambs being slain "between the two evenings," *i. e.*, before and after sunset, between 3 and 5 P.M. of the 14th). John, on the other hand, seems at first sight to point to the 14th, so that the death of our Lord very nearly coincided with the slaying of the paschal lamb. But the three passages of John (xiii. 1, 29; xviii. 28; xix. 16) which look in that direction, can, and on closer examination must, be harmonized with the Synopti-

cal statement, which admits only of one natural interpretation. It is almost impossible that the Synoptists should have mistaken the day of the crucifixion, and that John should have found it necessary to correct them. Moreover, while it seems strange that the Jewish priests should have executed their bloody counsel in the solemn night of the passover and urged the crucifixion on a great festival, it is, on the other hand, in full keeping with the Satanic wickedness of their crime, and it is equally difficult to explain that they, together with the people, should have remained about the cross till late in the afternoon of the fourteenth, when, according to the law, they were to kill the passover and prepare for the feast; and that Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, with the pious women, should have buried the body of Jesus, and so incurred defilement at the very hour of the passover.

The critical and cautious Dr. Robinson says ("Harmony," p. 222): "After repeated and calm consideration, there rests upon my own mind, a clear conviction that there is nothing in the language of John, or in the attendant circumstances, which upon fair interpretation requires or permits us to believe, that the beloved disciple either intended to correct, or has, in fact, corrected or contradicted, the explicit and unquestionable testimony of Matthew, Mark, and Luke." The same opinion has been elaborately defended by Wieseler (the most learned chronologist of the life of Christ, and the apostolic age), Lange, Keil (on Matthew), Mr. Clellan, and Plumptre.

The view here advocated is strengthened by astronomical calculation, which shows that A.D. 30, the probable year of the crucifixion, the 15th of Nisan (April 7), actually fell on a Friday; and this was the case only once more between the years A.D. 28 and 36, except, perhaps, also in 34 (if this was a leap-year).

To sum up the results, the following appear the most probable dates in the earthly life of our Lord:

Birth,	A.U. 750 (Jan. ?), or 749 (Dec. ?), B.C. 4 or 5.
Baptism,	" 780 (Jan. ?), A.D. 27.
Length of Public Ministry,	" 780-783, " 27-30.
Crucifixion,	" 783 (15th of Nisan), A.D. 30 (April 7).
Resurrection,	" 783 (17th of Nisan), A.D. 30 (April 9).

PHILIP SCHAFF.

IV.

THE CATHOLICITY OF PRESBYTERIANISM.

HAS the time come for Presbyterianism boldly to claim catholicity? It is to have its first General Council on the American continent, in the course of this year. Some things that Council cannot claim for it. Every one knows that our form of Church communion does not unchurch other forms—does not maintain that it is in point of fact, and at the present time, the universal Church. In that sense, Presbyterianism cannot claim catholicity: it cannot claim it as *facti accompli*. But is our system fitted to be the system of the universal Church? Is it destined to be the system of the universal Church? Is it the system toward which the universal Church should strive? And if these questions are to be answered in the affirmative, has the time come for pressing the answer upon the Church universal, and for proclaiming it to the world?

I write as a layman, and it is from the public and popular side that I urge this view. It is, I hope, well founded in theory. Nothing will be of popular or public use in our day, which has not a basis of theory to fall back upon. But the question itself is not one of the past, or of books and theory. It is a question of the present age and that which is coming.

The Edinburgh Council three years ago was generally held not to have risen to the height of its calling in this respect. It was an admirable meeting, and in most points it was successful beyond expectation. It reacted favorably upon the Church; that is, upon the Presbyterian Church and its members. But it did not tell equally upon the world, and upon other Christian communions. And one reason why it did not, was that apparently it did not desire to do so. At all events, it took no pains to do it. It was a city set on a hill, and no better hill could be found than the Edinburgh Castle Rock.

But the Gentiles did not come to its light, and they were scarcely invited to come. If Presbyterianism has any message for the world, it was not on this occasion delivered. It was passed by, or postponed, or misunderstood, or held as understood, or at best whispered with bated breath. And, so far, an opportunity was missed which can never recur in the same form to the end of time.

Yet, on the other hand, the Edinburgh Council, by its very existence, (and let it be said, also, by its wise and successful management,) has done more for this claim of Presbytery to be the universal form than any event for centuries. The existence of such an œcumenical council proves at least—its possibility. Now, the possibility of such a council, which (as we shall see) was always theoretically affirmed, was enough to lay upon Presbytery the permanent obligation to affirm its own catholicity. The mere prospect, the mere hope, of such a thing was enough to bind that duty upon us. But we are in a very different position now. The experiment has been made, and has succeeded. We know now that there was no reason, except our own moral languor, why the unity of Presbytery throughout the world should not have had earlier visible expression. At all events, there is no such reason now. The visible and representative unity has been achieved. At Edinburgh, like Columbus, we made the egg stand on its end. To repeat the operation every three years to the end of time is to practice a simple lesson. But this sudden change of circumstances changes our obligations to the world generally. If Presbyterianism claims catholicity, it was at all times a blunder not to have said so. But not to say so now would be a crime. Hence the unique position of the Philadelphia or first American General Council. It is not a venture. It is not an experiment. It is not an appeal. The appeal has been made and the experiment has succeeded. There will now be no questions of basis and no questions of organization, except *de minimis*. All that is past, and Presbyterian unity the world over has been made a visible fact. The question for this Council is: What emphasis ought to be laid upon that fact? Is our system one with which we are barely contented, or is it one which we judge to be of great value for the world? Is it one which we cannot escape from, but of which we are a little

ashamed; or, is it one which has grown in our estimation during the centuries past, and which we are prepared henceforward steadily to hold up to the world until the world receives it?

If we are able to affirm the catholicity of Presbyterianism in the present and its universality in the future, it is of great moment that we should do so now.

I don't know how it is in America. But in every other part of the world where the English tongue is spoken, the visible unity of High-Churchism—of Episcopacy—is pressing us more and more. It lies upon us like a chain of which the weight is getting heavier and the links are getting closer. And it is a twofold chain. The one strand is Anglicanism; and the other is Romanism.

We feel it in Scotland. Our Presbyterianism here is more compact and more dense than anywhere else on the globe. Divided as it is, there is still a solid block of it. Yet after a while we are but a fragment of our own island. We are a minority, one-sixth of the whole. And the whole presses upon the one-sixth with a tyrannous and increasing strain. The Southern and Anglican influence presses not merely from without, but from within. It disintegrates in order to destroy. Every congregation, every family in Scotland has to stand upon the defensive against it. Our aristocracy have long since, with few exceptions, become members of the English Church. They live among us as its representatives, and it is fashionable to do as they do. That large and unfortunate class who take fashion or even gentility for their guide, have of course no defence against such an influence. But those who have some brains and some heart have also to fight against it. And they fight against a battle newly set in array. Within the last few years the Scottish Episcopal Church has gradually and cautiously, and by the help of various legislative enactments asserted a complete inter-communion with the Church of England. The bishops of the one now fully recognize the bishops of the other, and the clergy of the one are eligible to the cures of the other. Hence the whole influence of the great and wealthy Church which lies near us is felt as it never was felt before. And it is not its influence alone. Simultaneously

with the renewal of its connection with Scotland, the Church of England has been stretching out its hands to the ends of the earth. It has been renewing friendship with its daughter churches in America and the colonies, and gathering their representatives to London and to Lambeth. Hence its claims to a catholic episcopacy have become more effective, even in Scotland. It is no longer the "Anglican paddock." Its field, too, is the world. And these claims of a world-wide episcopacy tell, as they ought to tell, upon the imaginations of young Scotchmen. They would shrink from a form of religion which professed to be merely English. But with a Church which in some mystic way stretches over the globe, they are put upon the defensive and have no defence. The accusation of *provincialism*, which had only partial strength when made by the wealth and learning of England alone, has enormous effect when England makes it in name of a world-wide system of which it is only the representative.

All this presses upon Scotland, but is it upon Scotland alone? So far as I can ascertain, the pressure upon Presbyterian congregations in the colonies or on the continent is much greater. The influence of the existence of the Church of England upon English literature has told everywhere among Anglo-Saxons. It tends to identify Presbyterianism with dissent. The fact that Scotland is Presbyterian has made very little deduction from this. "The greater world draws the less," and all who look to British Literature as their light, and to the British islands as their ancestral home, are affected by it? No class of persons is more exposed to this influence, or more reflects it, than the tourist stream which eddies round the great towns of Europe. But it tells equally in the more distant continents. I say nothing of America; but through the whole eastern world, from Ulster to the Sandwich Islands, every Presbyterian pastor feels the pressure of the claim to Catholicity and Universality which the Episcopal system puts forward, and is too often helpless to meet it. Conscience and Christianity suggest that there must be some answer, but hitherto there has been imbedded in the principles of the Church, but not expressed in its outward form. And while the large Presbyterian churches are hampered by theological or dogmatic provincialism, and so feel exposed to the charge of schism, smaller

congregations, in thinly-peopled districts, are in still worse case. They get little or no material support from their own system, and the moral support has hitherto been wanting. But do even country congregations suffer more in this way than those of the city? I scarcely think it. The truth is, Anglicanism or High-Churchism presses in upon us like an atmosphere, with infinite subtilty, but with uniform weight.

But behind Anglicanism there rises a darker shadow—Vaticanism. The Catholicity of men *penitus toto divisos orbe* can never be formidable to the world, though it may press upon those who neglect Church principles altogether, or upon a country which, like Scotland, is in close proximity to a larger. We in Scotland suffer from Anglicanism. But the danger to America, and to the world, is as of old from Roman Catholicism. The attraction of visible unity, partly legitimate and Christian, partly anti-Christian and unspiritual, still tends to make all roads lead to Rome, where the true unity is supplanted by an earthly head. And since the First Presbyterian Council, we in Scotland have been re-awakened to this danger. The Council met in June, 1877. On the 4th of March, 1878, Leo the XIIIth, looking down, as the first words of the Letters Apostolic of that date declare, *Ex summo Apostolatus apice*, and viewing the desolate condition of Scotland, restored to it its ancient Hierarchy. Henceforth we form part of the Roman Unity, and we are face to face with the question whether unity is or is not part of the Christian inheritance, and if so, what it means.

I hope that for future ages it will not be without significance that the first Presbyterian Œcumenical Council was held in 1877, while the Papacy regathered Scotland into its Episcopal Hierarchy in 1878.

But this brings us back to the real question. Is the Presbyterian Council prepared to make an open assertion of visible and world-wide unity? The pressure from other systems is admittedly great. But is this the way to meet them? The question divides itself into two parts: First, Is it a legitimate assertion? Is visible unity all over the world part of the claims of Presbytery at all? Only when we have found that this ought to be asserted need we discuss the second question

whether the great occasion for asserting it has arrived. And that it ought to be asserted, or that it can be asserted, is by no means admitted on all hands. I am not speaking, I repeat, of theologians. I look at the thing popularly, and I say that a visible and world-wide unity has not yet been broadly accepted by the world as being the doctrine of the Presbyterian Church. I call on this point a most distinguished witness.

Exactly a year before the first Council, a very remarkable paper* appeared from the pen of the only one of our statesmen since Burke who has united very high speculative and very high practical faculty. It is not less to our purpose to recall also that Mr. Gladstone is at the present day at once the greatest ornament of Anglicanism and the chief opponent of Vaticanism. In this paper he undertook to do what for a man of even his qualifications was a gigantic task—to map out the courses of religious thought in modern times. The paper was never completed. It remains a rough-hewn torso. But it is a fragment of extraordinary power and suggestiveness; and while I am to complain that on one point he does not do justice to the system we represent, I must preface it with the acknowledgment that his treatment of that system on some other points is just and even generous. Our Presbyterian churches Mr. Gladstone includes under the head of the "Protestant Evangelical School,"† and of the members of that school, in both continents, he has much to say in praise. "They adhere to all, or nearly all, the great affirmations of the creeds." We have in their belief "the very heart of the great Christian tradition," and though it has not the ancient skeleton and system which surrounded and maintained it, we find also a true "incorporation" of Christian be-

* The Courses of Religious Thought.—*Contemporary Review*, June, 1876: reprinted in Mr. Gladstone's "Gleanings of Past Years," Vol. III., p. 95.

† This Protestant Evangelical School, he says in the United Kingdom "may claim nearly the entire body of Presbyterians and Non-Comformists under their various denominations:" the Evangelical or Low Church of the Church of England, in great measure belongs to it; and "of the English-speaking population in the New World, that is to say, in the United States and the British Colonies, which may be roughly taken at fifty millions, it may claim perhaps as many as thirty for its own; nor does any portion of the entire group seem to be endowed with greater vigor than this, which has grown up in new soil, and far from the possibly chilling shadow of national establishments of religion."

lief, to some extent in institutions, and to a far larger extent in life and character. "It has formed large communities. It has formed Christian nations; or at least has not unformed them." And, "while it entirely harmonizes with the movement of modern civilization, it exhibits its zeal in the work of all works, namely, in uniting the human soul to Christ."

A school which does, and which continues to do, all this may seem to lack but little. But the statesman-theologian goes on to contrast it with one which he calls historical. This includes Anglicans, Liberal or Old Catholics within or around the communion of Rome, and the admirers if not the members of the Greek Church. It includes, in short, and roughly, all High Churchmen, excepting Ultramontanes and the Church of the Vaticanism of 1870. This historical school is so called, because "they believe in an historical church, constitutional rather than despotic, with its faith long ago immutably and to all appearance adequately, *defined*." The Protestant Evangelical School—certainly the Presbyterian part of it—holds that religious truth as revealed is immutable, and is substantially one in its apprehension by all ages of the true Church. But it denies that any one age of the Church can immutably define that truth so as to bind others—the revisability of the confession, and the non-revisability of Scripture, are alike of the essence of its faith. In this it is opposed to Ultramontanism, which utters infallible definitions from time to time, and High Churchism, which accepts definitions as immutable, if made during the Patristic period, but no farther. Both these schools have thus an external Church authority in matters of faith; and it may therefore be fairly said that they "believe in an historical Church." But does it follow that the Protestant Evangelical School, rejecting that authority, does not so believe? This is the point which Mr. Gladstone maintains, and indeed he puts it in his very definition of that school. "*It rejects, or at least does not accept, the doctrine of a Catholic Church, visible and historical.*"

IS THIS SO?

It is true that the creeds of the Reformation, generally framed by Presbyterians, start from the Church Invisible. This magnificent and multitudinous conception is nowhere

presented in a more august form than in the old Scottish confession of Knox and his compeers in 1560. "As we believe in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, so we most constantly believe that from the beginning there hath been, and now is, and to the end of the world shall be, one Kirk—that is to say, one company and multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly worship and embrace Him by true faith in Christ Jesus—a Kirk invisible, known only to God, who alone knoweth whom He hath chosen." This great company of the living and the dead is of course invisible at each moment as a whole. Yet, unless I am mistaken, even this, which is an extreme definition, looks forward to a Church which shall be at each moment visible and historical upon earth. And accordingly it goes on to give the notes or marks of the Church; and the other Reformed Confessions more explicitly show how the Church upon earth, constituted by an invisible faith, becomes visible, partly, by its fruits, and partly by profession. Profession or confession of the truth is by all of them made necessary to the character of the individual Christian man; and upon this individual profession follows a mutual recognition by those who make it, which gives us at once a Church visible. Men follow, not only individual fruits of faith, but the word and sacraments and discipline of this Church of mutually recognizant believers. We have thus a visible Church which becomes at once Historical. But have we also a visible Church catholic or universal? To get the fullest acknowledgment of this we have to come down to the Confession which is to this day the most powerful in the Presbyterian world.

What is the doctrine of the Church of the Westminster Confession? It begins, like the Protestant Confessions generally, with the Church invisible. "The catholic, or universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect that have been, are, or shall be, gathered into one under Christ the head thereof." But it then goes on, not to the promise to two or three who gather together, far less to any artificial or geographical unity, but to another catholic Church.

"The visible Church, which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel (not confined to one nation, as before under the Law), consists of all those throughout the world that pro-

fess the true religion, together with their children ; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation. Unto this catholic visible Church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God for the gathering and perfecting of the saints in this life to the end of the world, and doth, by His own presence and spirit, according to His promise, make them effectual thereunto. This catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less visible ; and particular churches, which are members thereof, are more or less pure, according as the doctrine of the Gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed more or less purely in them."

So catholic is the Church doctrine of the great body of Presbyterians who hold the Westminster Confession. They acknowledge, *first*, a universal Church visible. It consists of all who profess Christ's religion throughout the world. And this visible Church (not the invisible,) is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the house and family of God. Unto it—not to the invisible Church—Christ hath given His ordinances. To it He has given His promises till the end of the world. Of it, in the first instance, men are bound to be members. Only after acknowledging it does the Confession go on to admit—and that in a very qualified and subordinate way—the existence and the rights of particular and local churches within it.

This passage is conclusive on the point which Mr. Gladstone has raised, with regard, at least, to what I am inclined to hold as the most solid and central portion of his "Evangelical School." There are many evangelical churches on both sides of the Atlantic who may have no sympathy with the Westminster Confession in this and other matters, as among the Congregationalists and Baptists. And there are evangelicals, *e. g.*, those known as such within the Church of England, who are really hedged up in the way he supposes within the bonds of a local or national church. But Presbyterianism is probably the most characteristic, or, at least, the most recognizable embodiment of the vague evangelical school to those who stand outside that school. In it certainly Evangelicalism has crystallized and run up into remarkably

able forms. And for this whole very representative body, passage which I have quoted speaks conclusively. No doubt there are many Presbyterian churches which have nothing to do with the Westminster Confession as a symbol; even of those who have accepted it, there is scarcely one which has not modified it more or less. And in a subordinate position of this very subject—on the doctrine of the visible Church, especially in its relations to the State—the changes on both sides of the Atlantic have been very considerable. But this brings out our present point more clearly; for while other things around it, and even in the same region, have not changed, this general doctrine remains unchanged. While minor difficulties on the relations of the visible Church have divided the descendants of the Puritan Presbyterians, the primary doctrine of its visible catholicity, has remained unaltered. And while the doctrine we have quoted unites the Presbyterians on both sides of the Atlantic, they have received the Westminster creed, however modified—while all Presbyterians in Scotland hold it without exception—it is also the part with which others of the same body throughout Christendom, holding other symbols, have the strongest sympathy. Inverting the assertion of the English statesman with regard to the evangelical school, I venture to say of Presbyterianism throughout the world, that “it does not reject, on the contrary it accepts,” and it does so in the forefront of its most celebrated and characteristic creed, the doctrine of a catholic Church visible and historical.”

But Mr. Gladstone’s mistake is not only intelligible, but instructive. The accepted doctrine or theory of Presbyterianism is no doubt, at least, a foundation for a catholic Church which shall be historical as well as visible. But down to a recent date, it may almost be said that no attempt was made to build on that theory, or to reduce the doctrine to practice. The exterminating war waged by the Popes and the Catholic sovereigns against Protestantism, drove the Evangel, two centuries ago, to take shelter in each country under the civil law of that particular region; and the local bounds thus usually fixed, have seldom been overpassed. The intercommunion of the Protestant Churches at the Reformation was to be practically continued. But of race and of

language resumed their heathenish power of obstruction. The Evangelical School within the English Episcopal Church, lost more than any other section of Protestantism, the tradition of catholicity, and may now be quite fairly described in the English statesman's words. The Evangelicalism of Scotland, on the other hand, which one would have expected to be still more narrowed by the intense nationalism which accompanied it, has crept round to a certain universality by another road. The restlessness of Scotchmen has conspired with the designs of fate. Driven out of England, Puritanism took root in America and in the colonized continents, and did so in a free and unfettered form, which, with the community of tongue, made a world-wide Presbyterian union at least a possible thing. Many ran to and fro, and knowledge was increased, and as the world filled, it narrowed and grew small, until by the middle of the nineteenth century the Saxon-Celtic girdle round the earth became capable of being tightened for any useful purpose. The time came at last when the central ecclesiastical dogma of Westminster—that of the one visible Church—could be realized; and in July, 1877, the first Ecumenical Presbyterian Council of the modern world met at Edinburgh. Nearly twenty thousand Christian congregations from every quarter of the world were represented by delegates chosen from the local churches, those of Scotland and America occupying, of course, the largest space. Not all who were present in that assemblage knew in how great an historical event they shared, or reflected that they then began what will never have an end! For when a great doctrine lies in the heart of a community without ever having been made visible, the first occasion when it is actually realized, is always an epoch for that community, and sometimes for the world. The beginning of the long predicted end was made for Presbyterianism at that Edinburgh meeting; and henceforth, so far as that system is concerned, the doctrine of catholicity must be held to have been "accepted," not merely theoretically, but practically.

And with catholicity must come historicity. Hitherto the Protestant Evangelical School, and even this section of it, have had less of that. But if Presbyterianism goes on to realize its great idea of a catholic consensus and unity on this

little planet, is it not possible that in the future its work may be *more* historical than that of either of the great schools with which it has been contrasted? In truth, Presbyterianism has never been wanting in the historical element, and it has held it with great tenacity. But that element has in the past been national or local. The access of the passion for catholicity—the desire to realize in practice the catholic ideal long since professed—necessarily brings with it a historical universality, the union of the many particular histories into one world-wide scheme for the future. At Edinburgh there were represented churches from California to Calcutta, and creeds fashioned in every century from the age of Origen to the age of Guizot. The members of this first meeting were, no doubt, gathered chiefly from the so-called Anglo-Saxon family dispersed throughout the world. But remembering the aptitude of the Anglo-Saxon family to be the pioneers of constitutionalism, we, who believe that Presbytery is constitutionalism in the ecclesiastical sphere, must hold that the uniting on this occasion of so many streams formed the fountain-head of a future which is to be absolutely shoreless.

"Let the great river take us to the main!"

These conclusions spring from one position which, I think, we almost all hold: *we hold Presbytery to be the natural form, and therefore the natural law of the Church.* It is the mould and type into which it runs when all external pressure and all artificial influence are removed. That does not mean that it is the only form in which the Church can exist—or even, in which it may flourish. It does not even mean that it is necessarily the best form for every church at every period of its existence. There are some men who believe very honestly in freedom and constitutionalism, who yet hold that for some races at some stages of their development despotism is the better government, and some form of autocracy is necessary. So there are Presbyterians who hold that some churches in the world and some nations have not risen to the level of Presbytery. They hold that if such churches, working at present under some form of Episcopacy, were suddenly called upon to receive the franchises and exercise the constitutional

rights of the Church as Presbytery conceives them, the change would, in the first instance, not be one for the better. Whether such a view can be held consistently with a high theory of Presbytery, as founded on the word of God, and agreeable thereto, it is not at all necessary to discuss. All that I require to point out is that even such a view leaves my whole argument untouched with respect to the duty of Presbyterians generally, and of their General Council in particular. Constitutionalists, who hold in the civil sphere that all mankind is not yet ripe for constitutionalism, look forward to a time when it will be so ripe—though even then the type of constitutionalism may vary and its methods will not be the same. So on the ecclesiastical side. Presbyterians who hold that the Church is not everywhere ripe for Presbytery, look forward to its being so. They, too, believe that the type of Presbyterianism may vary considerably from one race to another, and from one nation to another; for they see that it does so even now. They are quite certain that its methods of administration will vary, for they find that even within the bounds of our present narrower Presbyterian world, there is already an infinite variety. But they believe that we hold the type. And with regard to that type they hold two things. They think that it is, first, according to natural reason, and second, according to Scripture. For these do not contradict each other upon so central and important a matter as the nature of the Universal Church. Presbyterianism is, they know, remarkably elastic: the constitutions of the Churches already within the alliance of the Council prove it. It may require to be more elastic still, when the various races of mankind which have shown less capacity for self-government according to the word of God, come to be embraced in its sphere. But when the full extent of its elasticity, and the full variety of its adaptation are disclosed, they believe that it will remain, notwithstanding that range of variation, the true system, or rather, because of that world-wide range, it will be shown to be the true system, the type fitted according to reason, for the nature of man, and destined according to revelation for the Church of God. If any one chooses to take a higher position than this, and to insist that it is the duty of all churches, and of all branches of the Church, immediately

and without delay, to adopt the Presbyterian system, I do not care to argue against such a position. It will be difficult to argue against it successfully, provided Presbyterianism is taken in the full breadth of its essential principles, and with the full variety of its historical developments. But it is not necessary to go so far. Presbyterian theorists of both kinds hold that, the sooner their brethren of the other communions come to be not only almost, but altogether such as we are, the better. And whether we take our duty to the world to be, to press upon it the immediate adoption of our system, or merely to prepare and ripen it for a postponed and ultimate adoption, the present practical result is the same. On both theories, that practical result includes the defensive duties of holding fast the partial results already attained, of protecting the weaker branches of an organization which is held to be higher and purer, and especially of resisting aggressions which attempt to unchurch that organization, as well as to enfeeble it. On both theories, and on the lower at least, as clearly as on the higher, it includes the duty of holding up Presbyterianism before the world as the system to which the world is advancing, and to which it ought to advance. And, lastly, on both theories, the existence of a General Presbyterian Council forms the appropriate occasion for making a world-wide claim on behalf of Presbyterianism.

Let us test this last assertion. It is plain that so long as we are dealing with one fragment of Presbyterianism, one local or provincial specimen of it, we shall always have difficulties in maintaining its merits *contra mundum*. It has its own channel, perhaps its own rut, which defines and even confines it. It has its own history, which is human, not divine; its own traditions, which are largely provincial and accidental. It has its own separate type of Presbyterianism, which its members prefer, because they have been accustomed to it, but for which Presbyterians who are not accustomed to it, have, on precisely equal grounds of right, a corresponding distaste. A man who believes in Presbyterianism as merely the reasonable and constitutional way of church members gathering into church society, will always have a difficulty with a single and separate church, even when he is a member of it. He finds much that is artificial; much that, whether

modern excrescence or antique rust, is in no respect of the essence of worship and of faith. And when he goes farther and bases his Presbyterianism on the word of God, these local difficulties increase. He finds innumerable things that can show no distinct warrant, and much that has to be stripped of husk after husk before you come to the Scriptural kernel. The result is that all wise men—and, indeed, most men wise or otherwise—shrink from pressing the scheme of a particular church, with all its historical accretions and all its modern details, as binding upon other races and lands, or as the model for the world. Their imagination suggests that it would be ridiculous; their conscience testifies that it would be wrong. And so they remain in a shamefaced and apologetic, or, at best, a passive or defensive adherence to it, and forget the duty of inviting the Church universal to the form and frame and system to which sooner or later that Church is called.

But the moment a representative body meets, embracing, at least, a score of the types of Presbyterianism which are found all over the world, the difficulty vanishes. The difficulty vanishes, but the duty remains, and grows into tenfold dimensions. The local and the provincial depart; the permanent and essential abide. The Presbyterianisms of the hill and of the valley, of this latitude and of that longitude, lose their moral authority; but that authority only passes from these to the Presbyterianism of Scripture and of reason, which is more or less common to them all. And now, for the first time, we can confront the world. We carry with us no selfish crotchet, no private history of the past, no sectarian scheme for the future; we use "no tones provincial, no peculiar garb." A catholic Presbyterianism, a Presbyterianism which is of and for the whole world, can alone claim to be what the Church of Christ was intended to become:

'The city of God, that lieth four-square,
With avenues to every human heart.'

It will be observed that I urge that the Council should make this claim to universality, and to universal acceptance, not for the Council itself, but for the Church—for Presbyterianism. At present it is not only possible, but easy and

indeed necessary, to make this distinction. The Council is no doubt representative ; it is built up of delegates from the Churches. But it is expressly provided that it is to be merely a deliberative or consultative body, with no legislative or judicial authority over the churches composing it. Were it otherwise—were it a supreme court in the strict sense—the completion of the “ classic hierarchy ” of Presbyterianism—there would be a little awkwardness and there might be some hesitation. It would then seem to be claiming for itself this not only central, but authoritative position. It might be its duty to do so ; it is always the duty of men called to office to set aside personal feelings and look only to the claims of their work and the duties of their place. But at present, by a most fortunate accident or a gracious provision, the duty of representing Presbyterianism and claiming for it its place before the world, has fallen upon a body which has neither lordly nor ministerial power. It has only moral authority, and the moral authority conceded to it by outsiders will depend very much on the wisdom and boldness with which it makes the claim, not for itself, but for the Church. I am inclined to consider this point one of great practical importance, for a special reason. It is quite certain that the present state of matters where Presbyterianism is represented by a wholly unauthoritative Council cannot always continue. Neither reason nor Scripture nor the drift of human history will allow it. A General Council is not a mere luxury or superfluity in the Church Universal. It is no doubt the crowning of the edifice ; but it is the crown which is essential to its unity, and which was contemplated when the first stone was laid. Sooner or later we shall have a Council which, unlike the present, will be directly authoritative. This is the view, I suppose, of all Presbyterians, and it certainly flows directly from their principles. “ Saints, by profession, are bound to maintain an holy fellowship and communion, . . . which communion, as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto all who in every place call upon the name of the Lord Jesus.”

God has now offered opportunity ; He has drawn together all in every place, or shown how they may be drawn together. The last Council and the present are sufficient evidence of this. Ere long the question will be raised, What warrant

have we for omitting that ordinary representative assemblage which expresses the Church's world-wide unity, in the same way as local assemblies express its provincial oneness? But before this becomes a practical question, it is an infinite advantage that we have the opportunity of leisurely considering the preliminary point, What authority ought such an Ecumenical Council to possess, supposing it to exist? There is a vague prejudice in the minds of many people, that if such a General Assembly existed, it would be its duty to meddle with all the affairs of particular churches throughout the world, or at least it would be lawful for it to meddle with them when invited to do so, *e. g.*, by way of appeal. It is not at all too soon to consider how far there is any foundation in principle for such an idea. By far the most suggestive treatment of the subject with which I am acquainted, is to be found in an article on "The Capabilities of Presbyterianism," published six years ago in Scotland, by the Rev. William Taylor, now of Edinburgh.* The author, laying down the general position that greater and smaller Presbyterian assemblies alike hold immediately of Christ, puts the question, In what relation of authority do they stand to each other? That is, in what relation ought they to stand to each other? (The actual relations differ in every Presbyterian Church forming our alliance, and the practice of one side of the Atlantic, or on one side of any other boundary, is not binding upon the other). What is the rule and warrant? "The answer to this question, we think, depends upon the principle, that the sphere of Church authority is the regulation of Church communion, that that communion is a thing of degree, and that the authority is proportioned to the degree of communion." "*The more intimate the communion, the more intense is the authority; the more remote it is, the authority is weaker.*" Thus in civil matters, a family has far more right to say whom it will admit into it than a township or a nation has. So a congregation is entitled to regulate its own matters with a minuteness which a Presbytery or Synod or Assembly cannot emulate; while it is incompetent to judge, as those large assemblies are called upon to do, of the general religious wel-

* *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, October, 1874.

the district or the country. Mr. Taylor holds, that principle has not hitherto been recognized with sufficientness.

For example, the National Synod of the Reformed of France, after which our British Presbyterian churches have been so closely modelled, found it necessary early date, for its own sake, to limit the amount of some business from the provinces, by ordaining that appeal should be brought up to it except on matters of concern. It would have been well had this ordinance had an equally clear perception of the other side of the matter, that the National Synod ought not (unless by way of aid) to interfere in those local matters except they created a public scandal, or otherwise affected interests, and then only to the extent to which they

Taylor goes on—and this was three years before the year of the first Council in Edinburgh—to apply his principles to the case of a General Council which shall be merely deliberative. “It is very plain, that if the authority of provincial or national Church courts over those of districts is theirs *jure divino*, and not a mere human appointment for which it is worth no man’s while to plead, it is to be carried out even to an Œcumenical Council, if need be over all. And yet every one sees that the idea of a system of appeals from church sessions upwards to a world-wide Council, in *all* cases, and to *all* effects, is simply

But we know of no escape from it except by the system which we maintain. For according to it, an Œcumenical Council is indeed a right thing, and that Council will have real world-wide authority; but its authority, instead of being the strongest, will, as the most diffused, be in one sense the weakest. It will extend only to matters of universal importance, or to those smaller matters which have universal importance.”

It is possible that the same result, of even a formal General Council with very limited authority over conscience and controversy, may spring from other principles of Scripture and reason than are here definitely put. It is probable that there is no insurmountable difficulty in our looking forward to an ecclesias-

tical "Parliament of men, a federation of the world," with all the authority which any general principles of Presbyterianism would permit. Church authority, after all, is moral authority. But as has already been put, that is not the question now. The Philadelphia Council, like that of Edinburgh, will be tentative and deliberative. It will be embarrassed by no such personal reference, and weighted with no official privilege. The Council is clothed solely with its representative character. But then it is representative of Presbyterianism throughout the world, and it embodies its present visible unity. And while this state of matters relieves it from onerous and anxious duties, it binds upon it notwithstanding—rather, on that very account, it binds upon it immensely the more—the one great duty of holding up before the world the claims of the system which it represents.

This was exactly what the Edinburgh Council did not do. And accordingly it was ignored by the world in general, utterly ignored even by England, the part nearest it. The favorite hostile criticism upon it was that while this was a body which could only talk, it had nothing to say. There is no reason why this should be said of the American Council—no reason, at least, if it believes with the men of Westminster that there is a visible catholic Church, and that Presbytery is its destined form. The past centuries have shown that it is the only safe Protestant form, and the future will show that safety is not the only excellence traceable to constitutional freedom, whether in the Church or in the State. And if we know all this, the time has come for us to say it. If Presbyterianism is the system for the world, it is time that the world should know what it is promised.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

V.

BIBLE REVISION AND THE PSALMS.

It is proposed in this paper to begin with Bible Revision in its general aspects, and then to offer some thoughts upon revision of the Psalms.

The completion of the Revised New Testament, after more than seven years' labor, gives great satisfaction on all sides. At first, there was some complaining against the secrecy imposed upon the Revisers. But a fuller knowledge of their aims and methods has produced apparent acquiescence. Inasmuch as the rules contemplate successive revisions by the companies, before a final vote, and everything is provisional and undetermined till such vote is taken, it seemed better that they should come to an agreement among themselves rather than inviting outside opinion. This obviates much profitless discussion, with possible prejudice, over proposals many of which are merely tentative and will never be adopted.

The long suspense, however, with scanty information about the progress of the work, has stimulated the desire of all interested in it, to know what conclusions have been reached, and presently the Revision of the New Testament will be a reality.

Those by whom the labor has been performed, can neither in indifference nor presume a favorable verdict. Their knowledge of its magnitude, difficulties, and abundant compensations, has occupied all their thoughts. The call came unexpectedly, and they obeyed it as from God. As they advanced, their hearts deepened and their hearts warmed. It cannot be expected, when men of like faith and hope engage continuously in such work. There can scarcely be one of them who has not become more catholic, who has not been drawn into sympathy with those whose theological definitions are somewhat different, not one who has not been greatly profited in many ways by this employment.

They have been encouraged by the hearty appreciation of an increasing multitude of the best men, although a multitude not inferior in gifts, grace, or influence, were looking on doubtfully. They could only leave the issue with God, satisfied that those who were not yet heartily with them, were willing to wait patiently without committing themselves to absolute dissent and opposition. Many of these are now ready to welcome and to adopt the new version if found worthy. Everywhere increased interest is manifest, and general expectation of a satisfactory result. Not a few are prepared to endorse the Revision in advance, and to institute measures tending to its immediate adoption, as a substitute for the English Bible now in use.

Meanwhile the Revisers themselves are less sanguine, and regard such proposals as premature. Willing that the public should be predisposed to kind judgment, and supremely anxious that their labor shall prove to have been not in vain, they greatly prefer a suspension even of decisively favorable judgment until their work has been carefully examined. They scarcely dare form a positive opinion. They can only claim to have labored faithfully in reliance upon Divine help, realizing more fully than most others the inherent difficulty that lies in the way of their success. It is not principally philological, as if depending upon unknown forms and intricate constructions in the original languages of Scripture, or upon want of flexibility and copiousness in our own tongue. It lies in the necessity of giving a single version that shall harmonize and satisfy widely discordant views.

If a version could be produced that should give in English an impress of inspired thought, originally conveyed in Hebrew and Greek, as exact as the imitation of writing or picture by photograph, this would be the consummation of all possible desire. But in the organic and radical differences of the languages involved, it would require a greater miracle than inspiration itself. It is universally agreed, that the highest attainable excellence is to be sought, not in a new translation, but in the revision of an English text that is itself the result of revision upon revision, beginning with John Wycliffe's translation from the Latin Vulgate, five hundred years ago. The body of rich, sweet, and pure old Saxon

which the thoughts of God stand before our eyes, have been collected in the time of King James. But, as they are called, say candidly, "We never at the beginning that we should need to make a new one, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one; or a good one better, or out of many good ones, a good one." So it must continue for the future. It is true that the Authorized Version admits of great improvement, even beyond what will be reached or is proposed in the present Revision, and yet consistently hold that in substance it is incomparable and can never be

may differ widely as to how far revision should be allowed. It would be glad to see a version in which the number of errors would be far more numerous than is possible under the present rules that have been adopted. But it is certain that any revision that proposes any but the most carefully guarded alterations from the Authorized Version could be only justified by the very conservative rules adopted by the Convocation of Canterbury, in 1870, under which the British and Foreign Bible Societies have consented to work, propose "to make as few changes as possible consistent with faithful translation; and in the translation they forbid the attempt to give the Bible a new translation into the English tongue, commanding the highest regard in the choice of language for "the same as in the old and earlier versions." In order to make sure that no alterations shall be made that are not imperative, it is proposed that no alteration shall be finally adopted except by a two-thirds majority. This rule, added to the attachment of the present Old English Bible, which none feel more strongly than the Revisers, gives ample security against rash innova-

judicious rules present no fixed standard by which the Revisers may be governed, or may be judged. It is otherwise. The multitudes whose competence is not intelligently is indisputable, have no criterion save the individual. This might be quite different if the Revisers themselves were to lay themselves down with the Revisers to the actual revision, have been greatly modified by continued revision, especially when tested by the con-

clusions of other acute and independent minds similarly engaged.

In the light of their own experience, the Revisers deprecate hasty conclusions. Moreover, if the first verdict should be less unanimously favorable than some have anticipated, they will not despair of a different result from mature thought, with such comparison of views by the outside public, as has often resulted in change of opinion in their own confidential consultations.

Thus far we have remarked upon the general subject of Bible revision, in view of the near completion of the New Testament. Some thoughts upon the revision of the Old Testament may be acceptable to those who appreciate the intimate relation between the earlier and the later Revelation, and who wish to possess the whole Bible in a more faithful and intelligible rendering.

We hear constant questioning about the amount and character of the changes that will be made. Most of the examples of inaccurate or infelicitous rendering that were given in the able treatises that prepared the way for revision were from the New Testament. This is simply due to the fact that the studies of Trench, Lightfoot, Ellicott, etc., had taken that direction. Perhaps the examples that may be drawn from the Old Testament are even more conclusive. It is difficult to answer some of the questions that are asked, not so much on account of an obligation to secrecy, as because scarcely anything can be said to be settled till the final vote adopting the work as a whole. A few sentences will show that at present it is impossible to estimate the number of changes within many thousands.

First may be mentioned the question whether the name Jehovah shall hereafter appear in the English Bible wherever it occurs in the Hebrew, or whether it shall continue to be hidden under the name LORD. It is a point not yet determined by the Companies, and more than six thousand changes depend upon it.

Questions of inferior importance are yet under advisement, connected with the retention of Old English phrase when contrary to modern grammatical rule. Such are the use of the

relative *which*, when the reference is to persons; of the indefinite article *an* before words beginning with aspirated *h*, as *an hand, an hundred*; of the possessive forms *mine* and *thine* before the same class of words; of the possessive *his* before the names of inanimate objects, so that we read in Ex. xxv. 31, "Of beaten work shall the candlestick be made; his shaft and his branches, his bowls, his knops, and his flowers shall be of the same;" and similarly in several thousand instances.

We refer to these less important changes principally for the sake of illustration. If they shall all be made they will not materially affect the character of the Authorized Version, nor seriously disturb even those who would decidedly have preferred the more archaic forms. It will readily be seen that an immense number of slight changes in phraseology could be introduced with as little unfavorable effect upon the general style and impression of the whole, scarcely perceived except by those whose acquaintance with the English Bible is most minute, and if judiciously made, would be seen by them only with approval.

It will be impossible to give an adequate idea of the work the Revisers found upon their hands by merely citing instances where faithfulness to the original requires considerable change, with corresponding effect in removing obscurity, or in substituting a thought quite different from that before conveyed. Since revision had been undertaken, they could hardly avoid removing minor blemishes, which could have been tolerated had no greater existed; but which, nevertheless, are blemishes. They may only be like minute floating particles in water, otherwise clear and sparkling; but the water will be purer and more palatable for their removal.

Now such imperfections, which invite and almost compel the touch of the corrector, are very frequent. They occur on every page of history, psalm, and prophecy. Some of them are very slight, only noticeable on the closest inspection, and do not affect the sense. Others, though requiring little change, are very important. Such are the use or omission of the definite article in certain instances, and the misapprehension of a dependent or circumstantial clause, whether the connection is expressed by a particle or only by the order of the sentence.

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It may be that some who have partially yielded to the necessity of revision will at first be disappointed in finding the changes more numerous and greater than they had hoped. Yet most of them, if assured that the renderings are in general approved by those upon whose scholarship they must needs rely, will doubtless acquiesce. Though perhaps slowly and reluctantly, in the feeling that some familiar and favorite passages seem spoiled rather than improved to their individual taste, they will at last become reconciled, especially if they find compensation for what they lose at one point in the new and delightful meaning that is developed at another.

But what may be the chagrin of some of the official leaders of public sentiment in such matters, who have sermons prepared with great pains, erudition, and profusion of graceful rhetoric, on such delicious texts as these, "Unstable as water thou shalt not excel," "I will guide thee with mine eye," "Thy gentleness hath made me great," if they find them in the new version translated respectively, "Boiling over like water thou shalt not excel," "I will counsel thee with my eye upon thee," "Thy lowliness hath made me great"? These precious discourses that have been delivered before delighted audiences and, but for this unfortunate revision, might yet serve them many a good turn, now utterly useless! The feelings of those on whose careful labor such blight has fallen, can only be compared to those of a miser on finding that his gold has become dross. Nor will it comfort them much if some cynical person shall be heard to say that it is an appropriate punishment, and only too mild, for those who can so far forget the privilege and duty of authorized expounders of the Oracles of God, as to fail in going directly to the fountain-head of wisdom and truth, and to depend for their knowledge of the Scriptures on the uncertain medium of a translation.

Whether the changes just mentioned will be made, or whether they will be declined for reasons hereafter to be given, we are not at liberty to state, and if we were, could not without notes that are not at hand. But that the translations given literally represent the Hebrew, any scholarly commentary will show.

It would be easy to multiply similar or even more striking instances of differences between our English Scriptures and the

original. But we must close this branch of the subject with one remarkable example of the possibility of illumining the darkness of the Authorized Version. It may be found in the verses that introduce the familiar and delightful Messianic prophecy of Isaiah ix. 6, 7, "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given. And his name shall be called Wonderful," etc. These verses are admirably translated, and cannot be improved. But the preceding sentences beginning at viii. 22 are singularly obscure and unintelligible, notwithstanding the very correct translation of ix. 2, 4. We simply place the Authorized text side by side with a rendering that cannot be far from accurate :

viii. 22. And they shall look unto the earth ; and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish ; and *they shall be driven to darkness.*

ix. 1. Nevertheless the dimness *shall* not be such as *was* in her vexation, when at the first he lightly afflicted the land of Zabulon and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict *her by* the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the Gentiles.

2. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light ; they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath light shined.

3. Thou hast multiplied the nation, *and* not increased the joy ; they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, *and* as men rejoice when they divide the spoil.

4. For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian.

5. For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood ; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire.

6. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, etc.

22. And to the earth they look, and behold distress and darkness, gloom of anguish and thick darkness, driven away.

1. For there is no gloom to her that was in anguish. In the former time he dishonoured the land of Zabulon and the land of Naphtali ; but in the latter time he hath glorified the way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles.

2. The people that were walking in darkness have seen a great light, they that were dwelling in 'a land of deathshade, upon them a light hath shined.

3. Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast made great its joy ; they joy before thee like the joy in harvest ; as they exult when they divide the spoil.

4. For the yoke of his burden and the staff upon his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, thou hast broken as in the day of Midian.

5. For all the armor of those that go armed in the tumult of battle, and the garments rolled in blood, shall be for burning—the food of fire.

6. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, etc.

Thus, unless we greatly misapprehend the Hebrew text, we may have in place of the obscurity that has been transmitted from the earliest versions, a clear and beautiful prediction of the breaking forth of hope and joy upon a midnight of sorrow and despair, of deliverance from oppression, to be followed by the destruction of all implements of war, introducing an era of profound and universal peace, as the sure and glorious effect of the birth of the Messiah.

Part II. The revision of the Psalms.

When the desire to see the Revised New Testament has been gratified, the next earnest inquiry will be for the Psalms.

On account of their devotional character and consequent fitness to excite or to express devotional feeling, the Psalms are probably read more than any part of Scripture. Their language is to many not less familiar and precious than the words of our Saviour. In fact, as if they belonged to the New Testament rather than to the Old, we all use them, as the readiest and most apt expression of our fellowship with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ.

What liberties will the Revisers take with these beautiful English Psalms? How far dare they suggest by their substitutions that these words graven upon our hearts are less than Divine? We can easily imagine reverent and passionate attachment declaring itself by such questions.

This attachment is an embarrassment that stands out more prominently in connection with the revision of the Psalms than with that of any other portion of the Scriptures. The fact of its existence and strength constitutes the most delicate and difficult feature in the reviser's work. It often holds him equally poised between the "faithfulness" in rendering the Divine thought accurately, required by his rule, and an apprehension that all he has labored for will be rejected. The amended Version cannot be imposed by authority. It can only be adopted if generally approved.

The Revisers have at all times been conscious of implied restrictions in their organic rules, not less imperative than those that are expressed. These rules merely interpret the prevailing sentiment of readers of the English Bible, and they are designed to secure a revision that neither their minds nor their hearts will refuse. They have come by long use to associate Divine ideas with certain familiar forms of speech. As a matter of feeling, and this often most gracious, they are loath to part with words that they learned in early childhood as words of the Spirit, and that are interwoven with their most sacred and cherished recollections. This consideration cannot be disregarded.

It may be imagined that, under such restrictions, revisers must constantly be reminded that they are not independent

translators, and that changes that would otherwise be immediately adopted must often be ruled out in favor of the less accurate rendering that has the ground rather than to disturb the established association with familiar phrase, unless the latter be decidedly misleading. A body of revisers would likely, in most instances, be guided to the best conclusion by their own feelings, since, in this matter, they are quite in sympathy with their constituents. How few would consent without great reluctance to any considerable change in Psalms xxiii., or ciii. unless convinced that the translators were seriously in error?

Let it not be inferred that, in our opinion, the Psalms should be, or that they will be, left as they are. Nor let it be thought that the Revisers will shrink from the responsibility they have accepted, where the sense given is obscure or misleading, and the true sense difficult to ascertain, on the convenient plea of reverence for the Authorized Version. Nor would we encourage any one, when the work is submitted, to yield to the first impulse of repugnance to change. It would be better if we could rid ourselves of this slavery to certain forms of speech, merely because they are familiar, so that at least, as it prevents us from craving and accepting the best Divine thought of Psalmist, Prophet, or Apostle. Those who believe in an inspiration extending to the words of Scripture cannot consistently decline a more faithful, though less familiar rendering, and should be the last to oppose the most thorough revision. The Revisers yield to none in admiration of the pure, rich, and melodious Saxon of the English Psalter.

They know well how often, by a delicate touch here and there, a Psalm may be illuminated, and its beauty, as well as its learnness and its power, be immeasurably enhanced. The best may be produced by bringing out an emphatic pronoun, a slight change of a connective particle, the closer observation of a misconceived tense, and possibly the transposition of a word or of a clause into the Hebrew order for the recovery of lost emphasis, or some other like changes. Either of them separately may seem not worth making, and perhaps would accomplish nothing, but unitedly they will often work wonders, with the alteration of scarcely one principal word. The 10th and 11th verses of Psalm cxvi. are very per-

plexing, whilst otherwise its translation is almost perfect. All translators acknowledge great difficulty, but a possible solution is ventured. It will, at least, serve for the illustration of the important principle just stated. We give together the Hebrew and the Authorized English :

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 10. | הֶאֱמַנְתִּי כִּי אֲדַבֵּר
אֲנִי עָנִיתִי מְאֹד : | 10. I believed, therefore have I spoken:
I was greatly afflicted : |
| 11. | אֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי בְּהִפְזִי
כָּל-הָאָדָם כֹּזֵב : | 11. I said in my haste,
All men are liars. |
| 12. | מַח-אֲשִׁיב לַיהוָה
כָּל-תַּקְמוּלוֹתָיו עָלַי : | 12. What shall I render unto the Lord
For all his benefits toward me. |

The Authorized Version is faulty :

1. In throwing the leading verb into the past. Like the Greek perfect, it describes the present, and must often be so rendered in the Hebrew, *I believe*.

2. In translating the particle *כִּי*, *therefore*, a sense which it seldom bears, never in a connection like this. We are limited to *because*, *when*, or *that*.

3. In treating the future (or imperfect) form as a praeter. It should be translated, *I speak*, or *I will speak*, but surely not, *I have spoken*.

4. In rendering *הִפְזִי*, *my haste* ; which gives the idea that the Psalmist is virtually retracting a rash utterance. It means, as in Deut. xx. 3 and elsewhere, *alarm*, and brings up vividly a great peril in the past when his trusted friends failed him.

5. In failing to bring out the emphatic pronoun *אֲנִי* in both verses.

Hupfeld translates, *I believe when I speak*, and cites Ps. xxxix. 4 for *דָּבַר* in the sense, *to break forth in complaint*. The complaint, according to his view, immediately follows, "*I was greatly afflicted*." This, while giving tenses and particle correctly, leaves everything dark. Why should thanksgiving be interrupted by such complaint, and why introduce the simple statement of the fact of past distress by the emphatic *I believe*? Dr. Perowne prefers another rendering as "giving due promi-

to the repeated pronouns." This is important, but the one obtained is hardly more appropriate than Hupfeld's.

The difficulty disappears if we connect ver. 10 with ver. 12. The intervening parenthesis founds his present testimony on personal experience of God's faithfulness in a time of great trouble, and contrasts it with a like experience of human faithlessness in the same trial. This brings out the emphatic pronouns, and accordingly translate :

10. I believe when I say,
(I, that was in sore trouble,
11. I, that said in my peril,
"All men are liars"),
12. "What shall I render unto Jehovah
For all his benefits towards me."

There is an ellipsis of *אָמַר* *saying*, as in Ps. xxxix. 4, *et al.*, which we have virtually supplied by translating *אָדַבֵּר* *I say*.

Psalm lvi. presents another instance in which it is possible to rely on placing certain words in parenthesis to remove obscurity, with great addition of force. The phrase, "In God I will praise his word," in ver. 4, which is twice repeated in ver. 10, seems quite unmeaning. But the emphasis that may be put on the former verse, and even more to the latter in the latter suggested, is wondrously effective. As thus :

3. What time I am afraid,
I put my trust in thee.
4. In God, (I will praise his word)
In God I have put my trust.
10. In God, (I will praise his word)
In Jehovah, (I will praise his word)
11. In God I have put my trust ; I will not be afraid ;
What can man do unto me ?

The parenthesis contains an ejaculation of praise to God for His faithful promise as a ground for the most absolute confidence in the midst of all conceivable danger.

We have referred to these two Psalms for the purpose of showing that where the sense is doubtful or difficult, relief may often be given by very slight change. The main question turns, What will be the character of the revised Psalter compared with the Authorized? We have indicated a general answer, that changes must be made most sparingly if the new

version is to be accepted in place of the old. This renders ~~the~~ work of the Revisers very difficult. It obliges them to ~~decide~~ on other ground than that of inherent fitness, and often to ~~put~~ aside manifest improvements in favor of the more ancient and familiar phrasing, if the sense is not materially affected. ~~It~~ should be said, however, for the relief of those who may ~~imagine~~ ~~ag-~~ine that the result will be of little value, that even upon ~~t~~ ~~his~~ principle the changes will not be few, and the ~~improvement~~ will be very great.

But those, and there is reason to believe that they are ~~many~~, who wish and hope to see the exact thought of the original ~~in~~ the clearest, strongest, and best English expression will not ~~be~~ gratified. The time may come for such a revision, but ~~it~~ is not now.

Yet the criterion by which the revisers must be guided ~~is~~ so uncertain that it is not sure how far they might venture in ~~the~~ direction of thorough revision, and be sustained by the intelligence of their constituents. It would be better that the ~~two~~ years assigned for the completion of their work should be ~~pro-~~longed to ten, than not to reach the best attainable result. ~~Or,~~ if it be wiser to submit in the nearer time, as a substitute for ~~the~~ Authorized Version, one that shall disturb in the least ~~degree~~ those who cling tenaciously to the old words, another question forces itself upon us. Why should not Christian scholarship be laid under contribution, whether by combined or single effort, to produce for general circulation the best possible rendering of the Psalms as an aid to Bible study, quite aside from the purpose of the present Revision? It is very easy to separate between their use in public worship and in other devotion, and the less sacred yet not unsacred use that we now suggest. What we have in mind is revision and not translation, but revision less trammelled than would be acceptable in worship, that shall always seek the most exact expression of the cadences of the Hebrew bard into pure, rich, racy Saxon English of the earliest times.

We can only, in the remainder of this paper, indicate in a general and imperfect way some of the principal points that must be wisely regarded in a successful revision of the Psalms. It may interest those who would like to understand more per-

7 the nature of the work in which the company are engaged. But in our illustrations, as in those already given, con-
tial obligations are carefully observed.

the first point relates to the rendering of the principal words, the verbs, nouns, and adjectives. The stock of such words in the English Scriptures needs very little enlargement. It is much fuller and richer than if the early translators had adhered more closely to a single rendering for every Hebrew word. It may be said emphatically that any reviser, however free to choose according to his own discretion, who should substitute another word for the one before him, except for a good reason, whether of signification, uniformity, or euphony, would misjudge; and such error frequently repeated would be

But where sufficient reason exists he should be free, to go outside the sacred books, and to use other like words. Seldom, if ever, would he need to go beyond Shakespeare.

With reference to single words we would ask first for the translation of the word expressive above all others of Divine Majesty and grace which Jewish superstition has dethroned, the name Jehovah. It has been spoken of by some who are acquainted with its origin, meaning, and glorious connection, as a purely national designation, and they refer to the Jehovah of the Jews as the rival of the Phœnician Baal. It is not so narrow, but is broader than humanity in its widest sweep of number, duration, and possible conditions. It is the most personal of all Divine names. By its etymology its form—*I am that I am*—it exhibits the Most High God as self-existent, independent, and eternal personality, commencing personal relations with those whose being as immortal beings must have originated with Himself, and must depend on Him alone. It is especially fit that this transcendent name should be brought out from its hiding in our own day, with its tendency to substitute the dumb, deaf, blind, soulless Baal of natural law for a personal God, with corresponding degradation and degradation made "in the image of God." In its form and meaning as a verb it exhibits the eternal God ever coming to be something to man that He was not before, ever unfolding the glorious properties of His infinite nature in varying adaptation to

the condition and wants of those that love and trust Him. It is the covenant name of God. Its earliest historic connection is with His earliest exhibition of loving-kindness to men, and it stands for all time by His own edict as the name of gracious manifestation. "This is my name forever, and this is my memorial to all generations."

How it should ring out in such Psalms as cxvi., cxviii., and cxxxv. ! Few can read them, uttering the name Jehovah with all the emphasis that some of these wonderful sentences require, without wishing that hereafter it may stand there in the boldest type.

The reviser is often at a loss over the various renderings of the same word in the Authorized Version. If he attempts to produce rigid conformity, he will soon discover his error. It requires innumerable changes which would very often be for the worse. For while the early translators needlessly multiplied definitions, and sometimes with injury to the sense, perfect uniformity is neither attainable nor desirable. In any language signification is often modified by position. An English word that very well represents the Hebrew in one place, may not in another. Besides, no one who appreciates the melodious flow of many exquisite sentences in the Psalms can doubt that rhythm and euphony often determined the choice of words.

Yet it seems unnecessary, in a language that retained so much of its primitive simplicity, and in which the development of new meanings and the coinage of new words were comparatively limited, that the same Hebrew word should so often receive more than a score of different renderings, or that the same English word should so often translate more than a score of Hebrew words.

The question thus raised, however, is one of adequate expression rather than of uniformity. Upon its proposal instances multiply indefinitely, on the one hand of changes that seem unnecessary, and on the other of those that are desirable. In Hebrew, as in English, there are many words that are quite interchangeable. We care very little for the difference between *pity* and *compassion*, *power* and *strength*, *despise* and *contemn*. Since mountain and hill are relative terms, we may not care much that *הָר* *a mountain*, is translated *hill* in sixty out of five

hundred times of its occurrence in the Old Testament, or that Zion should be called about as often a hill as a mount in the English Psalter, a difference that is not found in the Hebrew.

But why should not a distinction always be made between קַצַּץ, *to cry out in distress*, שָׁנַע *to implore help*, and קָרָא *to call*, instead of rendering them indiscriminately, as well as several other verbs, *to cry*? Why should מִיָּנַע, *to totter*, approach its proper and sharply descriptive sense only in Ps. lx. 2, "*the earth shaketh*," and in other twenty-five times in the Psalms, be translated vaguely *to be moved*, or, erroneously, *to remove*, *to be carried away*, *to slip*, the first and most frequent of which renderings is used for more than twenty other Hebrew verbs? Why should תָּמַר, *to make melody*, from the primary conception of *striking harp strings*, occurring nearly fifty times, be always translated *to sing*, or *to sing praises*? One more instance, out of many, is that of the verb חָסָה, which is rightly translated only in Ps. lvii. 1, "Under the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge." In other thirty-six places it is translated *to trust*. One of them is a preceding line of the verse just cited, and a beautiful emphasis produced by the repetition of the word is thus lost:

"Be gracious unto me, O God, be gracious unto me,
For in thee have I taken refuge;
Yea, in the shadow of thy wings I take refuge
Until these calamities be overpast."

As we began these illustrations of the work of the reviser upon the principal words of discourse with the name Jehovah, we close with two words closely related to the covenant name of God, as well as to each other, חָסֶד and חֲסִיד. The former is one of the richest and sweetest words in the Old Testament. It is also one of the important words that have a very definite and fixed meaning, and for which, in the difficulty of finding even a single equivalent, the best English expression should be chosen, rarely to be changed. חֶסֶד (chésed) occurs in the Psalms 127 times. It is translated *mercy* 93 times, *loving-kindness* 23 times, and in the few remaining cases, *goodness*, *kindness*, and *merciful kindness*. It is the holy love of God to His covenant people, "both as the source and the result of his covenant with them:" so Hupfeld on Ps. iv. 4. There is no

other word in the Psalms expressive of the *love* of God to men. *Mercy*, which implies in its object misery, and sometimes ill-desert, but not tender complacency such as we find here, is inadequate. Besides, it is a lower word, for one may have mercy upon a beast. Grace, like its Greek equivalent *χάρις*, in its original and broader signification, would be more suitable. But both are used in the New Testament somewhat technically of God's free pardoning mercy, with special reference to the absence of merit, while this beautiful word points solely to the intimate and eternal relation between Him and His people. The combination *loving-kindness*, which appears first in Coverdale, expresses it admirably, and should be carried through wherever it occurs.

We remark briefly upon *חֲסִיד* (*chasid*), a derivative of *חָסַד*. Its passive form indicates that it is one who is the object of God's loving-kindness, though in two or three instances used actively of one who manifests such love to others who are in the same covenant. It occurs twenty-five times in the Psalms and with a single exception is translated in the LXX. by *σάου*. This has been usually followed in the Authorized Version in the translation, *holy one*, or *saint*. It obscures the delightful signification of the word which should be brought out in some form—*one that God loves*. See Pss. iv. 3 ; xvi. 10 ; xxx. 4, et c.

We pass on to particles, the least words, yet, as every experienced translator well knows, often the most important and difficult. In all composition precision in the use of connectives is indispensable to perspicuity. In transferring Hebrew thought into English phrase they require the most careful and wisest treatment. The omission in poetry of particles that would be used in prose, occasions special embarrassment and liability to error; but even more frequently the poverty of the Hebrew language in conjunctions, and the sparing use of those which it has. It is also deficient in grammatical forms that in other languages indicate the mutual relations of the parts of a sentence, or of one sentence with another. Not unfrequently the connection of a qualifying or circumstantial clause depends solely upon structure, where our own idioms require more definite expression. Still oftener the connective *ו* *and* is used to suggest the fact of an existing re-

lation, while its nature must be inferred mainly from the relative position of the words. This requires the most delicate apprehension of the arrangement of the sentence, as well as of its leading thought, in order to determine what English adverb or conjunction will adequately express the logical bearing of sentence upon sentence, or of clause upon clause.

Illustrations are abundant. In Psalm xxxii. 9 it depends upon our view of the final circumstantial clause not commencing with a connective particle, which is translated, "lest he come nigh unto thee," whether the bit and bridle are said to be used on account of the ferocity or of the shyness of the horse or mule, to keep it away, or to keep it near. We prefer the latter, and would translate, "He will not come nigh unto thee."

But even where a connective is used in the original, the early translators were often loose and arbitrary in their rendering—an error which it is for the more exact discrimination of later scholarship to correct. More obvious examples of misapprehension in this respect can scarcely be found than occur in two passages that have already been cited—the translation of כִּי by *nevertheless* in Is. ix. 1, and of the same particle by *therefore* in Ps. cxvi. 10.

The determination of a very interesting question of exegesis and translation in Psalm xix. 3 depends mainly, we think, upon a negative particle:

אֵין אִמֶּר וְאֵין דְּבָרִים בְּלִי נִשְׁמָע בְּקוֹלָם

"*There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.*" The English reader who is told that the words in italics are not in the original, might prefer to omit *where*, and to read what follows as an independent clause: "There is no speech nor language; their voice is not heard."

It is between these two renderings that opinions divide. The former, or relative construction, yields the thought that wherever words are spoken or language is used, the testimony of the heavens to the glory of God is heard; the latter, that no actual words are spoken, and their voice is inaudible. Vitringa, De Wette, Delitzsch, and Hitzig would read the clause as relative; Hengstenberg, Hupfeld, and Perowne as independent.

But the function and use of בְּלִי seem decisive against the independent construction and to sustain the Authorized reading.

In three instances in the O. T. it is used poetically as equivalent to לֹא in independent clauses, but in every case with the imperfect tense. With a participle or noun it always stands relatively, and here, as elsewhere with participles, it is like the Greek *privative*, and gives the sense *inaudible*. For an instance of the relative rendering of this particle see Ps. lxi. 2, where the translators have used no italics; "a dry and thirsty land where no water is"—simply בְּלִי מַיִם, *without water*, translated relatively. Since in our passage the reference is to speech, and not to place, the translation *in which* is preferable to *where*. If we do not say with Delitzsch that the proposed independent rendering is flat, we may at least say that it is a poor substitute for the grand thought that the heavens give their testimony for God everywhere among men, as intelligibly as if expressed in their own language and by their own familiar words. The objection is made, and it is about the only one, that the relative rendering in our English Bible requires us to understand אָמַר, which is properly rendered *speech* (spoken words), in verse 2, as meaning *language* in verse 3, a sense which it bears nowhere else. The objection will scarcely lie against the above explanation, in which *words* and *language* are quite distinct, nor should it weigh decisively against the uniformly dependent usage of the negative particle in similar construction elsewhere.

We have yet to deal with the Hebrew tenses, in connection with the Psalms and other sacred writings of like character. No one source of perplexity to the translator or reviser is so frequent or so serious.

There are two points involved—the right conception of the time in the mind of the writer, and its expression. In many cases the difference is that between the ideal and the actual, the poetical and the prosaic. The ideality of the reader of the translation may often be trusted, and a literal transfer be ventured, perhaps with great advantage to the vividness of the picture. This is especially true of poetry, where we look for a boldness that would not be tolerated in prose. In other cases it could only embarrass. Here is room for the exercise of most intelligent and careful judgment, besides a thorough acquaintance with the phenomena of Hebrew tense.

The earlier printed Hebrew grammars were not luminous on the subject of tense. Those who prepared them, whether Jew or Gentile, had not themselves mastered the difference between Oriental and Western modes of thought and expression. In consequence of this, the early English translators must have been very much in the dark. It is evident that they generally followed somewhat blindly the tense renderings of the older versions.

The later Hebrew grammars for English learners usually follow their predecessors in not attempting to give an insight into Hebrew tense. An exception to this is the very excellent "Introductory Hebrew Grammar" by Prof. A. B. Davidson (Edin., 1874). For the most part their treatment of the subject is a superficial adaptation to English thought and usage, leaving to a more advanced stage intricacies that might confuse a beginner, but thus preparing for greater confusion in the future. This method succeeds measurably at first, but has the disadvantage of fixing imperfect conceptions permanently in many minds, and detracting greatly from the intelligence and satisfaction with which the grandest portions of the Old Testament might have been read. When those who have learned that in Hebrew there are two tenses, the *past* and the *future*, such as Job and the Psalms, it is only by striking out boldly from their earlier teachings that their perplexity is relieved.

The right doctrine of Hebrew tense is that of Ewald, who is justly called the prince of Hebrew grammarians. It is presented in his "Ausführliches Lehrbuch" (8th Ed., Leip., 1870), which has a German luminosity which is quite different from the English. It receives the latter as admirably developed and illustrated by S. R. Driver, of Oxford, a member of the British Revision Company ("Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in the Hebrew," Oxford, 1874). This doctrine, stated with a boldness for which neither of the treatises referred to is responsible, is that there are no tenses in the Hebrew. There is nothing in any verb-form to indicate whether it is past, present, or future. The so-called tenses are rather moods, not as identical with our own grammatical moods, for which also the Hebrew has no distinctive forms, but as exhibiting aspects in which an action may be viewed, other than in relations of time. The one describes an action as *completed*, the other as *commencing* and *in progress*.

They have been called respectively the *perfect* and the *imperfect*, which are appropriate, but should not be confounded with the same terms in the grammar of our own language.

If this be so, the time or date of an action must be determined by the context. It might be said that what occurred in the past is more likely to be viewed as complete, and the future as in progress. But this is true to a very limited extent, as every one who has read two chapters in Genesis and Isaiah must have observed.

On the one hand, history is mostly carried on by the so-called future forms, a semi-poetical usage, but thoroughly established and constant in prose. The historian entering into the spirit of his narrative pictures the events as springing up successively as if under his own eye. On the other hand, the prophet transports himself into the future, and describes what shall inevitably occur as already accomplished.

Having this key to the manner in which the two forms are used, we are not surprised to see in Gen. i. that after the time of the principal verbs of the first two verses which are perfect has been defined as past by the adverbial בְּרֵאשִׁית (B'rêshith, "*in the beginning*," the principal verbs to the end of the chapter, nearly fifty in number, carrying on the narrative from step to step, are all imperfect (future) forms, only one perfect occurring throughout. In the opposite direction, if we open at Is. ii. where the prophecy begins, the first verb is perfect, marked, however, as descriptive of the future not only by its position, but by the attached phrase "*in the last days*." This beginning holds all the succeeding forms to the same time, so that the prophet uses either with the utmost flexibility, but the principal verb that marks each successive step in advance is in the perfect.

Singular as this is, and apparently contradictory to the usual designation of the two forms, the student who has been told that they are past and future easily accommodates himself to it upon being further informed that the position of the verb at the beginning of its clause, accompanied by an emphatic *and*, binds it to the preceding verb, and has a transforming power, converting the past into future, and the future into past. This relieves him, and he passes on comfortably, though the teacher is obliged to admit when he reads in Gen. ii. of the mist ascending and of rivers flowing that his futures are sometimes

past, even when not so converted. A corresponding admission **must** be made with reference to the use of an independent **praeter** as a predictive future. Under any view of tense the **connection** by emphatic *and*, and the position of the verb are **very** important in determining time, but they do not alter the **paradoxical** fact that the prevailing tense in history is what our **grammars** call future, and in prophecy the so-called praeter.

It is in the intermediate portion, however, poetical, contemplative, devotional, that we have the greatest occasion to remember that the Hebrew tenses are not tenses.

Begin with the poetry of Job. In his first wail (iii. 2), "**Let** the day perish in which I was born," there occur two **futures**. After a series of imprecations in jussive futures, **which** do not bear on the present discussion, he resumes in ver. 11, "Why died I not from the womb," etc., using three verbs, a "**future**," a "**praeter**," and a "**future**." In ver. 12 there are two **verbs**, a "**praeter**" and a "**future**." In neither case is the tense "**converted**" by emphatic *and* (1 conversive or consecutive), yet the translators felt obliged to render them all as past, because the actual time is so clearly intimated in the context.

We are now ready for the Psalms. They are full of instances similar to those given from Job. The treatment of Psalm ii. by the early translators shows how helpless they were in the presence of such tense combinations. The tenses in ver. 1 are a perfect followed by an imperfect (or, past and future); in ver. 2 an imperfect followed by a perfect (or, future and past). In the LXX. they are all rendered by Aorists, sharply past, which is followed by Wycliffe. In the Vulgate they are all rendered by futures, which is followed in the Prayer-Book version as taken from Cranmer. In the A. V. they come out grandly as all presents:

1. Why do the heathen rage,
And the people imagine a vain thing?
2. The kings of the earth set themselves,
And the rulers take counsel together,
Against the LORD and against his anointed.

This rendering is from Coverdale (1536), and he, according to his title-page, "translated out of the Douche (German) and the Latyn." It was Luther whose sagacity, independent of the grammatical helps of his day, as well as of the Ancient

Versions, fixed upon the present as the time in the poet's mind, which might be expressed in the Hebrew by either tense form, or alternately by both. In fact, this is the only point of contact between the two Hebrew tenses, the perfect, like the Greek perfect, of completed action, and the imperfect, of action in progress, and this alone can account for their frequent use together, and under the same conception of time.

In vv. 3, 4, the tenses are all imperfects. Now a change of time with the same tense, and without adverbial or other notice of futurity, is improbable. Yet the A. V. following Coverdale adopts the future rendering at ver. 4, and Luther at ver. 5. The continued use of the present in the translation is not only more graphic and spirited, but is required by the unity of the description.

4. He that sitteth in the heavens derideth,
The Lord mocketh at them.
5. Then he speaketh to them in his anger
And in his wrath he terrifieth them.

It is God looking down from the high heavens, while the raging mites below are conspiring to dethrone Him. To separate them in time greatly mars the effect. Comp. Is. xl. 22. הַיּוֹשֵׁב עַל הַיָּם הָאָרֶץ וְיֹשְׁבֵיהָ כַּהֲגָבִים, "He that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are like grasshoppers."

This irregularity is constant. In Ps. xxiii. the tenses are all imperfects. Here again the translators, while they treat the Psalm in the main as a recognition of present grace, in intelligent disregard of grammars and Ancient Versions, are not consistent throughout. "*I shall not want*" may be justified as a closely dependent expression of sequence, equivalent to "*I cannot want*" in the Liturgy. But in ver. 4, since the tenses are unchanged, why should we not have had all the verbs translated by the present?

Yea, when I walk in the valley of the shadow of death
I fear no evil, for thou art with me,
Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

The particle כִּי is not a hypothetical *though*, and the valley of deathshade is sometimes found far on the hither side of death itself.

Psalms xlvi. 1-7 is illustrative of several points previously made, as well as of that now under consideration. The translation which we add to the text is not one that would be proposed for adoption into the Revised Psalms, but is rigidly literal.

1. אֱלֹהִים לָנוּ מִחְסָה וְעֹז
עֲזָרָה בְּצָרוֹת נִמְצָא מֵאֹד :
2. עַל־כֵּן לֹא־נִירָא בְּהִמְיֹר אֲרֶץ
וּבְמֹוֹט הָרִים בְּלֵב יַמִּים :
3. יְהוָה יְהִי מִיָּמֵינוּ מִיָּמֵינוּ
יִרְעֵשׂ הָרִים בְּנִבְאָתוֹ סֵלָה :
4. נָהָד פִּלְגָיו יִשְׁמְחוּ עִיר־אֱלֹהִים
קֹדֶשׁ מִשְׁכְּנֵי עֲלִיֹן :
5. אֱלֹהִים בְּקִרְבָּה בַּל־תִּמּוֹט
יִעֲזְרֶיהָ אֱלֹהִים לִפְנוֹת בִּקְרָה :
6. הָמָּה גִּוִּים מָטוּ מִמְּלָכּוֹת
נָתַן בְּקִלּוֹ תִּמְנוֹג אֲרֶץ :
7. יְהוָה צִבְאוֹת עִמָּנוּ
מִשְׁגֹּב לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב סֵלָה :

1. God for us is refuge and strength,
Found a helper in distresses exceedingly.
2. Therefore we fear not when the earth is changed,
When mountains totter in the heart of the seas.
3. Let their waters roar and foam,
Let the mountains tremble with their swelling. Selah.
4. There is a river—
Its streams gladden the City of God—
The Holy place where dwelleth the Most High.
5. God is in her midst—she tottereth not,
God helpeth her at the morning dawn.
6. The nations roar, the kingdoms totter,
He uttereth his voice, the earth melteth.
7. Jehovah of Hosts is with us,
A tower for us is the God of Jacob. Selah.

Very few would be willing to spare the familiar rendering of ver. 1 in the Authorized Version, "*a very present help in trouble*," though it is not warranted by the original. The substitution of *truly* for "*exceedingly*" will probably give

the exact thought of the Psalmist, the adverb qualifying the whole clause.

In ver. 2 we have the most frequent Hebrew construction for "time when" of actual occurrence; lit., *in the changing—in the shaking*, like the Latin gerundive *in mutando*. It is never elsewhere rendered hypothetically, and should not be here. The early translators failed to see that the Psalmist is not drawing upon his imagination for possible convulsions in the frame of nature, in which he would maintain his trust in God, but is describing figuratively a terrible condition around him. A comparison of vv. 2, 3, with ver. 6 identifies the change of the earth with the desolation of war, the roar of the waves with the roar of nations, and tottering mountains with tottering kingdoms—all present. In fine contrast, the intermediate verses give a picture of the City of God abiding in gladness and tranquillity, unshaken because God is in the midst of her. This is obscured in the A. V. by the varying translations of מָוֶה, *carried* in ver. 3, *moved* in vv. 4 and 5.

We must then translate the tenses, which are all imperfects till we reach ver. 6, as present, or we lose the unity and the poetic splendor of the description. In ver. 6 three tenses are perfects, the fourth an imperfect. Even without the last, it would be harsh to translate these verbs alone in the whole Psalm as referring to former time. If, however, there were a doubt, that last decides that all are presents. The three perfects set forth the turbulence of the nations and the rebuke of God as complete conceptions. The single verb that describes the sequel is in the more graphic form. It is impossible to express the difference in English without losing the expression of present fact that belongs equally to both.

From the above illustrations it is easy to discriminate between the two forms treated as presents. The perfect includes with the act its completed issue in the present. The imperfect refers exclusively to the act itself, either in its inception, or in its progress till another act supervenes. If in rendering both as presents we obliterate the distinction, it is from sheer necessity. The perfect, however, may be happily rendered by our perfect with its auxiliary *have*, whenever the immediate context suggests unambiguously the present. In Ps. xvi. 1, "I have taken refuge in thee," is better than "I trust

in thee" of the A. V. So of the same verb in Pss. vii. 1; xi. 1; xxv. 20; xxxi. 1; xxxvii. 40; lvii. 1; lxi. 1, etc., and so very often of other verbs. But more frequently we have no resource but the present. The phrases, *I have trusted, I have loved*, might convey only a reminiscence. On this account cxvi. 8 should read, "I love the habitation of thy house."

With regard to the imperfects, it is a fair corollary from what we have observed concerning their use, that in writings like the Psalms, which are so largely expressions of present devout emotion, the presumption is always in favor of treating them as presents unless accompanied by clear indications of future time. Let it stand in *alto rilievo*, that in the Hebrew language the imperfect is the natural and predominant, if not the only expression of gracious affections in their flow and succession—of love, trust, gratitude, joy in God and praise viewed as springing up responsively to the Divine touch upon the heart-strings. The participle is too heavy, too concrete and fixed for this purpose. Consequently, the participles of verbs that represent such emotion, if used at all, describe habit, character, or established condition. So the participle of *אָמַן* to trust, in Pss. xxvii. 3 and lxxxvi. 2, the only instances of its use by the Psalmist of his own confidence in God. Strong feeling chooses the imperfect, or to give it a less fleeting character combines with it in parallelism the perfect. If we must attach to these forms the prevailing sense of past and future, we confine the Psalms almost exclusively to recollection and anticipation. Then present gracious utterance has no channel, and we must still read in xviii. 1: "I will love thee, O God, my strength."

Our limits forbid reference to the frequent recognition of the above principle in the Authorized Version, or to the numerous instances in which it has not been observed.

It was in mind when the subject was taken up to give further tense-studies from the Psalms. But space fills fast, and we would not exceed reasonable bounds. Yet we cannot forbear calling attention to the remarkable use of tenses in Psalm xviii., the grandest of all hymns of praise in its transitions from the depths to the heights, from the far off to the near, from the boldest epic, descriptive of the terrors of the Almighty, to the smoothly flowing lyric of his thanksgiving for

14. And he sent forth his arrows and scattered them.
Lightnings he shot forth, and routed them,
15. And the channels of waters were seen
And the foundations of the world were laid bare,
At thy rebuke, O Jehovah,
At the breath of the wind of thine anger.
16. He reacheth from on high, he taketh me ;
He draweth me out of great waters ;
17. He rescueth me from mine enemy, who is strong,
And from my hater, because he is mightier than I.
18. They came before me in the day of my calamity,
But Jehovah hath become a stay for me,
19. And he brought me forth into a broad place,
Yea, he delivereth me, because he hath delighted in me.

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great deliverance. The tenses seem all in disorder. We have sometimes the perfect, both the absolute and the relative. But a large proportion of the verbs are imperfects. If the perfects were in the sacred poet's mind as praeterevents, there is here a boldness in the exhibition of time which would ordinarily be unpardonable. But it may be justified by the glow, as well as by the rush and sweep of his thought, flitting from the real past to the ideal present, as he calls up vividly before him the scenes of his former life, and describes, as if now transpiring, the rapid succession of the panorama. Thus he excites in his heart the liveliest emotions of present gratitude. It is possible to enter into such sympathy with his fervor that we shall not find it intolerable to pass with him from one conception of time to the other. Yet we should prefer to render all the tenses by the more graphic present, as in other cases in the Psalms where the two tenses are combined. As an experiment we subjoin a literal translation of vv. 4-19, according to the former alternative. It will be remembered that in the A. V., the time is all in the past, with historic correctness, but with great loss of poetic effect.

- xviii. 4. The cords of death compassed me
And the floods of destruction terrify me ;
5. The cords of Sheol surrounded me,
The snares of death came before me.
6. In my distress I call upon Jehovah,
And unto my God I cry for help.
He heareth out of his palace my voice
And my cry for help, to his presence it cometh, even to his ears.
7. Then the earth shook and trembled,
And the foundations of the mountains quake ;
And they swung to and fro because he was wroth.
8. There went up a smoke in his anger,
And fire out of his mouth devoureth,
Coals are kindled by it.
9. Then he bowed the heavens and came down
And thick darkness was under his feet,
10. And he rode upon a cherub and flew,
Yea, he sped upon wings of wind.
11. He maketh darkness his covering,
His pavilion round about him ;
Darkness of waters, dense clouds of the skies.
12. Out of the brightness before him there passed through his dense clouds,
Hailstones and coals of fire.
13. Then Jehovah thundered in the heavens,
And the Most High giveth his voice ;
(Hailstones and coals of fire).

14. And he sent forth his arrows and scattered them.
Lightnings he shot forth, and routed them,
15. And the channels of waters were seen
And the foundations of the world were laid bare,
At thy rebuke, O Jehovah,
At the breath of the wind of thine anger.
16. He reacheth from on high, he taketh me ;
He draweth me out of great waters ;
17. He rescueth me from mine enemy, who is strong,
And from my hater, because he is mightier than I.
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VI.

THE SUPPLY OF MINISTERS.

TWO impressions are wide-spread and deep: that there are too many ministers, and that they are very large and inefficient.

Two facts, which are undisputed, are especially appealed to in justification of both impressions: the numbers of preachers without charge who are congregated in our cities; and the showers of applications which fall upon every vacant pulpit.

But there are two other facts which should be weighed and which break the force of the conclusions drawn from those: the cities contain only a small proportion of the ministry; and a great many of the applications for vacancies are made on behalf of settled pastors, who, for some reason, have become uneasy in their positions.

The glut of ministers in some of our cities leads in many quarters to an ecclesiastical fallacy directly the contrary to that which is sometimes found in the business world. "The mercantile public commit a fallacy by the ambiguity of the phrase, 'scarcity of money.' In the language of commerce 'money' has two meanings—currency, or the circulating medium, and capital seeking investment, especially investment on loan. In this last sense the word is used when the 'money market' is spoken of, and when the value of money is said to be high or low, the rate of interest being meant. The consequence of this ambiguity is, that as soon as the scarcity of money in this latter sense begins to be felt, as soon as there is a difficulty of obtaining loans, and the rate of interest is high, it is concluded that this must arise from causes acting upon the quantity of money in the other and more popular sense; that the circulating medium must have diminished in quantity, or ought to have been increased. A

cry then arises for more money, for more circulating medium, no increase of which can possibly relieve this pressure." (Davis's "Theory of Thought," p. 264). On the contrary, because in our ecclesiastical centres unemployed ministers are seeking investment and cannot find it in and around those centres, the eyes of many are shut to the immense fields beyond, in which there is not a plethora, but a scarcity; and the cry arises for fewer ministers.

The numerous applications for vacant pulpits, on behalf of settled pastors, raise the question whether there may not be something in the churches, and in the way in which they deal with their pastors, to cause this ministerial uneasiness and desire to change. No doubt the starving-out process, in some quarters, by irritated ungodly Trustees, has something to do with it.

But our Presbyteries reported a year ago 927 vacant churches.* Why do not the churchless ministers, who are hanging around the cities, find their way to those fields? Or why are they not by some authority sent to them?

Before answering that question with a censure on the unemployed, and before condemning pastors who are desiring to change, there are some other figures that should be considered.

Epictetus said: "It is not facts which perplex us, but the opinion about those facts." The following facts, however, will perplex and sadden many:

We had enrolled last year 5,415 churches. But from 458 no reports were received by their Presbyteries. The great mass of the 458 are the mere shadow of a name, and should be left out of any statement that may be made of efficiency and strength. Many should probably be dissolved, though perhaps, with proper pastoral and presbyterial care, they might have been developed into active organisms. Of the remaining 4,957, 1,005 reported less than \$250, as having been raised during the year for all congregational purposes, salaries, buildings, repairs, Sabbath-school requisites, and other current expenses; 667 others between \$250 and \$500; and

* It will be understood that the figures, when not otherwise specified, are drawn from, and the references are to, one branch of the Church—"The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. of America"—whose Assembly met this year in Madison, Wisconsin.

765 more between \$500 and \$1,000. Thus almost 2,500, or one-half of the whole number, did not reach \$1,000 each for all purposes. Now estimate the proportion that went to the ministers, on the one hand, and on the other make the requisite allowance for the number of congregations (1,315), which are grouped into collegiate charges (573), and for the supplements to salaries which were received from the \$299,536 that the Board of Home Missions divided among the 1,212 that it aided, and how can an embodied mind exist, not to say live, on what the most of the laborers in those fields received?

An attempt was made by the General Assembly in 1873, when we were on the flood of financial prosperity, to secure reports of ministerial salaries from the churches. Two-thirds of the list, or 3,230, reported a total of \$3,151,767,—an average of \$975. But that average would not hold for the whole; for, with few exceptions, the very large salaries were returned; and, as it was, 1,162 were below \$500.

Dr. Crosby, in his recently published volume of *Lectures, "The Preacher,"* has written some very sharp sentences on this subject. "The average pay of Christian ministers in this country is the same with the pay of the better class of manual day laborers, and, of course, much less than the pay of journeymen artisans. . . . It should make the churches of this land ashamed in sack-cloth that they give less to the support of their ministers than they do to their house servants" (p. 181). That indictment will not, in its extreme severity, lie against our Church. Some of the other denominations are in this respect worse than we are. Even in the strong Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, complaint was made this spring, that insufficiency of support was driving ministers into secular work. But this is the case: Our General Assembly, and, under it, the Presbyteries, have worked nobly in the cultivation of the work of the Boards. They have, however, done little to enlighten the people as to liberality in the support of their pastors. The consequence is, that our Church stands at the top of the scale in its contributions to benevolent enterprises; but in the support of the hard-working ministry it is too far down among the Presbyterian organizations. Hence the people are not en-

ly to blame. They have not been educated to the proper sort of their pastors, because the pastors improperly feel it to be a delicate thing to educate them in. It is distressing to find that among our brethren in the South, the average of salaries is only \$426; and only 294 of their congregations give over \$500 each to their pastors. As Americans, we ought to be ashamed of the contrast with the Presbyterian Church of England, in which, amid many adverse surroundings, the lowest salary is now \$1,000. This should not be, especially if, as Mr. Gladstone has predicted, the census of next year should show that the United States and not England is the wealthiest of the nations. Joseph Cook (in his "Labor," 1888), has made this remarkable statement: "The cost of maintaining a hundred thousand paupers in the city of London in 1875, was officially ascertained to be five times as much as that of maintaining a similar number in 1815. The difference arises almost entirely from the fact that the average annual estimate of what is humanly necessary to maintain the poorest of the poor has risen." Has our Church, any one of the denominations, recognized and acted upon this fact in its dealings with the ministry? Of course it is settled that no man should enter the sacred office for the sake of a good living. Its incumbents should be willing to exercise a high degree of self-denial. Unctuous Pecksniffs should not be desired among them. But, with their families, they have a right to be housed, fed, clothed, and developed into intellectual and æsthetic immortals, unless they are expected to be, like a pining character in a recent novel, "with no principles, absolutely no passions, and very little digestion." Hurst, in his description of the Lutheran ministers in the middle of the seventeenth century, says ("History of Puritanism," p. 73): "Scanty salaries are the outgrowth of a ministerial piety. The people, in no age of the world, refused a proper and sufficient support to a zealous, self-sustaining ministry." Would that this could be substantiated! But many of the most spiritually-minded, earnest, saint-like pastors, though, perhaps, they are not intellectually prominent nor masters of ecclesiastical diplomacy, are among those who have to struggle very hard for survival on a wretched support.

Let no inference from this be drawn against the voluntary system. Dr. John Hall wrote ten years ago (in the "Memorial Volume," p. 477): "One of the very strongest arguments on behalf of the national Establishment of the British Isles, is founded upon the inadequacy of ministers' incomes in America. They can tell there of ministers among us keeping stores, and being driven to still more unprofessional pursuits—almost as much so as Paul's tent-making. They make rather merry over such accounts as they have received of 'donation parties;' and they allege that churches so sustained cannot raise and educate in the natural way their own ministers. . Even so lately as the last meeting of the Scottish Assembly (Established) Dr. Norman McLeod urged this argument with all his characteristic force and earnestness. * American failure in this particular is a strong buttress of Old World State Churches." But the same writer two years later said ("Evangelical Alliance," p. 567): "Having lived in such countries, and under this particular system [church establishments], I am able to say, that the proportion of under-supported ministers in those countries is in my judgment quite as great as it is in this country." In the same volume, p. 571, the Rev. T. Y. Killen said of the Established Irish Episcopal Church: "Her people, having had everything in the way of church building, and the support of their ministers, provided for them by the State, except in the case of a few proprietary churches, had not been well trained in the exercise of Christian liberality;" and the average income of ministers in the Presbyterian Church, even with the addition of the *Regium Donum*, was about \$600. As to England, no one who has gazed upon Macaulay's distressing picture of her clergy two hundred years ago will ever forget it. Bentley, in the first half of the eighteenth century, alluded in the "Remarks of Phileleutherus Lipsiensis," to a parliamentary report which showed that six thousand of the clergy, the greater part of the whole, "had, at a middle rate one with another, not fifty pounds a year." Twenty years ago, when the celebrated "Essays and Reviews" appeared, Dr. H. B. Wilson

* *Per contra*: A few years ago I was surprised to see it stated that the Established Church of Scotland, with over 400,000 communicants, raised only about \$350,000 (£71,000), for all its missionary and other charitable objects.

wrote in them, p. 216: "The Church of England is said to be the richest Church in Europe; which is probably not true; but its people contribute less to its support than the members of any other Church in Christendom, whether established or voluntary." Within this decade it has been published that of the English curates, 1,585 receive less than \$500 each; 1,854 between \$500 and \$750; 1,782 between \$750 and \$1,000; or 1,221 less than \$1,000; and the Marquis of Lorne and his wife proposed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the laity should be asked to raise a sum large enough to provide for each curate at least \$1,000 per annum. On the other hand, Dr. Wilson declared: "There is reason to think, that the means and willingness to give, on the part of non-conforming congregations, are already mainly exhausted in making provision for their ministers." But the course of the Irish Presbyterian Church since the surrender of the *Regium Donum*, the Scotch Free Church, which has (I believe) reached the minimum of almost a thousand dollars' salary, and of the English Presbyterian Church, in which a thousand dollars is the lowest salary paid, answers the declaration, sustains voluntarism, and should excite while wounding us.

But, a commercial mind may retort, do not the figures even concerning our churches show, after all, that the demand is far below the supply? Another turn of the kaleidoscope will answer that.

Of our 5,415 churches, 121 are mission organizations in foreign lands; 458, as has been said, made no report to their Presbyteries; and 1,315 were grouped into 573 pastoral or stated supply charges, thus decreasing the number of established pastoral fields by 748. (It ought to be referred to as an amazing wrong that more than two hundred of our congregations seem to be served by ministers who are not Presbyterians, not on the roll of the Presbyteries, not subject to their jurisdiction). Now deduct the total of the foreign missionary churches, of the non-reporting churches which are evidently lifeless, and the allowance for the collegiate charges, and there remain fully 4,100 ecclesiastically organized fields in our own country which need pastors.

What ministerial force have we that can be called upon for the cultivation of those fields?

Our rolls embrace 4,938 ministers and 306 licentiates—5,244 combined. The ministers I classify as follows: 3,289 pastors and stated supplies; 184 foreign missionaries; 274 presidents, professors, teachers, librarians, and editors; 14 ecclesiastical secretaries; 28 chaplains; 68 district, city, tract, S. S., Presbyterian and Synodical missionaries; 383 honorably retired; 371 without charges; 228 evangelists; 36 confessedly secularized; 4 suspended; 49 *in transitu*; 10 unmarked.

Of this number, at least 1,300 (foreign missionaries, those engaged in educational work, secretaries, chaplains, the local missionaries of the various classes, the honorably retired, the secularized, the suspended, the pastors of Congregational churches who are on our rolls, and the W. C.'s and evangelists who are unable to labor) must be counted out of the list of those who can be looked to for pastoral work in our country. That will leave not more than 3,900 ministers and licentiates settled or open to settlement, if they could be supported and had the gifts which could command a call. In other words, for more than 4,000 organized charges we have less than 4,000 men who could in any event, and without cramping other departments of ministerial work, be placed in them.

Let the case be stated in another form. Of our churches 638 have less than 50 communicants, leaving 4,777 with more than 50. "Wherever ten Jews were settled, it was incumbent on them to form themselves into a congregation, and have a synagogue service." Is it conceivable that through our sparsely-settled regions, 50 communicants can be organized into a church and not be entitled to pastoral care?

Now, add to this, the new stations* which in our constantly advancing and growing population should be occupied; the flood of immigration that has commenced afresh to roll in upon us with such enormous volume; the masses in the cities who are flowing away from the churches; the immense demand of the foreign field; the increasing educational positions

* Look at one of the recent monthly reports of the Home Mission Board! Dakota, two years ago had but two Presbyterian churches; now 21; 20 churches organized last year in Nebraska; 26 in Kansas, which now has 275 (last year 256, with 10,317 communicants); and one a week could be organized there if the ministerial force could be had.

which we should keep filled ; and what means the cry of surplus ? We have not enough ministers to supply the churches in our own country as they have been organized into charges : not enough properly to cultivate them, even if we were to cease to be aggressive in the Lord's work upon the world and in meeting the onflowing population of the country.

At first sight it has a very unfavorable look that nearly one-fourth of our ministers are unavailable for the pastoral office. In the Presbyterian army, what means it that there are about thirteen hundred who cannot be called upon to serve particular congregations ? In the array of our ministerial roll are we acting like " those Chinese generals who, to terrify their enemies, place among their troops formidable monsters of painted card-board ? " Have we a great number of mere figure-heads ? Analyze the totals and it will be seen that that number have not abandoned ministerial work, and that the proportion of delinquency is not large. The popular idea, based upon loose statements and wild generalizations, is to the contrary ; but the popular idea is wrong nevertheless.

The foreign missionaries will, of course, be admitted as properly engaged in a pre-eminent degree.

The presidents, professors, collegiate and theological, and teachers : will any Christian man, who has at heart the interests of the rising generation and the training of young men for professional life and for the sacred office especially, intimate that they are not in work which is strictly germane to the ministry ?* Is it not highly desirable to keep the educational institutions of all grades as largely as possible under the influence of men who have been trained beneath a sound theological influence ? Whatever be the educational position occupied by a minister, in a preparatory school, or the chair of dry mathematics or pure physics or classics in a college, if he carries into it the spirit of his Master and breathes the

* Dr. J. W. Alexander in " Thoughts on Preaching," p. 68 : " Some there are indeed who have had a clear vocation to the work of teaching, which is really a branch of the ministry, and one of its most indispensable branches, and who have served Christ as faithfully in the school-room or the university as in the pulpit." And the Scotch Second B'k of Dis., ch. v., § 4 : " Under the name and office of a doctor, we comprehend also the order in schooles, colledges, and universities, quhilk hes bene from tyme to tyme carefullie maintainit, als weill among the Jewes and Christians, as amangs the prophane nations."

Christian influence through his instructions, his position is far more important than many pastorates; and we should be glad as a Church to provide the supply from our ministerial rolls wherewith to meet the demand for the work, however largely that may increase. Daniel Webster, in his Girard College Argument, said: "Since the introduction of Christianity has been the duty, as it has been the effort, of the great and the good, to sanctify human knowledge, to bring it to the fount, and to baptize learning into Christianity; to gather up all its productions, its earliest and its latest, its blossoms and its fruits, and lay them all upon the altar of religion and virtue." Never was that duty more imperative than now as against the persistent leaven of scientific scepticism. It is said (*Nineteenth Century* for Jan., 1880) to be a Russian university rule that if a professor be sick his colleagues shall take his place and lecture in his stead whatever their specialty: hence a priest who taught Logic was called on once to lecture on Obstetrics, while at another a celebrated accoucheur was obliged to hold forth on Theology. Of course we do not want any such correlation of professional force as that. But as Theology is the queen of the sciences, we should pervade all educational institutions with the theological atmosphere.

It will scarcely be denied that the chaplains, the various classes of missionaries that have been specified, the ecclesiastical secretaries, and the editors of religious journals, are engaged in strictly ministerial employments which the interests of society and of the Church demand should be performed.

Those marked *in transitu* were passing from one field of labor to another.

The Honorably Retired: Who are they? Their names are found (and the same thing may be said of a large number of those who are marked W. C.,) at the head of the Presbyterian rolls, which are arranged according to seniority of ordination. They are aged men. A decade or two ago they were active, hard-working pastors: some of them in the glory of early manhood, when we who are now active were in the cradle or still unborn. But enfeebled beneath the weight of years, worn out by their labors, the keepers of the house trembling, the grasshopper a burden, they are out of the

ness. There must be at least five hundred of these veterans. Will any one cast a stone at them, or at the ministry weighted by numerical inefficients, because they are still with us? Palsied be the tongue that would slur them.

Who, then, remain amenable to the charge of abandoning their work while physically strong, or of being such intellectual chaff that they cannot settle?

There are fifty that are plainly marked as in secularized employments, suspended, and unknown; and there are 228 evangelists. The position of the most of the latter class cannot positively stated. Some of them are aged W. C.'s; others preaching from place to place as they are invited; others show such a lack of gifts that nobody is willing to hear them; others, perhaps, do not really want to preach, either having means lazily to live upon or making a living in business. The larger number of them could and would be useful in the storate. But grant for the sake of the argument, (I believe is granting too much,) that among the W. C.'s and the evangelists, there are two hundred and fifty who are not, and not desirous to be, engaged in strict and proper ministerial work; and combine them with the confessedly secularized: and would there be anything in those figures at which the ministry should blush, the Church be indignant, the world scornful? Suppose it could be shown that three or four hundred of our able-bodied ministers have willingly ceased to labor in the ministry, or are such miserable make-shifts that they cannot secure fields to labor in? What then? A dead loss of six per cent. of our ministerial investment. In the business world would the failure of one venture in sixteen be considered at all disgraceful or disheartening? Do less than ten per cent. of the men who start in life fall out by the way, and show themselves to be utter incompetents? Among the trained mechanics, how many turn out to be the veriest chaff? What percentage of lawyers never get briefs, or having received some in early life make such a poor show that no more are placed in their hands? How many physicians have to exercise the grace of patience through lack of patients? After all that is spent on the nation's wards at West Point, and the severe intellectual discipline through which those Cadets are supposed to be led, how many of them have made any return to the Government?

Suppose all of our derelict or utterly incompetent ministers were among those who were educated with the help of our Board of Education: would the money lost on them, judged according to the strictest business principles, anything like balance the gain which has been brought to the Church by those who, educated in the same way, have been grand successes in the pulpit?

I very strongly doubt whether there can be found upon our ministerial rolls the names of a hundred men who have deliberately abandoned their proper work. It may be that among the evangelists and W. C.'s may be found a couple of hundred who are still physically able and who are willing to preach and do other pastoral labor, but who cannot secure the call of a congregation able to support a pastor. But they are too often scornfully spoken of as utterly inefficient, as are also many who are found in the pastorate. This has become one of the stock charges of the day.

The question, which this raises, as to what constitutes efficiency and success, in a true Gospel sense, cannot here be discussed at length. This, however, may be said: The most important results of ministerial work and influence cannot be weighed, measured, or counted. There are prominent and popular city preachers, who, at the bar of heaven, appear as splendid failures. There are obscure pastors, unknown to the great world, whom the angels know to be mighty vital forces in the quiet development and extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, and in a saving influence upon the society around them. Who can estimate the value, to the country and to Christ's kingdom, in time and for eternity, of the holy-life influence and the quiet routine labors, through the pulpit and by pastoral visitation, at sick-beds and funerals, of the thousands of godly though perhaps not intellectually polished ministers of the various denominations? Oliver Wendell Holmes, among his flippant references to them, confesses ("The Professor at the Breakfast Table," p. 9), that they "have played the part of the fly-wheel in our modern civilization." What would this Republic have been, what would it be, without them? This question of supply is not to be settled only on Webster's remark about the Law: "Always room at the top." Important as is the influence of

few top-men, their combined work does not approach which, leaven-like, goes on from the thousands who are w them in all degrees to the lowest round of the intel- al and social ladder. With Jesus, says Geikie (i. 442), ccess and results were only subordinate." As far as his- records, the greater number of the Apostles were fail- and the Master erred in calling all but Peter and John Paul. God's true workmen, however, "have been content ave all questions of success or failure in the hands of " (Farrar's Paul, ii. 588). But even as to the fruits h the coarser criticism may test, I should be willing to : appointed a mixed judicial commission of ministers, ers, physicians, merchants, and master-mechanics, men the gathered experience of three-score years and ten, letting them combine the results of their life observation, ould take their verdict on these questions: Whether, dur- the last twenty-five or fifty years, our theological training not placed in the ministry a larger proportion of men have attained real eminence in learning and intellectual er than the other professions have exhibited? Whether American ministry has not been (not merely more moral: sed be God, that is a question that cannot even be raised; more influential for good and more successful in its c, than any other class? And this may be added: The of efficiency which is presented by many vacant churches, considering itself to be "peculiar," and especially by e who have ornamented themselves with a first-class gage, which makes it necessary that the minister should t mint to coin the pews, as by electric discharges, into urs: that test would exclude Paul and even Jesus himself their pulpits.* And it is submitted that if ministers fail n efficiency which Paul and the Master did not possess, fault must lie—in the pews.

ut notwithstanding the numerical insufficiency of our present ly of ministers, and the widening fields which ought to be

the saucy Gail Hamilton made an apologetic remark (in her "Stumbling Blocks,"), for such churches, which is worth reproducing: "The people are not always so ionable as is supposed. They sometimes make great demands, because they do nderstand what it is that they want. Girls talk in heroic verse of the virtues their suitors must possess; but by and by they marry men who are not taller : breadth of my nail than any of their contemporaries, and live happy ever after."

possessed, we are met by the startling fact that the candidates for the ministry are decreasing. The decrease has not, as yet, absolutely manifested itself in the Theological Seminaries. Those institutions of our Church had last year 505 students against 456 in 1871; and the Board of Education had under its care, in that stage of their studies, 224 as against 230 in 1871. But in the collegiate and theological stages combined there were, in 1871, under the care of the Presbyteries, 711, and in 1879 only 614, of which the Board had 502 in 1871 and 426 in 1879. Since our reunion there has been "an increase of sixteen per cent. in the number of ministers, of twenty-two per cent. in the number of churches, of thirty-three per cent. in the number of communicants, and of forty-two per cent. in the number of persons connected with the Sabbath-school," but the number who are preparing for the ministry is less than it was a decade ago. The latest reports from the colleges show an alarmingly small proportion of the students who have that work in view; and, it is in more than one quarter intimated, the attention of the brightest and most promising of the young men, intellectually, is being less and less turned to the sacred office. Of course if this be not checked, the Church and the country will be in danger.

No diagnosis of the disease, however, will be reliable which does not take into account the fact that it is not in America only, or among Presbyterians only, that it prevails. It is epidemic, not endemic. The Churches which require an educated ministry seem alike to be afflicted. For instance, in the Southern Presbyterian Church the number of theological students fell from 99, in 1876, to a little over 70, in 1880; and "it is doubtful whether enough students will be licensed this spring to supply the vacancies left by death during the year." *The Catholic Presbyterian* for April, p. 313, says: "It seems that the deficiency in the number of candidates for the ministry has reached its turning point in Germany. The Upper Consistory of Bavaria have issued an appeal to the congregations with reference to the present scarcity, concluding with an earnest admonition to parents to train their children in the faith of the Gospel, and to dedicate their sons to the service of the Lord in the ministry, as well as to pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers. There are under that Consistory no fewer than

78 vacant ministerial charges, for which they can find no candidates. As in Bavaria, so is it, though not to the same extent perhaps, in the other national Churches of Germany." The late Dr. Osgood, referring to the decrease in the theological students in Harvard, said: "The cause of the decline in the attraction of the ministry for educated young men is more general than theological opinion, while it is evident that the decline is more marked where the ministry is less guarded by positive faith and left more to personal opinion and faith than to loyal conscience and habitual discipline." Dean Stanley, on his recent visit to this country, speaking from a "liberal" standpoint to the Episcopalian clergymen of New York ("Addresses and Sermons in America," p. 66), referred to "the deficiency of young men of promise and power entering the ranks of the Christian ministry," and added: "I know not how far you are menaced by this danger, but if you are, or if there be any apprehension on that score, I entreat you to be constantly on your watch to meet it, to lose no opportunity of removing any stumbling-block or obstacle which may deter such men from entering your ranks." At the other extreme, a Vicar-General of the Romish Church has published the fact that there are three thousand vacant parishes in France, and that the vacancies are increasing.

It looks as if the scepticism that is through the air was working out one of its legitimate fruits in this way.

Confining our attention to our own Church, how shall the decrease be checked and the impending danger be averted?

1. It is, of course, a first truth, underlying everything that may be thought of, that the Church should earnestly pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into the harvest. Only those whom He calls and sends are to be desired.

2. Closely connected with this is the truth that a wide-spread revival and awakening would have a mighty influence. The Romish dignitary above referred to has well said that "it is the religious life of the general community which ultimately determines the supplies furnished by it for the sacred ministry; and that life ebb and the number of vocations fall our land has been our colleges, have st ornaments, and

have always increased the number of candidates. A powerful quickening would, as a destructive and purifying conflagration, remove the evils which are causing the dearth and produce a faith that would carry our young men in spite of the obstacles that now arrest them. But, even while looking for that, it is our duty to use all the proper aids to faith. Therefore,

3. We must increasingly take care of the religious influence in our colleges; keep the sceptical taint out of our scientific chairs; and see to it that our young men attend, not institutions which claim to be free from a religious bias or which are positively sceptical in their atmosphere, but those in which the Christian and Presbyterian tone is clear. Fifty years ago Mr. Gurney wrote, after an interview with the ponderous Scotchman: "It is evident that Dr. Chalmers is deeply impressed with the opinion that an overwhelming tide is but too likely ere long, to sweep down many of our civil, literary, and religious institutions. The spirit which prevails abroad he apprehends to be in somewhat active preparation at home, and he ascribes its existence and increase to the wide dissemination of *superficial* knowledge." The catastrophe has not, will not, come. There has been a dissemination of superficial knowledge, however, which has carried many young men into secular, if not sceptical, life. As President Porter has said, with polished irony, "The very select family of those who call themselves the Scientists of the present generation are, of necessity, very active and bright-minded. The members of this large household are constantly stimulating one another by their brilliant hypotheses and their daring adventures in the field of experiment and conjecture." And the effects have been telling on the half-educated and the truncatedly educated. But if we mistake not, those sceptics have crossed their zenith. We must help them in their descent, and save our colleges from the remains of their influence which may still linger.

4. It is also important to blow away the flippant assertions which have so abounded, that there are already too many ministers, and that, as a profession, they are especially inefficient. These belong to the things that are not new under the sun. Addison had in the *Spectator* a number entitled "Overcrowding of the learned professions; many enter them, and fail, who would have succeeded at business." South asserted that many

a man "runs his head against the pulpit" who should have followed the plough. It appeared to Milton that "if any carpenter, smith, or weaver were such a bungler in his trade as are many clergymen in their profession, he would starve for any custom." Twenty years ago the *Princeton Review* had a labored article in reply to the question: "Are there too many ministers?" Following in the line of South and Milton, our genial Dr. Crosby recently asserted: "There are to-day hundreds of ministers in our country who ought to be at tent-making, earning their bread, but who, under a mistaken sense of the ministry as a paid profession, are wandering up and down the Church beseeching support, thus degrading themselves in their own eyes and degrading the ministry in the eyes of all!" ("The Preacher," p. 16). We doubt not that in the early Church, too, the assertion was heard that there were too many apostles; that the traitor was often thrown into the face of believers by scornful Jews; that Jerusalem Christians questioned the efficiency of Bartholomew, and Lebbeus, and Simon the Cananite, and wondered why the Lord had called them from manual labor. It is the sin of Dickens against the clergy, not that he charges them all with being bad, but that all who cross his pages are of a vile type; and many of his worldly readers (acting on Mill's truncated statement of induction "that what is true of certain individuals of a class is true of the whole class") accept them as representatives of the order. Are not our incompetent ministers sometimes put in the pillory, and referred to in conversation in Christian families and in newspapers in such a way as to produce a similar harmful effect? Are not our young men unfavorably affected by the tone of reference to ministers?

5. Perhaps there should be added the duty of our Presbyteries to watch against the organization of nominal congregations; to reach after the removal of the stated supply feature; to exercise more control; to refuse to permit faithful pastors to be driven from their post by ill treatment. Whatever encourages the people to look at their ministers as hired men, instead of divinely-appointed officers entitled to support, should be frowned upon.

6. But, in connection with all the other means, our Church should with boldness and pertinacity endeavor to accomplish

three things: each of the three, in reverse order, being necessary to the others:

(1). Elevate the ministry in the public estimation. In Aiken's article in *The Catholic Presbyterian* on "The Waning Prestige of the Ministry," has in it much that is too sad and true. Ministers are not in general looked up to with the reverential respect which prevailed even twenty-five years ago. Every one who is lazy, unstudious, meanly sensational, unfaithful in his official work or inconsistent in his private life, helps to intensify the existing evil. It becomes each of us, by our own course of life, to assist in removing it. But, in addition, three things are necessary to keep the office on its true pedestal in the Church and before the world: *a*, the maintenance of the true view of it, and of the meaning of ordination to it; *b*, the voluntary removal of those who show that they were never called to it by the Lord; *c*, measures which will lovingly compel all who are in it to be continually engaged in work appropriate to it.*

I speak with peculiar hesitation concerning the first two of these three points, knowing that many of our ministers will differ decidedly with me: and therefore what I advance is with modesty, deference, and some misgiving. I hold a higher view of the office and of ordination than is prevalent among us. The idea that ordination is a mere form by which the Church recognizes the call of its subject and puts its approval upon his ministrations, does not, it seems to me, fill the scriptural expressions; and it largely eviscerates the ordination service of its peculiar value, and depreciates the office itself. I believe in special ordination-grace as well as in special sacramental-grace. As special grace is conveyed by the Holy Spirit to the really believing communicant, so special grace is conveyed through ordination, by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, to those who are truly called of God to the office.† Hence I might be supposed to be against

* An early Scotch Assembly enacted, "That ministers given to unlawful and incompetent trades and occupations for filthy gain, as holding of hostelries, taking of usury besides conscience and good laws, bearing worldly offices in noblemen's and gentlemen's houses, and such like worldly occupations as may distract them from their charge, and may be slanderous to the pastoral calling, be admonished, and brought to an acknowledgment of their sins, and, if continued, be deposed." The good old times!

† It does not meet this to say, as Baron Stow said to a candidate: "We give you no mysterious or supernatural power, for we have none to impart; we give you no grace,

demission. But I strongly gravitate towards the idea that, consistently with this, we may allow that "when it is evident to the minister himself, to the court, and to the Church, that God has not called him to the ministry, and that his ordination was a mistake and therefore void, he may cease to be a minister," as the Southern Church provides in its new Book. The ministerial order is hurt by the retention on its roll of those who have declined from it into secular business, though their number is magnified as the number of the wicked children of the New England deacons used to be.

(2). Elevate the standard of intellectual proficiency in the incumbents of the office. As against the loose charges of inefficiency from those who are without, and in reference to the great spiritual work of the ministry, we vindicate the mass of our ministers: among ourselves, and keeping abreast of the culture of the age, we may admit that not enough of our number reach and retain a commanding theological position against the errors of the day, and that our pastors generally do not keep up with the course of thought, so as to deal with the educated of their particular congregations. This weakens their standing and influence in the community. The reading and reflective among our workingmen are especially infected by the current materialism. The ministers who labor among the masses therefore need to be the most thoroughly prepared. In extension though not in intention, in breadth though not in depth, the information of the people is growing; to maintain their place, and to exert their influence, ministers need, in breadth and depth, to be in advance of the former generations. Now, this intellectual elevation should be striven after: *a*, by the Presbyteries taking candidates under their care in ordinary cases, only after they have commenced their collegiate course and after an examination which would reach more than experimental religion and a call to the office, by testing the possession of some of the gifts which are peculiarly needed

for we have none to spare." The grace of God has its bounds. John Brown, of Haddington, once, under some irritation said: "The grace of God can do much; but it cannot give a man common sense." Nor does the indelibility of orders follow from this any more than the infallible salvation of all communicants follows from the Calvinistic doctrine of the sacraments. But I do not desire to press this view here. If, however, it will allow of demission, much more will the lower view.

in the ministry ; then, *δ*, by watchful care of them all through their course and by rigid examinations which would stimulate them to hard study and sift sharply the weak from the strong and let only the fittest survive as ministers ; and afterward, *ζ*, by the ministers themselves keeping up their studies with a progressive conscientiousness and zeal, remembering of Thomas Adams's remark that, "a minister without learning is a mere cipher which fills up a place and increaseth the number, but signifies nothing." The honor and standing of his order should spur every man in it to hard work. Bacon uttered a pestilential heresy, which has affected some of us, when he wrote (or was it he that wrote ?) that every man owed it to his profession to write a book on some of its theses ! The dignity of the ministerial order does, however, require life-long study from its members. But—they cannot make brick without straw. Therefore the Church must

(3). Elevate the standard of support.

a. We need to continue to draw from the bright and promising of both classes of pious young men, the rich and poor. The ministry should bid high for the talent of the Church. True, as Prof. Blackie says ("Four Phases of Morals," p. 277): "Wherever official position in a prosperous and popular church presents an open career to persons desirous of making a respectable livelihood, there must always be a class of people, more or less numerous, who are ready to say in their hearts, though they may not dare everywhere to say it openly, 'Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priests' offices, that I may eat a bit of bread.'" But the possibility and actuality of an abuse must not be allowed to drive us from the truth ; and the principle should be recognized that as soon as a young man, called of the Lord, is approved by a Presbytery, and gives himself up entirely to studious preparation for the work of the Church, he is entitled to a support from the Church. As a pastor who has other means, had better take a salary from his congregation ;* so, if a young candidate does not need it, he had better receive an appropriation and use it himself for the Lord. It is most desirable to get rid of the

* "By the 42d Article of Cap. 1, French Church Discipline, it is found, that ministers who are rich, and have of their own, should, nevertheless, take wages of their flock lest their example do prejudice to other pastors and churches." (*Pardovan, Bk. Sec Tit. 14, 2*).

crimination of candidates—between those who are on the
ard of Education and those who are not. The falling off in
number seems thus far to be almost wholly in the former
ss. It is to be feared that this is largely due to a prevalent
e of reference to them and to the financially amputating way
which the churches, by lack of contributions, compel the
ard to deal with its beneficiaries. The danger is great, of
high-toned among our struggling young men, being chilled
l driven off. And emphatically they are the men that the
pit cannot afford to lose. Wealthy and fashionable
rches, some of whose members look askance at the Board
l depreciate its candidates, would be surprised if they knew
t their own darling pastors had been among its beneficiaries !
b. Ideally establish, and at once strike hard and persist-
ly, for a comfortable minimum salary ; one, less than which
pastor shall receive, even if his immediate congregation
not raise it. The principle of the sustentation scheme is
ht, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to its vari-
s specific provisions, and as to the way in which it has been
rked. It ought to be considered a truism that every edu-
ed Presbyterian minister, be he settled where he may, and
his necessary existing expenses what they may, deserves
alary of at least \$1,000 a year ; and that should be insured
him. “ It seems natural and just,” (says the Massachusetts
bor Bureau Report for 1875), “ that a man’s labor should be
rth, and that his wages should be, as much as, with economy
l prudence, will comfortably maintain himself and family, en-
e him to educate his children, and also lay by enough for his
ent support when his laboring powers have failed.” Will
the principle of that apply “ much more ” here ? Stewart
Pardovan (Bk. 2, Title 14, 2), remarks : “ Seeing ministers
deny themselves to the gain of civil employments, where-
they might have a more unlimited prospect, not only of
ntaining their families, but of purchasing stocks for their
terity, therefore the Dutch custom is not unreasonable,
ch allowed to ministers so much for every son, in order to
better education and breeding.” The English Episcopalian
obs (“ Ecclesiastical Polity,” p. 127), declares : “ When
ny church a maintenance for its officers is provided, it is
rly to the advantage of the community at large that they

should be unencumbered with secular cares." How do —
now stand these tests?

c. Place the fund for the relief of disabled ministers a —
of the widows and orphans of the deceased on a higher pla —
than it is now. The terms in which it is referred to too oft —
appear to savor of the notion that it is a charity in the low —
idea of the term. Advocate it as a right, and make its gran —
more than dribbling.

d. With the money support provided in these ways, *it*
would be possible for Presbyteries and Synods to restore the
balance of churches and ministers, through a scheme which
would remove the unemployed from the cities to the fields
where they are needed. So long as proper support is not
assured to a man and his family, he cannot be so dealt with.

Many will consider the ideas here expressed, as to the ele-
vation of the support of the ministry, visionary. But the
grandest practical results have been secured by schemes
which were at the outset branded as very fanciful. There is
nothing really impracticable in this, though as "all large sub-
jects require time for the mind to adjust itself to them,"
("Hodge's Conference Papers," p. 244), judicious measures
would be necessary for the indoctrination of our people with
it; and the full realization of the ideal would come slowly.
But the beginning would be half the accomplishment. And
one would think that a sharp view of all that the full accom-
plishment would involve ought to produce an enthusiastic
beginning. What would it involve? Why, our Church could
place on its lists of candidates for the ministry a thousand
young men at \$200 a year; could give 4,000 pastors at least
a thousand dollars each; and could secure a thousand dis-
abled ministers and families of deceased ones \$500 a year
each; through the raising of—what amount of money? Less
than five million dollars a year: (\$4,700,000). Now remem-
ber that during the ten years which have passed since the
reunion, financially depressed as the most of them have been,
we have raised for our denominational purposes \$89,641,322,
or an average of nine millions a year; consider that less than
five millions will accomplish the three objects which we have
declared so desirable, leaving four millions of the amount now
raised annually to go toward the other congregational ex-

ences, larger salaries in the churches that can raise them, and the missionary work of the denomination: and wherein is the impracticability of the aim? If the conscience of the Church were educated under it, it could be realized, and the nine millions a year quickly be doubled into eighteen millions. Fifty years ago, in 1831, the *Princeton Review* wrote (iii. 552): The real resources of the Church are by no means fully known; and we doubt not that there is in her a spirit of more enlarged benevolence than even she herself is yet aware of; a spirit which has only begun to be awakened, and which is destined to glow with a more genial warmth, and a more extended influence, as her exigencies increase." Her 182,017 communicants then reported \$102,017 for the various objects outside the congregational; or an average of only fifty-six cents a member. Last year our 574,486 communicants reported for the same purposes \$1,948,245, or an average of 3.39 a member. In 1851, when the reports of moneys raised for the internal expenses of the congregations were first made (in the O. S. branch), the 210,306 communicants contributed \$1,056,023, or an average of \$5.02 a member; last year the 574,486 communicants reported \$6,311,768, or an average of \$10.16. In 1851, for all the columns the amount was \$1,462,615, an average of \$6.95 a communicant; last year \$8,260,013, an average of \$14.39.* Encouraging comments on the *Princeton Review* remark! But what is it even now? If, according to the last published educational reports, Pennsylvania has a public-school income of \$9,022,669 for its average attendance of 575,597 scholars; if Massachusetts raises and expends \$5,582,519 for its 307,832 scholars; ought not our 600,000 communicants to do better still for themselves, for their 600,000 S. S. members, and for the various localities in which their light shines? And, if in the United States, the public-school annual income reaches the magnificent amount of \$86,866,162 (Report of 1877), should not the religious denominations blush when they are told that they raise for salvation's great eternal work only forty-seven

* It ought to be noted that last year we felt in their extreme the effects of our financial depression. In 1875, before they commenced to cripple, our reports amounted to \$366,581 more; and made an average of over \$19 a communicant. Next year, if not the one that has just closed, we shall excel that; for we have emerged from the simoon.

millions? And ought not that blush to deepen when it is known that the teachers in the public schools receive as salaries \$48,392,820—more than the churches raised for all purposes, ministers' salaries included?

But are not things better than they were in this matter of support? And has not our Church accomplished a great work? Yes, yes; the wonder is that the ministers, stinted as they have been, have under God carried the denomination forward as they have done. But let no one apply here the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy, as Dr. Atwater says he once heard it applied by a juvenile orator who captivated "some of the magnates of the land by arguing that the imposition of certain grade of impost taxes by Congress had been followed by seasons of industrial activity and prosperity."

The privations through which many of the young men have to pass in order to reach the ministry; their pecuniarily straitened homes thereafter; their frequent compulsory removals through inefficient support or unreasonable expectations; and the condition in which the widows and children of many of the deceased are left, have more to do with lowering the office in the sight of the public, with enfeebling the intellectual energies of its incumbents, and with crippling their influence, than any other cause. Any and every scheme for the proper supply of efficient ministers that does not reach these evils will have only a spasmodic effect.

R. M. PATTERSON.

VII.

APPLICATION OF AMERICAN CIVIL LAW TO ECCLESIASTICAL JURISPRUDENCE.

of our denominational journals, and not a few secular papers, have noticed a case which recently came before the courts in Missouri. One cannot be certain of the truth of newspaper reports; and, as no official record is obtainable, we are left in doubt as to some of the points of fact and the full bearing of the rulings of the court.

The outline of facts seems to be this. A member of the Methodist Church South was suspended by his Session without trial or pending trial. Notice of such suspension having been read at a prayer-meeting, the member whose good name was thus involved publicly protested, and with such vehemence

that the Session forthwith excommunicated him without trial. Upon the member so dismissed brought suit against the Session and one of the leading elders, for injury done to his name and standing under cover of Church law, but contrary to the methods prescribed in the Book of Discipline. His suits were decided in his favor and heavy damages awarded him against each defendant. The defendants have appealed to the Supreme Court.

One of the prominent papers of the Church South, while recognizing that the Session acted outside of the forms of judicial process, asks in view of these findings:

Is the simple matter of the administration of Church discipline within the jurisdiction of the courts of the State? Are they competent to take cognizance of the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline which does not affect the rights of civil liberty? If so, where is the independence of Church and State?

These questions reveal how little the relations of Church and State are understood; and how easy it is, under disguise

of a popular cry, to advocate something inimical to popular interests. Ecclesiastical findings have been so often reviewed in both English and American civil courts, that the general principles therein involved, ought by this time to be well known. Unfortunately, church officials seldom investigate the subject until forced to do so in a way most unpleasant to themselves. It has seemed to me that just now, when our Church North is revising its Book of Discipline, an examination of this subject might be particularly opportune. Having read carefully all the reported cases, and selected representative decisions, I purpose to show in this paper, what are the general principles which regulate our civil courts in dealing with ecclesiastical affairs, and why every decision of a church court involving civil rights may reasonably be submitted to the civil court for review.

First of all, what is the position of a church court when cited before the bar of a civil tribunal in the States? However lofty may be its claims, however awe-inspiring its ecclesiastical title, it is known to the State only as one of many forms of voluntary arbitration. The State knows nothing of it as a body receiving power from the Scriptures, nothing of it as supernaturally gifted by Apostolical succession or Papal benediction. Like the lodge, the benevolent association, the labor-union, or the lyceum, it is simply a voluntary association of individuals for specific purposes, whose members agree to be mutually bound by certain rules observed among themselves. The form of government which these churches choose, whether it be congregational, constitutional, or prelatical, is simply that form of arbitration which the persons so associated have voluntarily chosen as a method of settling their differences or disagreements. To the civil law it bears a character no more sacred than does a copartnership for banking or pork-packing. While it refrains from those questions which affect civil rights, the State has no knowledge of its existence. But so soon as it raises a hand to the detriment of those interests, the State will cite the Church before its bar as promptly as it will summon a single offender to make answer for his deeds. To the eye of the State the Church wears no character which permits it to do injustice, or that requires its decrees to stand unquestioned; and it possesses

o power which it cannot show to have been conferred by the voluntary action of its members.

I do not find a single exception to this ruling, either in the state or the Federal courts. In the two cases which have been brought before the Supreme Court of the United States,* this principle has been most emphatically asserted, and it is involved in the decisions of every other case cited in this paper. Whether the decisions of the ecclesiastical authorities have been affirmed or set aside, these authorities are considered simply as so many forms of arbitration chosen by the parties interested to decide certain questions according to certain stipulated methods. Whether it be the decree of a papal bishop as in *Hennessey v. Walsh*† or the vote of a congregation as in the case of *Bouldin v. Alexander*,‡ in either case the Church stands before the law of the land like any other society of voluntary membership.

The first consequence which flows from this is, that the state will refuse to sit in judgment upon questions which pertain only to, or hinge upon, definitions, terms, or descriptions purely spiritual or purely ecclesiastical. The State knows no standard of "Orthodoxy,"§ "Protestantism," "Romanism," or "Presbyterianism;" and while it will decide whether a church court proceeds according to its own prescribed methods of arbitration, it will not undertake to decide which of various parties is truest to doctrinal definitions or traditions. As a consequence a bequest is void which is made to legatees to be chosen for their supposed conformity to any doctrinal standard; and all such legacies are good in law only when made to individuals, or boards which have a corporate existence before the law. Occasionally a judge will go into an exhaustive review of the history of a denomination, as in the case of *Smith v. Nelson*,|| or that of *Watson v. Avery*;¶ but this is contrary to the general practice of the courts, and especially of the Supreme Court of the United States,** even though the purpose be not to examine the question of fidelity to "standards," but of faithfulness in administration of con-

* See 15 Wallace, 131, and 13 Wallace, 679.

† 15 Am. Law Register, N. S., 278.

‡ See 15 Wallace, *ut supra*.

§ *Grimes v. Harmon*, 35 Ind., 198, and authorities thereto appended.

|| 18 Ver., 511.

¶ 2 Bush, Ky., 332.

** 15 Wallace, 131.

stitutional law. Nor is this to be wondered at by any one at all familiar with the history of ecclesiastical organizations in their relation to doctrine; and perhaps those churches which boast loudest of their dogmatic fixedness, like the Romish, have shifted farthest and most rapidly from the landmarks of their own previous Councils. We have "Old Catholics" in Germany, who are not in communion with modern Rome; and "Old Believers" in Russia, who are separate from the modern Greek Church. The civil courts would have little time for aught else if they were to attempt to hold ecclesiastical organizations to doctrinal consistency and immobility.

But as clearly as this principle is established, that the civil court will not take cognizance of offences or definitions purely spiritual or theological, it is no less clearly held by the courts that no church, under cover of ecclesiastical decisions, can do injury to the civil rights of individuals in matters not voluntarily submitted to their decision, or by methods not so chosen and agreed to. The Church as an arbitrator has no powers not voluntarily conferred; and no authority over questions not specifically submitted.

When an ecclesiastical case is brought before the civil courts, two allegations must be laid—first, that an injury has been done to civil rights; and second, that such injury has resulted from the ecclesiastical court's transcending those limits fixed by the mutual assent of the parties interested.*

But they are very much mistaken who think that civil rights are only rights of real estate, or what is commonly called personal property; or that the man who has submitted, voluntarily, certain questions to the arbitration of a church court, or church official, has thereby left himself, without qualification, to the mercy of such person or such board. The law throws its protection about the man, his professional means of livelihood, and his good name, while also affording a defence to his "estate," and for the reason that his professional acquirements and good name are a most valuable part of his possessions.

As an example of the way in which ecclesiastical decisions may affect civil rights, take the celebrated case of *Smith v. Nelson*, referred to on a previous page. A minister who had

*See these general principles as laid down in *Austin v. Searing*, 16 N. Y., 112.

been deposed from his office, and shut out from his pulpit, brought suit to recover his standing, and to have the ecclesiastical judgment set aside, upon the ground that his salary was in part paid out of a funded legacy, from which income he was debarred by acts of the church court in contravention of its own written laws. And he was so restored by the civil courts, which decided that his civil rights had been unwarrantably trespassed upon. In a still later case, that of *Robertson v. Bullions*,* it was decided that a minister's right to the ordinary emoluments of his office was a civil right in which the law must protect him; and in the case of *Walker v. Wainwright*,† it was decided that a minister's exemption from jury duty and militia service was a civil right which might be defended in a civil court. But not a few of our ablest and best known American jurists go even farther than this, and declare that the office of the ministry itself, while upon one side a purely spiritual office, is, viewed upon its other side, a profession with honors, exemptions, and emoluments, all of which are civil rights capable of defence from unwarrantable injury in civil courts. The suspension or deposition of a minister is, therefore, an act necessarily civil, as well as ecclesiastical, and a church court must show a clear warrant for its action if its action is to stand. We are clearly of the opinion," said Judges Lawrence and Sheldon in the celebrated *Cheney* case, "that when a clergyman is in danger of being degraded from his office and losing his salary and means of livelihood by the action of a court unlawfully constituted—we are clearly of the opinion that he may come to the secular courts for protection. It would be the duty of such courts to examine the question of jurisdiction, and if they find that such tribunal . . . is exercising a merely usurped or arbitrary power, they should furnish such protection as the laws of the land will give."‡ Judge Redfield, in editing this case for the "American Law Register," and no name stands higher than his, declares that whatever may be the decision in Illinois upon one case, any other decision than that above quoted cannot stand long in Illinois, "and will most certainly not be accepted as law anywhere else." So the Hon. Richard H. Dana, in reviewing the same case, declares that the

*9 Barbour, 64.

† 16 Barbour, 486.

‡ 10 Am. Law Register, N. S., 295.

ministry is so inseparably connected with civil rights that an ecclesiastical deposition must always be subject to review before the civil courts, in order to inquire whether such ecclesiastical tribunal acted with warrant or not. In view of the decision of court after court, it ought to be considered as well established, that ecclesiastical bodies, sitting as arbitrators, have no more license to transcend their constitutional limitation than any other persons to whom specific questions are entrusted for orderly adjustment.

It might have been added that appeal has been taken in regard to a contested election of elders;* in regard to the rights of a corporator,† who was cut off from his corporate rights by a "by-law" of the church which forbade an ex-communicated person to vote upon any question relating to church affairs; and both cases were fully considered in the State court and the decisions of both ecclesiastical bodies reversed. There are indeed very few ecclesiastical decisions which do not affect civil interests, and as Chief Justice Williams has said, the church court "must be able to show a clear and unmistakable assent, by parties interested, to its jurisdiction; that jurisdiction must have been embraced in the original terms of the compact; and must not be ignored or transcended in the decision."‡

This brings us to consider the vexed question of "jurisdiction." Practically all our State and Federal courts are agreed up to this point. All regard church tribunals, or "courts," as mere forms of arbitration. All agree that civil injuries must be resented by the civil courts from whatever quarter they come. All agree that there are few ecclesiastical decisions possible which do not affect, and that directly, civil rights. But upon the question of "jurisdiction" we may divide the decisions into three classes—the broad, the strict, and the middle classes. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the cases referred to above,§ refused to consider the question of "regularity" as affecting the question of "jurisdiction." These decisions would allow a wide latitude to church courts, practically permitting them to be, in the majority of cases, judges of their own jurisdiction, as well as interpreters of their own laws. This principle pushed too far simply abolishes the constitution

* *Watson v. Avery*, 2 Bush, Ky. † *People v. St. Stephen's Church*, 6 Lansing, 172.

‡ *Smith v. Nelson*, *ut supra*.

§ 13 Wallace, 679, and 15 Wallace, 131.

of any church ; and in place of its written law substitutes the whim, passion, or prejudice of the chance assembly. This was the effect, indeed, in the Cheney case above cited, against which Judges Lawrence and Sheldon of Illinois, Judge Redfield of Massachusetts, and Hon. Richard A. Dana entered such vigorous protest. Hallam tells us that "the discretion of the judge is the first engine of tyranny;" and such it has proved whenever it is left unreservedly to church courts to interpret the limit of their own power.

On the other hand, our civil courts have sometimes undertaken to examine minutely into the question of jurisdiction, and in the law reports of Vermont,* Kentucky,† and Missouri, one may find the form of government, history, and traditions of the Presbyterian Church elaborately set forth. The decisions in these cases followed the strict rule of Great Britain that an error in the proceedings will invalidate the decision of an ecclesiastical tribunal as immediately as it would that of a suit before the Queen's Bench.‡ And if the case of Rev. Mr. McCarthy, of New York, was correctly reported in the daily papers, about a year since, the judge in this case restored Mr. McCarthy to his membership in the State Association of Universalists, which had expelled him, on the ground, not of the lack of jurisdiction, but its irregular exercise.

But it is safe to say that the majority of decisions in our civil courts have taken the middle ground. They are neither ready to commit the personal interests of thousands of the State's best citizens, and millions of benevolent funds, to the irresponsible decisions of tribunals left to exercise "jurisdiction" wherever they claim it; nor are they prepared to review every church trial in order to see whether the whole proceedings might not be invalidated by some technical objection. Taking the common-sense ground that people who choose arbitrators must assume some risks of ignorance or prejudice, they still maintain that these arbitrators shall not be permitted to do whatever they may affirm they have power to do. "The most that can be said," says Commissioner Earl (reviewing

* *Smith v. Nelson*, 18 Ver., 511.

† *Watson v. Avery*, 2 Bush., Ky.

‡ See decision in *McMillan v. Free Church of Scotland*, quoted in 10 Am. Law Register, N. S., 295, and English rulings quoted in 13 Wallace, 679.

the broad interpretation in 13 Wallace), "is that the opinion of a church court as to its own jurisdiction should have great weight."* "It is the duty of this court," says Judge Edmonds, "to inquire into the question of jurisdiction."† "The organic law of the Church," says Judge Robertson, "is a fundamental contract, necessarily inviolable, for the protection of every member."‡ "The action of a Synod is final," says Chief-Justice Lowrie, "provided it is in accordance with its own laws."§ And as the same judge elsewhere puts it, "A man when he joins a church or enters its ministry is entitled to the presumption that he will be governed by the laws to which he has assented." So, too, say Judges Lawrence and Sheldon, "It is the duty of the (civil) courts to inquire into the question of jurisdiction, and if they find such tribunal is exercising a merely usurped or arbitrary power, they should furnish such protection as the laws of the land will give."|| To these could be added, perhaps, as many more; and it may be confidently asserted as the prevalent rulings of our State courts that, while not interfering to prevent or correct technical irregularities in ecclesiastical tribunals, they will not suffer such tribunals to arbitrarily interpret the question of their own powers to the detriment of a man's good name or professional standing, or the abuse of trust funds.

Now it should be remembered, that in the proper understanding of these questions, no other Church has a larger interest than the Presbyterian Church. In the rulings of our civil courts, churches are divided into three classes: *those whose government depends wholly upon the vote of the individual congregation; those whose government is wholly in the hands of the bishop; and those which are under the government of a written constitution.¶ The only question which can come before the civil courts in regard to a Congregational church is: "Is the decision, which is in question, a decision of a *bona fide* majority of the actual congregation?"** That such freedom from formal alliances has its benefits, no

* *Connith v. Ref. Church*, 54 N. Y., 551.

† 9 Am. Law Register, N. S., 211.

‡ 10 Am. Law Reg., *ut supra*.

** *Bouldin v. Alexander*, 15 Wallace, 131.

† 16 Barbour, 468.

§ *McGinniss v. Watson*, 41 Penna., 9.

¶ 13 Wallace, 679.

One will deny; but that it has its drawbacks is still more plain **to any one** who knows how the fathers of New England built churches for men of Unitarian faith to control. The Church **thus** secures the largest amount of freedom from the State only **by** renouncing its protection, and subjecting its vested interests **to the caprice** of any chance majority of the hour. And the **same** effect is seen in churches with a strictly prelatical form **of government**. Where the property is held by the bishop, **and the standing** of the minister depends upon the will of the **bishop**, no rights are left to be defended because all have **been** voluntarily surrendered.* But when the arbitrator is **neither** one man's will nor the vote of a chance majority, but **the decision** of a constitutional assembly, it becomes of all **things** important that that assembly understand the limit of **its powers** and its responsibility for any infringement of civil **rights** not warranted by the written law under which it is **constituted**. Churches under congregational government **surrender** nothing to the general control of the Association; churches under a purely prelatical form of government reserve **nothing**, the property being held by the bishop, and the priest **vowing** a personal obedience; but churches associated under **a** formulated creed and written form of government, surrender **and** reserve at the same time; they enter into a definite and **stipulated** contract, which defines at once the obligations and **the liberties** of the members. The decrees of such assemblies, which are warranted by the constitutional definition of **their powers**, the civil courts will enforce, and have enforced, **again and again**; the decrees of such assemblies, which are **without warrant** in the constitutional definition of their powers, the civil courts have reversed in nearly every State in the **Union.**†

Nothing could be more just, nothing else is possible in a free country. There cannot be two tribunals with absolute power over the civil rights of citizens. If a people choose to submit themselves, their persons, their professional standing, their ecclesiastical and benevolent funds, absolutely into the hands of a bishop, they alone are responsible for what they

* *Hennessey v. Walsh*, 15 Am. Law Register, 278.

† See the cases cited in 18 Ver., 511; 2 Bush, Ky., 332; 16 N. Y., 112; and 41 Penna., 9.

may chance to suffer. But when such surrender has not been made, the State must stand for the defence of its citizens against any infringement of their civil rights from whatever quarter it may come. All that the State requires of the Church is what she requires of every other corporate body, not to usurp undelegated power to the detriment of her citizens. For the State to do less than this, is for her to bear the sword in vain and be untrue to those interests which she is divinely commissioned to protect.

The theory of "a Church and State, each free and each supreme," is not a Protestant theory, but a Papal; and can be realized only when the citizen definitely renounces the protection of the State and hands over his interests, without reserve, to the Church. The State cannot presuppose such a surrender. This absolute freedom of Church decree from State revision was the highest ambition of that pope of popes Gregory VII.; and it was for this cause that almost the only English saint in the papal calendar, Thomas à Becket, gave up his life. A church whose decisions are final upon all questions of church property, upon the civil rights of her members and her ministers, is, as Lord Kames has said, "the very instrument by which during the middle ages one-half the lands of Europe and one-fourth its male population were rendered neither amenable to the civil law nor possessed of its protection." The one fetter which ensures the despotism of Rome even in this free republic, is the priest's ordination vow, which renounces, so far as the conduct of his superiors toward himself is concerned, the protection of the State. And we may notice in passing, that the only Protestant Church in the States which has followed in the line of this papal renunciation of civil protection, is the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Illinois. This Church, under the lead of the late Bishop Whitehouse, adopted an article as an amendment to the Constitution of the Diocese (Art. xviii.) which declares: "No clergyman shall resort to any civil court or tribunal for the purpose of arresting, impeding, or avoiding any ecclesiastical proceedings against him. The penalty for any violation of this article shall be suspension, *ipso facto*, from the functions of the ministry." If one will turn to the decisions of church councils of the fourth and fifth cent-

uries,* he will find this same article among the foundation-stones upon which the papacy was afterward reared. Ecclesiastical despotism can never flourish except when, either by the civil law or the ordination vow, the ecclesiastic is put outside the protection of the civil power. The first step toward the loss of ecclesiastical liberty is the renunciation of the protection of the civil arm. Some of our statesmen, and not a few of our clerics, repeat the popular cry, "A free Church in a free State;" but one ought to understand just what is meant by it. Thus a Presidential Message of 1875 recommended a constitutional amendment which should declare "Church and State forever separated and distinct; but each free within its own proper sphere." If by this is meant that the State should not make laws for the Church, it is wholly unnecessary. If by it is meant that the State shall not have power to review the decisions of the Church with a view to ascertaining its constitutional jurisdiction, the amendment would carry us back to the middle ages. If, again, the State is and must be the final and supreme judge of the "sphere" of both, it is hard to understand how one is to lay out the boundaries of Church and State so that they shall be "forever separate and distinct;" except upon the papal theory that the State shall be final judge for the laity, and the Church do as it will with the cleric. But it is hardly to be supposed that this is the meaning of the proposed amendment. And if it be neither of these, it must mean just what we have now, a Church free to adopt its own constitution, but answerable, like any other offender, before the bar of civil justice when it transgresses the voluntarily assigned and accepted limits of its authority.

No one can deny that the study of this question is of the utmost importance to constitutional Churches. Mr. Gladstone says, in one of his late Essays, that "in every religious body, without exception, there forms a special tradition, which, without constant watchfulness on the part of those who love truth, lapses and glides away from the facts of history." The tendency is constantly to put forward that tradition as if it were law. It has happened to some of us to hear in an ecclesiastical assembly the bold assertion made, "I shall vote to suspend this

* See Hallam's "Middle Ages," Chap. VIII.

man from the ministry, not because he has violated the law or polity of his Church, but because he has disregarded her customs;" and suspended he was. It is not to be wondered at that our church courts, with such loose notions of their power over the civil rights of their members, should be called so often to defend themselves before the tribunals of the State. The Church constitution is a compact, a contract, a written and definite agreement between the general body and each individual member. To the enforcement of that contract, and its inviolability, the State stands pledged, as to the enforcement of all other contracts and agreements involving civil rights. Were it otherwise, constitutional Churches would cease to exist. There being no power to enforce their original compact, it would endure no longer than the various ecclesiastical bodies should see fit to observe it. Without this resort to the judgment of the civil court to review, and to the civil arm to enforce their decisions, but two forms of Church government would survive: the Roman, based upon absolute submission; and the Independent, knowing no law but the will of the majority for the present hour.

H. D. JENKINS.

VIII.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

Πνευματικός AND ITS OPPOSITES, IN THE GREEK OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Πνευματικός, belonging to that class of adjectival derivatives which "signifies especially the essential quality—the body or class to which a person belongs," expresses, primarily, determined by, or belonging to the *πνεῦμα*. It might reflect each and every one of the various senses through which its primitive runs, and thus might express belonging to, or determined by, the wind, the breath, the breath as sign of life, the purely physical life, the human spirit, superhuman spirit, or the Holy Spirit. In its classical usage—which is not a very frequent one, and which begins with Aristotle—it seems to be derived from *πνεῦμα*, only in the three senses of wind, breath, and soul,—in this last sense appearing as the contrast of *σωματικός*. But when adopted into Christian Greek, it felt that ennobling breath that transfigured and glorified so many of the words of the old language. *Πνεῦμα*, to the Christian ear, suggested something far higher than even the highest element of man's composition; and *πνευματικός* passed immediately, not only out of that lower sphere wherein it might deal with the forces of material nature, but also out of the higher sphere in which it dealt with the height of human nature, into something still higher and beyond. Thus, of the twenty-five instances in which the word occurs in the New Testament, in no single case does it sink even as low in its reference as the human spirit; and in twenty-four of them is derived from *πνεῦμα*, the Holy Ghost. In this sense of *belonging to, or determined by, the Holy Spirit*, the New Testament usage is uniform with the one single exception of Eph. vi. 12, where it seems to refer to the higher though fallen superhuman intelligences. The appropriate translation for it in each case is spirit-given, or spirit-led, or spirit-determined. Occupying so noble a position it appears as the constant contrast to a family of vocables which, as the biblical terms descriptive of humanity, must be of abounding interest for all. Thus we find it in Rom. xv. 27 and 1 Cor. ix. 11, in contrast with *σαρκικός*, in Rom. vii. 14, and 1 Cor. iii. 1 with *σάρκινος*, and in 1 Cor. ii. 15, xv. 44 and 46, with *ψυχικός*. Let us inquire into the meaning of these synonyms.

Σαρκικός, though not invented for, yet first comes into common use in, the New Testament. It is found only once in the classics (Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* x. 2), and only once, and then not undisputed, in the LXX (2 Chron. xxxiii. 8). In the New Testament, on the other hand, it seems to be the true reading in eight cases, Rom. xv. 27; 1 Cor. iii. 3 *bis*, 4; ix. 11; 2 Cor. i. 12, x. 4; 1 Peter ii. 11. It belongs to the same class of adjectival derivatives with *πνευματικός*, and hence denotes either belonging to or determined by *σάρξ*;

i. e., fleshish, or fleshly. Seeing that *σάρξ* is the standing New Testament designation of what is human, especially when the implication of weakness, either physical or moral, is present, its derivative *σαρκικός* quite naturally subtends the senses "human," "weak," "impure." Thus, in Rom. xv. 27, and 1 Cor. iii. 11, the word seems used without implication of any kind, expressing simply that which is "human," needed for men as men are at present constituted. In 2 Cor. i. 12, x. 4, the accessory idea of weakness is made prominent. And in 1 Peter ii. 11, 1 Cor. iii. 3, 4, the still further idea of impurity is forced to the front. The word is thus seen to be equivalent to the common phrase *σαρκικά*, and to pass through under the same variety of meaning.

Its cognate, *σάρκινος*, is very different both in origin and history. While *σαρκικός* is found only once in the Greek classics, *σάρκινος* is an exceedingly common word among the early Greek writers; but to offset this, it occurs but once in the received text of the New Testament (2 Cor. iii. 3). MS. authority, however, forces us to restore it in three other passages, Rom. vii. 14; 1 Cor. iii. 1, and Heb. vii. 16. Like other adjectives of its class (proparoxytones in—ινος), this word denotes, primarily, the material out of which anything is made, describing it as flesh. And, as this is its primary sense, so it is the most common sense which it bears in the classics. Thus, to give a single example, we find in Theocrit. *Id.* 21, 66, a *σάρκινος ἰχθύς* contrasted with one made of gold, upon which, therefore, hunger may not be satisfied. From this primary sense, two secondary ones sprung, by which the word came to mean (1) "fleshy," in the sense of abounding in flesh (Polyb. 29. 2, 7; Hasdrubal was *φύσει σάρκινος*), and (2) "bodily," (as the adverb in Orig. *Selecta et Psalmis* ii. 548).

It seems that the word bears only these three senses in Greek writers, and it is contended by a large number of commentators, that these are the only ones which can be assumed for it in the New Testament. The sense "made of flesh" fits exceedingly well in 2 Cor. iii. 3. But it is evident that no one of the three is possible in the other passages. Fritzsche, followed by Winer, assumes a clerical error in these passages, and reads *σαρκικός* in them all. But this is exceedingly high-handed. The MS. authority in each of the three is simply overwhelming, and cannot be set aside. And if *σάρκινος* be genuine in them, we must seek a meaning for it. On a consideration of the class of derivatives to which the word belongs, we find at least two analogies by which a sense of "weak" or "impure" may be vindicated for it. (1) The analogy of such words as *ἀδαμαντινός*, which from signifying "made of iron," came to mean simply "hard." In the same way *σάρκινος*, from signifying "made of flesh," could come to mean "weak," "impure." Fritzsche objects to this (Rom. Vol. II., 46, 47), that iron is necessarily hard, but flesh is not necessarily weak. And this would be a valid objection if such a sense was claimed for the word when used by classical authors. In the Pauline usage, however, *σάρξ* does denote, ethically, just what is weak and impure, so that in the New Testament this analogy will certainly hold. (2) The analogy of certain proparoxytones in—ινος, which differ scarcely at all in usage from oxytones in—ικός, such as *ἀνθρώπινος*, *αἰματίνος*, *γαλακτίνος*, etc. Fritzsche admits that by analogy with these nothing prevents *σάρκινος* passing through the three classical senses it bears to a fourth: *imbecillum et impurum*. The only thing needed

to vindicate this, is a usage requiring it. It is claimed then that in these New Testament passages we have the usage.

It being thus shown that *σάρκινος* can bear the senses of "weak" and "impure," the question arises, what distinction exists between it and *σαρκικός*. Three opinions are held: (1) There is no distinction (*e. g.*, Dr. Shedd); (2) *σάρκινος* is the stronger word (Meyer, Cremer); and (3) *σάρκινος* is the weaker word (Delitzsch, Lange, Trench, etc.). That the words do lie very close to one another is beyond doubt, but that a slight distinction can be traced by which *σάρκινος* may be recognized as slightly weaker in force than *σαρκικός* seems also clear. The opposite opinion is chiefly grounded on the *a priori* supposition that *σάρκινος*, as the expression of the substance, must be the stronger. Turning to the New Testament passages in which it occurs, however, it is plain that it is not a strong word. In Heb. vii. 16, as designating a part of a law which was wholly divine, it cannot mean impure, but only humanly weak; the writer, contrasting by this term a law which entrusted propitiation to fleshly (*i. e.*, weak) men, with that which provided an eternal high-priest. In 1 Cor. iii. 1, *σάρκινος* is explained by *ὡς νήπιοι*, which points more to a lack than an active opposition. In Rom. vii. 14, again, unless violence is to be done to the whole context, which evidently describes the *σάρκινος* as a regenerate man, a weak sense is most natural. Archbishop Trench seems, therefore, to have touched the heart of the matter when he translates *σάρκινος* "unspiritual," and *σαρκικός* "anti-spiritual;" and Delitzsch, when he explains *σάρκινος* as "one who has in himself the bodily nature and the sinful tendency inherited with it," and *σαρκικός* as "one whose personal fundamental tendency is this sinful impulse of the flesh."

On turning now to *ψυχικός* we note that it belongs to the same class of adjectival derivatives with *σαρκικός*, and therefore, like it, denotes the essential quality, describing a man, therefore, primarily as being essentially "psychic" or "soulful," as *σαρκικός* described him as "fleshish" or "fleshly." Like that word, also, it first occurs in Aristotle; but unlike it, it became a very common word in the later classics. Its usage in the classics reflects the two main senses of its primitive, *ψυχή*, and thus parts into two streams, expressing what pertains to life and what pertains to the soul. The latter of these, however, as the most proper, is, also, far the most frequent sense in which it occurs, and thus it is found used in constant antithesis to *σωματικός*, as expressing that which pertains to the highest element in the twofold constitution of man. So, frequently in Plutarch, Polybius, and Aristotle; so, also, wherever it occurs in LXX (Apoc.). Its use thus coincided with, and was interchangeable with, the highest classical sense of *πνευματικός*.

Thus the word came to the New Testament writers as the constant contrast to *σωματικός*, and the designation of that which pertained to the highest, that is, spiritual part of man; a word, therefore, of the highest honor. It occurs in the New Testament six times: 1 Cor. xv. 44 *bis*, 46; 1 Cor. ii. 14; Jas. iii. 15; Jude 15; and a mere glance at the passages evinces the fact that in its passage from profane into sacred Greek, the word has fallen from its proud position. In every one of these passages a very strong implication of dishonor clings to it. Nor is the cause of this far to seek. In the classics the word appears as the constant contrast of *σωματικός*, a word lower than itself; in the

New Testament it is in every instance either expressly or impliedly contrasted with πνευματικός, a word infinitely higher than itself. The highest that heathen philosophy knew was the soul of man; but revelation had to set over against that the Spirit of God. A ψυχικός thing, then, in the classics was the very most noble; when contrasted in the New Testament, however, with that which was πνευματικός, informed, led, or given by the infinite God, it shrank to nothing, and hid its face in shame. The whole kernel of the distinction between the classical and New Testament use of the word, lies in this fact.

But we are not left to our reasonings to exhibit it; the New Testament writers themselves define for us the sense in which they use the word. Thus Jude 19 explains the ψυχικοί as πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες,—a phrase which can have but one meaning; and 1 Cor. ii. 14, as those who cannot know the things of the Spirit of God, because they are πνευματικῶς (in a spirit-led way) discerned. The word means, then, that which pertains to, or is led or determined by, simple humanity, that is, usually unregenerate humanity; and the ψυχικοί are, shortly, the natural men, that is, the unregenerate. Thus the three cases of the use of the word in 1 Cor. xv. express what is human-led, as distinguished from bodies framed by, and filled with, the Holy Ghost, and point to Paul's teaching as to the incomplete sanctification of believers in this life given in Rom. vii. 14—viii. 11. In the other three passages where the word occurs it has its strongest sense and expresses briefly and clearly the idea of "unregenerate." The sense in which it is used is, as we have said, directly explained by the writer himself in 1 Cor. ii. 14, and Jude 19, and is hardly less clear, we may add, in Jas. iii. 15, a very instructive passage in its climax of predicates; ἐπίγειος drawing the contrast with what is ἄνωθεν, ψυχικός adding, "therefore, destitute of the Spirit," and δαιμονιώδης, "therefore, opposed to the Spirit" (cf. Cremer, p. 587).

If now we seek the relation of ψυχικός to its two synonyms σαρκικός and σάρκινος, it seems plain that it is the strongest word of the three. As it expresses the highest part of pure humanity and expresses it as alien from God, it points to the lowest depth to which man has sunk. The first, here, also, has become the last; and thus has dust and ashes been shown to be the one and only constituent of human pride. Whether a man be σάρκινος, σαρκικός or ψυχικός; however he be under human guidance and on whatsoever human faculty resting—he is alike weak and sinful and worthless. Thus, all that is in man, his highest and his lowest, is alike opposed to what is divine in its origin and action. Yet there are degrees. One cannot be in any sense πνευματικός, under the influence and guidance of the Holy Ghost, and yet at the same time ψυχικός. If his soul has not been prevalently moved upon, he is opposite to all good; he is in the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity. But his soul may be regenerated and yet be not yet wholly cleansed from sin; he may be free of the servant of God's law while still σαρκί the slave of the law of sin (Rom. vii. 25). Hence he may still be even σαρκικός and yet not wholly estranged from the Holy Ghost. So were the Corinthian Christians of 1 Cor. iii. 3 and 4. But how terrible was their condition and in what words of power does Paul rebuke them for daring to remain in it! Even he, himself, however, was σάρκινος (Rom. vii. 14). Even he, the great apostle in Christ Jesus (viii. 1), and having the

Spirit (viii. 1 sq.), was still of the flesh, fleshy; and so long as the imperfectly sanctified *σάρξ* clung to him was he groaning in spirit, awaiting the redemption of the body. Because human (*σάρξ*) and so long as he carried his unglorified body, so long he continued to bear "remainders of sin" clinging to him, and hence was *σάρκινος*. *Ψυχικός* no Christian can be; *σαρκικός* scarcely; but *σάρκινος*, all must be until they, with renewed soul and body, enter into God's glory.

Drawing just two conclusions from what has been said, it is plain, (1) that no argument can be drawn from the use of *σάρκινος* in Rom. vii. 14 against the *prima facie* evidence of the passage that Paul is there detailing the experience of a regenerate man; and (2) that no standing ground is left for any trichotomistic theories based on the opposition throughout the New Testament of the words *ψυχικός* and *πνευματικός*. Since one is derived from *πνεῦμα*, the Divine Spirit, and the other from *ψυχή*, the human soul, they are, of course, in as violent opposition as are God and unregenerate man. We believe that to be vast.

B. B. W.

AN EXEGESIS OF EXODUS xxxiv. 29-35.

THE passage in the Authorized Version gives an entirely false impression as to the facts in the case, and the Vulgate version entirely misses the sense. Accordingly the use made of it by Paul, in 2 Corinthians iii., is not very clear.

The passage should be rendered as follows:

Verse 29. "And it came to pass when Moses descended from Mount Sinai,—the two tables of the testimony being in the hands of Moses,—when he descended from the mount,—Moses not knowing that the skin of his face shone when he spake with Him,—(30) Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses and behold the skin of his face shone and they feared to approach him. (31) But when Moses called unto them, Aaron and all the princes in the congregation returned unto him and Moses spake unto them; (32) and afterwards all the children of Israel approached and he gave them in commandment all that Jehovah had spoken unto him in Mount Sinai. (33) And when Moses had finished speaking with them, he put upon his face a vail. (34) And whenever Moses entered in before Jehovah to speak with Him, he used to remove the vail until he came forth; and whenever he came forth and spake unto the children of Israel that which was commanded, (35) the children of Israel used to see the face of Moses that the skin of the face of Moses shone, and Moses used to return the vail upon his face until he entered in to speak with Him."

In verse 29 the clauses beginning with *וַיֵּרָד* and *וַיֵּרָד* are circumstantial clauses, indicated in the latter case by the insertion of the subject before the verb, in accordance with the law of such clauses. *קַרְן* is a denom. from *קָרַן*. = horn. Hence the Vulgate version renders, *cornuta esset*; and accordingly Moses is represented in Christian art as having horns springing out of his forehead. But *קַרְן* means not only horn, but also like the corresponding word in other languages, peak of a mountain, as Matterhorn (see Isaiah v. 1); and also as the symbol of strength, honor and dignity, as in Ps. xviii. 3; lxxxix. 25. In

Hab. iii. 1, it is parallel with כְּהָרָה, brightness in the phrase קִרְנֵי מִיָּדָיו, referring to Jehovah in Theophany, and meaning "rays of light from his hand." This passage is a parallel one, and shows that the face of Moses gave forth rays as a centre of light, just as the hand of Jehovah in Theophany.

Moses was unconscious of the glory of Jehovah which had been communicated to him during his long abiding with the Theophany, which was reflected from his face; until his attention was called to it by Aaron and the people.

In verse 31 the clause introduced by וַיִּקְרָא is a temporal clause with its apodosis in וַיִּשְׂבֹּךְ and so in verse 33 is the clause introduced by וַיִּתֵּן with its apodosis in וַיִּתֵּן. It is impossible to render this latter clause as the A.V. :

"And *till* Moses had done speaking with them he put a vail on his face;" without a violation of the laws of Hebrew Syntax, and it gives the reverse of the true sense, which is that Moses remained unvailled until he had finished speaking the commands of Jehovah and then vailed himself.

Verses 34 and 35 change the tenses to imperfects in order to express the customary action of Moses during the whole subsequent time of his leadership. The imperfects and their equivalents, the perfects with *consec.* are frequentatives and cannot be rendered as aorists with the A. V. without a violation of grammar. These verses make it clear that whenever Moses went into the presence of the Theophany he removed the vail so that his face became again illumined, and he came forth with radiant face to deliver the divine message to the people, and then covered his face with the vail during the whole time of his ordinary association with them. The purpose of the vailing is not stated in the text or context. The sacred places were vailed and so kept from the intrusion of persons not properly qualified and at unsuitable times. The face of Moses was, however, unvailled when he came fresh from the presence of Jehovah, and only vailed after the delivery of the command, and the people had seen it. There must be another reason for the vailing. It was, probably, in order that the glory might not become too familiar to them, and that the sight of it might be reserved to the most solemn occasions. Still further, it was that they might not observe the fading away of this glory, for it was transient and not permanent as the glory of Christ, with which Paul compares it in 2 Cor. iii. The face of Moses needed a new illumination from the Theophany every time he addressed the people from Jehovah. But the face of Christ needed no new illumination—the glory abode therein forever. The face of Moses was vailed that he might not be humiliated and the people might not be discouraged or rendered irreverent by seeing the glory gradually becoming fainter and fainter until it disappeared.

C. A. B.

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. of America. 1880. The recent session of the General Assembly in the State Capital at Madison, Wis., May 20-31, 1880, appears to have been most fortunate not only in the place of its meeting, and in its most auspicious civic surroundings, but also in its organization, and in the spirit which characterized all its proceedings. Its Moderator, Rev. Dr. W. M. Paxton, of the First Presbyterian Church, New York City, received the unusual honor of an election by acclamation, and

abundantly justified the distinction by the dignity, courtesy, and ability with which he presided over its deliberations. Its work was done with unusual expedition, yet apparently without prejudice to care and thoroughness. The Standing and Special Committees matured and presented their work so well as greatly to facilitate the labors of the Assembly, and with hardly a noticeable exception won the support of the body to their recommendations. Few complicated or vexed questions presented themselves in such uncompromising form as to summon the Assembly to immediate deliberation and decision.

We propose nothing more in this department of the REVIEW than to direct attention briefly to some of the characteristic acts and utterances of the session. *The permanent work of the Church through its Boards and Institutions* occupied, as usual, a large part of the time of the Assembly. The Boards were able to report, generally, an advance in the number of contributing churches; and without exception an increase in the amount received from the churches for current work. The aggregate gain of this year upon the last, so far as we have the data for an estimate, is at least \$220,000. The relief to the Foreign Board is especially large and gratifying; and the significant fact in the year's experience is that about 40 *per cent.* of the amount transmitted from the churches came through the channels of the Women's Boards. And yet too many thousands of our churches give no visible sign that they make the work of the Church practically and in detail their own.

So far as the Assembly is concerned, the Boards had rest this year from the strictures that have become a part almost of the annual experience of some of them. The investigation of the delicate and complicated relations of the Board of Domestic Missions to the functions and rights of the Presbyteries, was referred to a Special Committee, whose names are a guarantee at the same time of their vigilance in behalf of the Constitution of the Church, and of their deep and broad sympathy with home evangelization. The Committee on the Functions of the Board of Education, first appointed in 1877, was again continued. The work of the Church in connection with this Board is evidently done with increasing vigilance and care, at least by the Board and the educational institutions, so that the new urgency called for in this respect addresses itself very properly rather to the Presbyteries, from whose hasty and over-indulgent action evil is now most likely to arise. While new precautions are added this year also, to guard the quality of the young men whom the Church through its Board aids toward the ministry, the signs of the times direct anxious attention toward another group of facts, viz: the present failure of the churches to supply young men enough to meet the annual demands of the old fields, to say nothing of the fields that are opening at home and abroad; and, added to this, the decreasing number of young men in the Church who can be discovered to have the ministry in view.

The seminaries report a diminution in the number attending and the number completing their course this year, of about twenty-five in each case (510 as against 534, and 135 as against 161). The seminaries generally report progress in equipment and organization. The Assembly finds occasion to emphasize particularly the needs and claims of San Francisco, Dubuque, Biddle, and Lincoln. All dissuasion to the contrary notwithstanding, the Assembly, in view of the ominous tendency and seductive influence of "acknowledged religious

teachers, holding high positions in Christian institutions in Europe," addresses a two-fold appeal to the Professors and Directors of the seminaries: to insist fully and emphatically upon the integrity, inspiration, and authority of the Word of God, and to expose and denounce all fallacies and heresies relating to it; and to see to it that all students may be annually tested in regard to their familiarity with the Westminster Shorter Catechism. We cannot doubt that the officers of these institutions will be always ready to respond to the call of the Church in such way as to show that they have these sacred interests thoroughly at heart, and that they are alive to the perils of the times. That would be an evil day in which the seminaries could not fearlessly meet such a call as that made by the Assembly.

Special Committees Reporting or Appointed. The Committee appointed in 1878 "to consider whether any changes, amendments, or additions should be made in our present Form of Government and Book of Discipline, and if so, what?" submitted in printed form a Revised Book of Discipline. This report the Assembly recommitted, directing the Committee to complete their work and report to the next General Assembly. Provision was also made for printing the proposed Book and sending copies to every minister and session in connection with the Church. Therefore, while the Report is still in the hands of the Committee, with an unlimited possibility of modification, the assumption is that it will be modified only in conforming it and the Revised Form of Government, that is to be, each to the other. The Assembly not only opens the way for, but seems to solicit, such discussion as may provisionally aid the Committee in completing their work, and contribute to the maturer and wiser action of the Church eventually. The chairman of the Committee indicated these five as the principal changes proposed in the system of discipline: 1. Making the court of original jurisdiction in the case of an elder the Presbytery. 2. The introduction of a chapter relating to cases without process, in which, under certain stringent limitations, a demission of the ministry and of Church membership is permitted. 3. Limiting complaints to matters not judicial. 4. Admitting the courts below to sit in judgment in the trial of an appeal. 5. Making provision for the establishment of a judicial commission. (See *General Assembly Journal*, May 26th). We cannot doubt that the pages of our REVIEW will hereafter bear full testimony to the interest of our contributors in this important matter.

The Committee appointed in 1879 on "the re-organization of the Synods of the Church, their reduction in numbers, and the enlargement of their powers" made a report, the recommendations of which were substantially adopted by the Assembly. Three overtures are sent down for the action of the Presbyteries, to wit: I. Shall Chap. xi., Sec. 1, of the Form of Government be amended, so that the whole section shall read: "As a Presbytery is a convention of the bishops and elders within a certain district, so a Synod is a convention of the bishops and elders within a larger district, including at least three Presbyteries. The Synod may be composed, at its own option, with the consent of a majority of its Presbyteries, either of all the bishops and an elder from each congregation in its district, with the same modifications as in the Presbytery, or of equal delegations of bishops and elders, elected by the Presbyteries on a basis and in a ratio determined in like manner by the Synod itself and its Presbyteries."

II. Shall Chap. xi., Sec. 4, of the Form of Government be amended, so that the section shall read : " The Synod has power to receive and issue all appeals regularly brought up from the Presbyteries ; to decide all references made to them ; its decisions on appeals, complaints, and references, which do not affect the doctrine or constitution of the Church, being final ; to review the records of Presbyteries, etc."

III. Shall the first clause of Chap. xii., Sec. 4, be amended so as to read : " The General Assembly shall receive and issue all appeals, complaints, and references, that affect the doctrine or constitution of the Church, which may be regularly brought before them from the inferior judicatories."

These overtures, it will be observed, look in part to the increased dignity and influence of the Synods, while designed in part to lighten the burdens of the Assembly. The same end is contemplated in a further recommendation of the Committee which was adopted by the Assembly, and takes effect at once, irrespective of the fate of the overtures. It is embodied in the Resolution : That the Boards of the Church be directed to make annually, to each of the Synods, detailed reports of their work within its bounds, and that each Synod carefully considering its own conditions and wants, be directed to report to the General Assembly any suggestions or propositions with reference to the work of the Boards within its bounds, as may seem to it wise ; and that these suggestions or propositions be referred by the General Assembly to its Standing Committees on the Boards. Whatever may be proposed by the new Special Committee to next year's Assembly, one result of this recent action should be to reduce friction and remove misunderstanding between some of the Boards of the Church and the Presbyteries. Future Standing Committees will also have a more solid basis for their recommendations, the Synods as well as the Boards supplying valuable material.

The scheme which the Committee reported for the reconstruction of the Synods is held as contingent upon the favorable action of the Presbyteries on the overtures sent down. The Committee is continued with instructions to mature its further report in conformity to this intervening Presbyterial action.

The relations of the Church and the duties of this Christian nation to the Indian question were earnestly discussed, and an able and representative Committee was appointed to urge upon the National Government right action in this behalf.

The question of a Permanent Committee on Temperance, which had been raised by an overture from one of the Presbyteries, was wisely referred to a Special Committee to report next year. Decision in such a matter should not be hasty. Right attitude, influence, and action in regard to temperance, Sabbath observance, amusements, worldliness, and slavery in its time, are doubtless important. But whether the Church should permanently and specially organize itself with reference to such interests, complex, having their secular, social, and political ramifications, with their shifting phases, their local variations and manifold entanglements, will be gravely questioned by many.

Judicial and General Action. The judicial functions of the Assembly were called abundantly into exercise in settling cases brought before it by appeal or complaint, or in the review of Synodical Records ; and quite the usual number of decisions was asked and rendered in regard to questions of order and polity.

In the New Jersey case, which occupied much more time in the Assembly than any other matter of this sort, we cannot regard the result (however correct in substance) as reached in accordance with the soundest and safest principles and precedents. These virtual trials, without reminders of judicial responsibility, without consent of parties, without observance of carefully prescribed methods and safeguards, cannot, in our judgment, be wisely and safely multiplied. To make of a Judicial Committee a *quasi* Judicial Commission may now and then smother an unpleasantness, but will not increase confidence in that law-abiding disposition of the Church itself, which is so essential to the maintenance of order and purity. This oscillation of the ecclesiastical pendulum we cannot deem so final and decisive as some would gladly make it.

The increasing number and magnitude of the questions recently raised in the review of Synodical Records amply justify the Assembly's decision, that the Committees appointed for this purpose shall hereafter consist of five members instead of two. The important function of review and control, which has been too often treated as chiefly of technical value, will be more wisely and effectively exercised.

We must forbear reference to many of the minor acts and utterances of the Assembly, although by alluding to them in detail we might illustrate its vigilance and carefulness with regard to many relations of the Church to the country and to the world, and its appreciation of many of its responsibilities and opportunities. The session cannot fail to exert a deep and salutary influence in many ways upon the life and work of our beloved Church. C. A. A.

IX.

REVIEWS OF

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

I.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

LECTURES ON THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE PSALMS. By THOMAS C. MURRAY, Associate Professor of the Shemitic Languages at the Johns Hopkins University. 12mo. pp. 319. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1880. \$1.50.

This posthumous work of the lamented Thomas Murray, son of Dr. Nicholas Murray, whose fame is in all the churches, and edited by the accomplished Dr. C. H. Toy, shows rare insight into the literary characteristics of the Hebrew Scriptures, and an unusual constructive talent, combined with freshness and originality of conception. The Church can ill afford to lose such an able and promising young man from the ranks of the very few in this country who are well trained in the languages and literatures of the Shemitic peoples. These lectures were prepared for and delivered to a general audience and not designed for publication. This will explain certain faults in style and unguarded statements that would doubtless have been corrected by the author himself, had he lived to revise his work for the press; and also that bright and entertaining literary gossip and criticism, which must have given a charm to the lectures, but seem out of place in a systematic work bearing the title of this book. Moreover, two out of the nine lectures are devoted to introductory matters necessary with a mixed audience, to secure a basis for the special topic discussed; but hardly proportionate or indeed appropriate to a printed book, which should be complete in itself. The lectures on "The Origin and History of the Shemitic Peoples: Importance of the Study of their Languages and Literature," and on "The History of the Hebrew Language and Early Literature: Collection of the Hebrew writings;" are both of them upon subjects vastly more comprehensive than the one subsequently discussed, and would require volumes for their successful treatment. The author could only in a brief and condensed style give the results of the most recent investigations, and his statements in the main are correct and admirable.

It is true that the Hebrew Scriptures have been studied for the most part in the religious and not the literary interest; for the class of men who have devoted themselves to Philology and Literature in connection with the colleges and magazines, have limited their attention to the Indo-Germanic family and have been prejudiced against the literary styles of an independent and widely different race. One is surprised to hear that this course of lectures was "among the first delivered in this country on the Shemitic languages and literature, on the purely academic side," and yet doubtless the statement is very near, if not the exact truth. For these studies have been confined to Theological Seminaries and Rabbinical schools, and a very few Jewish rabbins and Christian ministers; and while we do not believe that the literary features of the Bible have been so entirely overlooked, yet the religious interest has very properly predominated. But unfortunately traditional and unscientific views of the

Hebrew literature have largely prevailed. This is especially true of the Psalter. It has ever been the devotional book of the synagogue and the church. It has been used in worship and expounded as the divine inspired word, without regard to the human elements of its composition and the literary beauties of its style. The writers have been regarded as prophets and sacred persons, inspired of God to teach and guide in devotion, rather than as poets, composers of lyric, epic and dramatic poetry in artistic styles. And strangely enough this neglect of the external forms has been associated with extreme views of the inspiration of word, letter, and accent. And yet it would seem most appropriate to a divine thought, that it should be clothed in the perfection of human speech, with all the graces of style and poetic embellishment that the chosen languages could produce. And this is truly the case. Our author is not too enthusiastic with regard to the poetic beauties of the Hebrew Scriptures; Shemitic scholars are only beginning to awaken to a sense of their merit, not only as regards thought and emotion, but also as regards form. Indeed, our author has strangely omitted to discuss those beauties of form which can be discerned in the great variety of parallelisms, both of the lines and strophes, and of that almost infinite variety of combination and arrangement of members of greater or lesser length and number, and of that wonderful music of the sentences produced by the varied changes of the tone, regulating the movement of the lines and strophes and the measures of the poems. The author is to be praised for his vindication of the epic and dramatic elements of Hebrew poetry, which cannot be denied in view of the epic power of such a poet as Asaph and such masterpieces of dramatic composition as the book of Job, and the Song of Songs, not to speak of the dramatic element in the Song of Deborah, Psalm xxiv. and even Psalm ii. To discriminate the varied forms of Hebrew poetic literature, to trace the historic development of the art in relation to the poetry of other ancient nations, is now one of the most interesting and profitable fields of investigation for the Biblical student. The Psalter is the hymn book of Israel and the Church; it is the product of centuries of holy and inspired emotion and experience. According to the titles, it contains a prayer of Moses (Ps. xc.), and a song of the captivity (Ps. cxxxvii.); whether there are psalms earlier than Moses, in the collection, or so late as the Maccabean period, or even later, has been ever and is still disputed. Our author leaves the question of Maccabean Psalms undecided, being inclined to oppose it. In the main he is conservative in his view of particular psalms. While rightly contending that the titles are from the editor, and not a part of the inspired text, he yet respects them in their weight of traditional evidence. The $\frac{3}{2}$ of the author, however, he interprets as rather assigning the Psalm to some collection of Psalms that bore his name, such as a collection of "The devotional songs of David"; "Songs of the sons of Korah," and "Songs of Asaph."

The five books of the Psalter he explains one by one, as all collected subsequent to the exile—the first by some priest of the second temple soon after the earliest return under Zerubbabel; the second and third books by Nehemiah; the fourth book by some scholar fifty years later, to meet a want for liturgical chorals; "finally, toward the middle of the fourth century, the Temple board who had been charged with gathering, editing, and regulating the sacred books used in service," took the four books, added the fifth book, and gave the whole collection an introduction in Ps. i. and a doxology in Ps. cl. This explanation of the collection we cannot accept, for there is no such distinction between the fourth and fifth books as this view implies. The division into five books is purely artificial to make it conform to the five books of the *Thorah*, and is not a natural growth. The last Psalm of the fourth book and the first of the fifth book belong closely together, and the fourth and fifth books really constitute but one book, a collection of *groups* of Psalms. The first and second books likewise stand apart by themselves as a collection. It is difficult

ce why the temple choirs should wait till after the exile for an authorized collection of hymns, or Psalter. The times of Solomon, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah seem to be more appropriate for this than the times of the second temple, and if an authorized collection were made for the first temple, it seems difficult to believe that it would have been displaced by an entirely new collection made in the times of the second temple, and collections made on the basis of older ones, such as those of David, Asaph, and the sons of Korah, would have some principles of selection that could be easily detected. In conclusion we would recommend this little book to the general public as stimulating and instructive, with the hope that it may be useful in calling attention to the exceeding beauty and richness of Hebrew poetry.

C. A. B.

COMMENTAR ZUM BUCHE DES PROPHETEN JEREMIAS. Von Dr. ANTON SCHOLZ, Professor an der kgl. Universität Würzburg. 8vo. pp. 609. [B. Westermann & Co., New York.] Würzburg: 1880.

Several commentaries upon the book of Jeremiah have appeared of late years, presenting various shades of belief or unbelief, and distinct critical schools, ranging from Hitzig and Graf on the one hand, to Neumann and Keil on the other. It is the first German commentary upon this book from a Roman Catholic pen.

Upon the vexed question of the text of Jeremiah, Dr. Scholz adheres substantially to the opinions advanced in 1875 in his special treatise upon the Masoretic text and the LXX version of this book. He maintains that the Greek translation represents literally the Hebrew text from which it was made, rendering it word-for-word in each in its due order, preserving all the Hebraisms and omitting nothing, not a superfluous pronoun nor the *vav* of the apodosis. The numerous discrepancies between the two texts are not to be referred to the fault of the translator, but are due to the multitude of glosses which in the course of time have been attached to a book so much used and so highly prized. These are of the most diverse description, sometimes trifling and unimportant, sometimes embodying formal attempts at interpretation or rhetorical amplification; as a notable instance of this last sort he specifies xxxiii. 14-26. His general canon of criticism is that every word, clause, or sentence in the one text, which is not found likewise in the other, is to be eliminated as a spurious addition, unless there are stringent reasons why it should be retained. The text of the LXX as the briefer, is accordingly, in his judgment, in much the better state of preservation, although he does not accept Graf's estimate that there are 2,700 words in the Hebrew, which are not sanctioned by the Greek, nor that of others that the differences amount to one-eighth of the entire book. The deterioration of the text in the manner described not being limited to the period since the translation was made, but beginning soon after the time of the prophet, not a few interpolations are detected even in passages where both texts agree.

As a result, Dr. S. alleges that all the censures passed upon Jeremiah's style as diffuse and repetitious, and upon his diction as defaced by Chaldaisms, have been occasioned by these interpolations. In the genuine text, on the contrary, his language is marked by brevity and conciseness, and gives evidence of careful elaboration. His Hebrew is pure, and the poetic parallelisms are admirably preserved and balanced. The distinction observable between the style of the prophetic and of the historical passages of the book, leads to the suspicion that Baruch, who was Jeremiah's amanuensis in the former, was himself the author of the latter; a conclusion which he thinks to be further fortified by a comparison of the historical passages of this book with the books of Kings, which he ascribes to Jeremiah. And here an original argument is constructed in defence of the deuterocanonical books sanctioned by the Council of Trent, and especially the additions to Esther and Daniel. These additions, resting upon ecclesiastical tradition, are, he urges, less in absolute

amount than the additions which tradition has incorporated in the Masoretic text of Jeremiah, and which Protestants unhesitatingly accept. He also fancies that confirmation of the legend in 2 Macc. ii. 4 ff. is to be found in Jer. iii. 16, coupled with the fact that no subsequent mention is made of the ark, not even in the minute specifications of the sack of the temple, Jer. lii. 17 ff.

Instead of the disorder and lack of arrangement, of which critics have so frequently complained, Dr. S. contends that this book, which was committed to writing under the prophet's own direction shortly before his death, is constructed upon a remarkably symmetrical and even somewhat artificial plan. Ch. xlv. li., which in the LXX stand immediately after xxv. 13, were in the Masoretic text transferred to the end of the book as less suited to edification. But the judgment on Israel and that upon the Gentiles, Dr. S. argues, as component parts of the same divine work properly belong together and should not be sundered. Adopting, therefore, the order of the LXX, he finds in Jeremiah, as he does likewise in Isaiah and Ezekiel, six main sections, viz.: ch. i.-x.; ch. xi.-xx.; ch. xxi.-xxiv.; xxv. 1-14, with ch. xlv. li.; xxv. 15-xxxiii.; ch. xxxiv.-xliv. Chaps. xlv. and lii. are appendices, the former addressed to Baruch, the latter coinciding with the conclusion of the 2d book of Kings. Jeremiah records the internal history of the destruction of Jerusalem, as Kings its external history; they significantly end alike in an identical recital of the same catastrophe. Each of the above-named sections is subdivided into ten discourses. The first decade and the fourth announce the judgment upon the world. The second and third unfold its causes. The fifth recapitulates the preceding, defends them against the utterances of false prophets, and sets forth the promises of the Messianic future. The sixth and last contains discourses delivered after the previous threatenings had begun to enter upon their accomplishment.

Notwithstanding the freedom which Dr. S. allows himself in dealing with the text in detail, he is the sturdy defender of the genuineness of every discourse which the book contains, particularly of ch. x. and chs. l., li., and he insists upon the unambiguous testimony thus rendered to Isaiah's authorship of those passages in his writings which modern rationalistic criticism has so vehemently disputed. Dr. S. also reconciles, by a computation of his own, the chronology of Jer. xxv. i. with Dan. i. 1 and ii. 1, and discovers a two-fold mode of reckoning the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign in the last chapter of Jeremiah, ver. 12, computing them from the fall of Nineveh, and ver. 29, from the battle of Carchemish a year later. He identifies the seventy years of Isa. xxiii. 17 with those of Jeremiah's prediction, xxv. 11, 12, and both with the period from the victory at Carchemish to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. The reality of Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Egypt, predicted both by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but which, in the absence of explicit historical testimony, has been denied by the whole race of sceptics from the days of Jerome to the present time, he regards as finally set at rest by the terra-cotta fragment lately discovered in the British Museum and published by Wiedemann in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* for 1878, which speaks of Nebuchadnezzar's expedition against Egypt in his thirty-seventh year. This makes it not improbable that the twenty-seventh year found in the present text of the Seder Olam is a simple error of transcription. This fresh date leaves eight or nine years in Nebuchadnezzar's life unaccounted for; and in this interval Dr. S. is disposed to place the seven times or years of his insanity, Dan. iv. 25. In Jer. xlix. 7 ff. Jeremiah is regarded as the original and Obadiah the imitator. Jeremiah's abundant citations from allusions to Deuteronomy and Isaiah are not attributed to any poverty of conception, nor to his more familiar acquaintance with these than with other books of Scripture, but to the fact that these prophecies of a former age were now on point of accomplishment, and Jeremiah would recall them to the minds of his hearers and re-enact them.

W. H.

DIE WEISSAGUNGEN HOSEAS, bis zur ersten assyrischen Deportation (i.-vi. 3) erläutert von KLAS AUGUST REINHOLD TÖTTERMANN. Leipzig: M. Schäfer, 1880. 8vo, pp. 131. [B. W. & Co., New York.]

The author, who is a pupil of Delitzsch, regards the marriage of Hosea, ch. i., not as a literal transaction nor as transacted in vision, but as a parable propounded by the prophet. The wife represents the ten tribes; in regard to the children he propounds the novel idea that they severally represent Israel under the three aspects of a kingdom, a church, and a nationality, and thus exhibit three advancing stages of its doom. These ideas, repeated in successive sections of growing amplitude and intensity, constitute the staple of this prophecy.

The twofold reckoning in the title, Hos. i. 1, first by kings of Judah, then of Israel, answers in inverted order to the two principal divisions of the book, ch. i. ii. and iii.-xiv., which are adopted from Ewald and begin alike with the words "And the LORD said," i. 2 and iii. 1. Chap. i. is substantially repeated, paragraph by paragraph, in ch. ii., both together serving as the introduction to the chapters that follow. The record of the wife, i. 2, 3, answers to the description given of the people, i. 2-5; the three children, i. 4-9, to the three minatory paragraphs introduced alike by "therefore," and which deal with the breaking of the kingdom by its becoming subject to the Assyrians, ii. 6-8, of its sacerdotal character by the interruption of its worship, i. 9-13, and of its nationality by their being carried into exile, ii. 14-17; and, finally, the promises, i. 10 ff., are repeated and enlarged, ii. 18-23. The body of the book is thus precisely conformed to this introduction; first the wife, ch. iii., then three enunciatory sections, concluding in each case with promises, these sections being conditioned severally by three great calamities symbolized by the children. The first, ch. iv.-vi. 3, ends with the deportation of northern Palestine by Tiglath-pileser, Ki. xv. 29, and is occupied with the Assyrian period from its beginning to this time. The second, vi. 4-xi. 11, embraces the events from the time that Ahaz invoked the aid of Tiglath-pileser against Syria and Israel to the beginning of the reign of Hoshea. The third, ch. xii.-xiv., contemplates the final catastrophe in the overthrow of Samaria. The disposition of the author to restrict the language of the prophet to specific historical applications within the scheme thus indicated finds abundant illustration; as when i. 7 is referred in defiance of its express terms to the advantage which accrued to Ahaz from Assyria's breaking up the Syro-Ephraimitic alliance, and the captivity of Judah implied in i. 11 and again in v. 14, is explained by the Jews carried to Damascus by the Syrian invaders in the reign of Ahaz, 2 Chron. xxviii. 5.

The name of the wife, "Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim," i. 3, is held to combine in itself such a variety of significations as to make it an epitome of the entire first chapter. "Diblaim" means fig cakes, and hence pressed or wilted figs or bad figs, Jer., ch. xxiv., indicative of moral and religious corruption; its dual form may be patterned after Ephraim, or it may denote the two branches of the chosen people—Judah, good figs, and Israel, bad. "Gomer" means completeness, and thus portends at once the complete destruction of Israel, i. 4-9, and the complete deliverance of Judah, i. 7; while a further meaning yielded by an Arabic analogy, "collection" sets forth the gathering together of Israel and Judah, i. 11. The second child was a daughter, because the prophet had in view Israel as a church, and this relation to God elsewhere denoted by a marriage, requires the female sex.

The interpretation given to some of the particulars in the allegory is fanciful to the last degree. That the price, iii. 2, is paid in silver is significant of purifying judgments, while barley, an inferior grain, suggests a process of humiliation and reduction to a low condition. The homer and half-homer are fifteen ephahs, yielding thus the same number as the fifteen pieces of silver, but the former denomination is employed with allusion to the Assyrian designation of the land of Israel as "the land of Omri" (Chumri), a like allusion being found in "Gomer," i. 3. The num-

ber fifteen is made up of ten (= the ten tribes) + 2 (= Judah and Israel) + 3 (= Israel as kingdom, church, and nationality, as severally represented in the three pairs of deprivations, iii. 4).

Three little-known rabbinical commentaries have been carefully compared throughout, and one of them upon Hos. i.-ii. 3 is printed in full in Hebrew and Latin, occupying the last forty pages. It might thus serve as a convenient manual for any who are disposed to familiarize themselves with Rabbinical Hebrew.

W. H. G.

COMMENTAR ÜBER DIE EVANGELIEN DES MARKUS UND LUCAS. VON CARL FRIEDRICH KEIL, Dr. und Prof. der Theol. pp. 501. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke. 1881 (B. Westermann & Co., New York).

Dr. Keil, so well and so favorably known by his commentaries on the historical and prophetic books of the O. T., in now turning his attention to the histories of the N. T., brings with him a reputation which predisposes us all to look with interest and confidence upon his work. No one will need to be told that good, honest, careful work lies at the base of this new volume; Dr. Keil's name is an earnest of unobtrusive learning and a sound conservatism grounded in sober common sense. It will be sufficient, therefore, for a general characterization of the book to say that the author deals with the New Testament in the same spirit, and with the same amount of success with which he dealt with the Old. We find nothing particularly new in this Commentary,—nothing very startling; we cannot even say it will add much to "the scientific knowledge" of the books it treats,—it certainly is not epoch-making. But it is a sober, honest attempt to elucidate reverently the two histories with which it deals,—carried on not without learning, and with no sparing of care or fear of consequences. As such, it deserves high praise.

In general, the following is the view which the author takes of the books he is treating: Mark was the second gospel written (Matthew being the first), having been published before A.D. 70, probably at Rome. Its author was the John Mark of the Acts and Epp.—who is identified with the young man of Mk. xiv. 51. It was meant for Gentile readers and, as i. 1 shows, pretends only to set forth the beginning or origin of the Gospel, *i. e.*, to show how the Gospel now in the world had its origin in the person of Christ,—in the wonderful power He showed in teaching, healing, performing miracles, dying and rising again. The *contents, plan, and character* of the gospel are treated at length and most excellently. As to its origin, Papias certainly speaks of it and not of any Ur-Markus. Thus all Ur-Markus hypotheses are at once set aside. It is held that Mark is certainly dependent on our Matt., but not as its chief source,—which is the Apostolic tradition, gathered not only from Peter, but also from others of Christ's original followers, with whom Mark came in contact (Acts xii. 12, xiii. 5). Not only the authenticity, but the integrity of the book is very strongly defended; thus xvi. 9 *sq.* is held genuine.

Luke was written third of the gospels; and itself (i. 1-4) witnesses to its dependence on both written and unwritten pre-existent material, and that in such terms that Mark may be readily included in it, and Matt. is not necessarily excluded. Internal considerations prove Mark to have been used, but not necessarily as chief source. The use of Matt. remains in doubt. Luke was written before A.D. 70, and probably at Rome; and certainly by Paul's companion, writing for Gentile readers, and wishing to give not a chronicle, but a statement of the Evangelical history such as grouped the facts of salvation, with the end of proving the truth of the Christian teaching (cf. i. 3). The contents of the gospel are chosen and ordered with this end in view, the main part of the book falling into three divisions: 1. The teaching and miracles by which Jesus bore witness to Himself in Galilee, iv.-ix. 50; 2. A collection of Christ's teaching concerning His kingdom, ix. 51-xviii. 30; and 3. The completion of the Messianic witness through death, resurrection, and ascension, xviii. 31-

xiv. 53. Thus the second division is not chronological in any sense ; but yet not arbitrarily introduced. Jesus had spoken largely on this subject after the occurrences at Caesarea Philippi ; what more fitting place to introduce a general view of Christ's teaching as to His kingdom ? The *plan* of the gospel (taken largely from Nösgen) is most excellently drawn out ; and its *character* almost equally so, especially its Greek character and dependence on Greek models. Its authenticity, integrity, and credibility are uncompromisingly defended.

It is impossible to enter here on the details of exposition. Take Luke i.-iii. as an example. In i. 39 Judah is understood as the country—the name of the town not being given. In Luke ii. 1-5 we find a long (15 pages) and fine refutation of Chäffler's strictures on the historical character of the narrative. Keil, in ii. 2, throws the stress on the *ἐγένετο* and supposes that an enrollment begun in A. V. C. 749 was not completed until the autumn of 750. In Luke ii. 13, *εὐδοκία* is read on internal grounds ; the external evidence being considered equally balanced ! In Luke iii. 2, the reckoning is made from the beginning of Tiberius's sole reign, and the resulting inconsistency with Matt. ii. 1, escaped by two claims : the *ὥστε ἐτὼν τριάκοντα* is not definite, and it is by no means certain that Herod died so early as 750. In Luke iii. 23, the genealogy is held to be Mary's ; but the reference of each *τοῦ* following, back to Jesus, as so convincingly argued by Weiss, is wrongly rejected. These points will serve as samples.

B. B. W.

THE BIBLE COMMENTARY. New Testament, Vol. II. Gospel of John, by Canon WESTCOTT, and Acts of the Apostles, by Bishop JACOBSON. Royal 8vo. pp. xcvi. 534. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1880. Price, \$5.

This new instalment of the Speaker's Commentary is the most valuable yet issued, touching as it does precisely those portions of Scripture whose integrity has been most violently assailed and which yet are vital to the Christian system.

It is matter of congratulation that the introduction to the fourth Gospel has fallen to the hands of Canon Westcott, whose extensive and accurate learning, clear thinking, habits of cautious investigation, judicial fairness, and general culture, fit him to handle it as its importance requires. (If any one desires to find a complete contrast to all these qualities in a current English writer upon this Gospel, let him take up Matthew Arnold's "God and the Bible.") The author's study of the Gospel has been so detailed and comprehensive that nothing seems to have escaped him. Treating, first, of the authorship, he marshals the internal evidences, indirect and direct, and then sketches the external. The latter is of course only an outline, the limits not admitting the necessary fulness of treatment. Next, the composition of the Gospel is taken up, embracing the author, the occasion and date, the object, the plan, the style, etc. Here the handling is masterly, and there is a substantial addition to the literature of the subject even after all that has been done by the accomplished scholars of the last and the present generation. The author seems to have worked the matter out for himself, and his views have a coherence, vigor, and freshness which are very attractive. And he very often, in this direct delineation of what was before him, anticipates and answers the objections which are most commonly raised.

Every thoughtful reader of the New Testament knows that the differences between the fourth Gospel and the other three are great and startling, and that these, when elaborated and emphasized by a skilful writer, are made to have a very perplexing influence upon inexperienced minds. Now Dr. Westcott, without any *finesse*, so marshals the indubitable facts in the case, so sets forth John's character, surroundings, and relations ; so analyzes the content of the Gospel ; so shows its bearing upon what went before, as to satisfy the unprejudiced that there are good and valid reasons for all that is peculiar in this portion of the evangelic history. His answer to the objection drawn from the numerous long discourses of our Lord reproduced

after so many years, and from the features of Johannean style common to them all, is exceedingly well-conceived and complete. It would well deserve reproducing here were there room. (See section "Historical Exactness," p. liii.) The much-talked-of "subjectivity" of the fourth evangelist is shown on rational grounds to afford no presumption against his historical accuracy.

The other points of the Introduction, viz, the characteristics of the Gospel, its relation to the other Apostolic writings, and the history of the text and its interpretation, are treated in the same thorough and scholarly fashion. In the commentary there is entire absence of explaining what needs no explanation, and the notes are confined to what is really of importance. The critical suggestions are what might be expected from Canon Westcott's acknowledged eminence in this department. The occasional analyses of the discourses or the narrative, although not always successful, are yet helpful and suggestive, and the tone of the exposition is devout. If we were shut up to but one commentary on John, we should choose this one.

The other portion of this volume has two authors: The Introduction by Canon Cook, the general editor of the work, and Bishop Jacobson on the detailed interpretation of Acts, or "the Gospel of the Holy Ghost," as it has been called. The former is very well done, giving a succinct account of the contents and plan of the book, the evidences of its authorship, and its historical character. It is hardly as full upon the apparent discord between the second chapter of Galatians and the ninth of this book as might be desired. The author speaks of the appointment of seven deacons as the institution of "a new order of ministers," which on the face of the passage it was not, the design being, it is said, to enable the existing ministers to give themselves "to prayer and to the ministry of the word." Again, he speaks of "the influence of this able, but prejudiced writer [Calvin] and of his followers" upon the authorized version. We are sure that the influence of the early versions, especially the Vulgate, was far more pronounced. For example, the well-known passages, "such as should be saved," (ii. 47), and "were ordained to eternal life," (xiii. 48), both are taken from the Vulgate, *qui salvi fierent*, and *præordinati ad vitam æternam*, and are therefore in no sense or degree due to Calvin or his school. The former passage Bp. Jacobson renders "those who were being saved," which is as bad English as it is exegesis. Nor is there the least need of any such awkwardness. Literally, the form of the original is, "the Lord added the saved (or saved ones) daily to the Church." And this is confirmed by the very passages the Bishop quotes, viz, Luke xiii. 13, "Are there few that be saved?" and Rev. xxi. 24 (in the Textus Receptus), "the nations of them which are saved." In Scripture men are said to be saved in reference not only to the final consummation, but also to the inception of the saving work, as for instance when our Lord said to the woman (Luke vii. 50) "Thy faith hath saved thee." This being undeniable, what is the need for obliterating such a marked feature of Scripture phraseology for the sake of avoiding doctrinal inferences? A true exegete endeavors to give the precise force and form of the original as far as possible, having full confidence that the author of the Word will take all care of the impression it produces.

T. W. C.

NEUTESTAMENTLICHE HYPERKRITIK, an dem jüngsten Angriff gegen die Aechtheit des Philipperbriefes, auf ihre Methode hin untersucht. Nebst einer Erklärung des Briefes von Lic. Dr. PAUL WILHELM SCHMIDT, ord. Prof. der Theologie in Basel. Berlin: 1880. 8vo. pp. 102. [B. Westermann & Co., New York].

The external evidence of the genuineness of the Epistle to the Philippians is so exceptionally strong, and the internal evidence of Paul's authorship so clear, that the attempts which have been made to invalidate these proofs have necessarily required such extreme and improbable suppositions as to repel the majority of critics even of the most sceptical school. Evanson was the first to question it; Schrader, 1830, regarded the third chapter and part of the fourth as a later interpolation;

Baur, 1845, rejected it mainly on the ground that the passage, ii. 5-11, can be understood only as an opposition to the speculations of Valentinian gnosis, according to which the Aeon Sophia endeavored to intrude into the essence of the original father, and as a consequence fell from the Pleroma into the Kenoma; not so did Christ, who on the contrary set the example of a voluntary humility. The peculiar terms of the passage *μορφή θεοῦ* was borrowed from Gnosticism, and the phrases *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων* and *σχήματι εἰρεθεῖς ὡς ἄνθρωπος* are indications of Gnostic Docetism. Minor historical difficulties raised by Baur are inconsiderable. Schwegler followed in the same line: Volkmar, 1857, and Hitzig, 1870, and Hinsch, 1873, supported Baur, especially in alleging that the Clement of ch. iv. 3 is the relation of Domitian, falsely represented as the friend first of Peter and then of Paul, and going on to identify the Euodia and Syntyche as names of opposing parties in the Church. De Wette, Reuss, Schenkel, Hilgenfeld, Pfeiderer, and Davidson have united with the orthodox in defence of the authorship, and the Epistle may finally be claimed as won in the controversy which uses the four admitted Epistles as the ground for rejecting all the rest. Every widening of the common ground adds essentially to the difficulty of supporting the sceptical position.

Holsten, 1876, has renewed this attack. Conceding the value of the Epistle, and its adaptation to the supposed circumstances of its composition, he concludes, nevertheless, that the Pauline authorship is impossible. Prof. Schmidt's treatise is an earnest protest, not only against the conclusions of Holsten, but against the method by which they are reached, showing that the four Epistles cannot be made the criterion for all the rest. He exposes the entire neglect of the external canonical evidence by this school of hyper-criticism, and shows that the rules as to style which have been applied are impracticable. Holsten agrees that the occurrence of non-Pauline words cannot be decisive; *i. e.*, those not used by him in the four Epistles; nor of un-Pauline words, *i. e.*, those used in other relations elsewhere; but he holds that anti-Pauline expressions do yield a sure criterion, *i. e.*, important terms used in a sense inconsistent with the usage elsewhere, and the loss of favorite expressions which we have a right to expect will recur in any writing of Paul's. Under this latter head, the chief allegations are an un-Pauline Christology, and an un-Pauline doctrine of righteousness. Holsten, with Baur, Hilgenfeld, Pfeiderer, interpret Paul as teaching the pre-existence of Christ as spiritual man, and declares his whole theology unintelligible without that idea. Because he does not find it in Phil. ii., he rejects the Epistle. Schmidt, while carefully denying adherence to the Church doctrine, holds that the Christ of Paul pre-exists as the image of God, and not only in principle, or as the ideal man, but as a personal image, and the same personal subject of the incarnation and the exaltation, and argues that the practical motive for the passage, ch. ii., amply accounts for all its peculiarities of expression. Holsten interprets iii. 2-14 as contrasting Jewish righteousness, which is ceremonial, with Christian righteousness, which is a spiritual life process, and as referring this subjective process to the resurrection of Christ, thus weakening Paul's idea of union with the cross of Christ. Schmidt argues that the practical relations of Paul's doctrines must vary, naturally, with circumstances, and with the purpose of the writing. A practical letter is not a doctrinal discussion. The historical circumstances of the Philippian communion explain the differences. They knew nothing from the beginning of the Pharisaic controversy; they entertained no personal hostility to Paul or to his office. We do not look for the development of doctrinal terms, but the argument from doctrine to practice. Bishop Lightfoot finds in this evidence that Gospel life cannot be separated from Gospel doctrine, the fundamental characteristic of the Epistle. The passage iii. 2, "Beware of dogs," etc., Schmidt refers to the outbreak under Ananus in Jerusalem A.D. 62, after the death of Festus, when James was killed.

The analysis and exposition of the Epistle, although not full, is admirably adapted

to the specific purpose, and the whole treatise affords a complete refutation of the hypercritical method which it opposes. C. W. H.

WE have received from B. Westermann & Co., the following: LA FACULTÉ DE THÉOLOGIE PROTESTANTE DE PARIS, a M. ÉDOUARD REUSS, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg, à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de son Professorat. Paris: Librairie Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1879. This contains, besides a hearty greeting to the veteran scholar, two brief articles, one by A. Sabatier on the Hebrew idea of spirit, the other by P. Berger on the angel of Astarte. The latter alone is important, as it shows an analogy between the Hebrew terms *malak* and *penê* Baal, which with the terms Esmun and son he explains on the theory of Emanation, and illustrates the idea of the Malak by the classic Hermes.—EINE REDE VOM AUSLEGEN INSBESONDERE DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS, von ADALBERT MERX. This is an interesting address before the Association of Preachers at Heidelberg, enlarged to 75 pp., and published by the Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, Halle, 1879.—BEITRÄGE ZUR EVANGELIEN-AUSLEGUNG VON G. JÄGER, Heft 1. Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1879. This contains discussions of the "Son of Man," the temptation of Jesus, the method of reckoning the hours in the Gospel of John, the house of Peter, whether Roman soldiers took part in the capture of Jesus in Gethsemane, and the passages Matt. i. 22, iii. 3, xxvi. 56, and John xxi. 18-23, all of which are worthy of attention. C. A. B.

II.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN, PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY, with genealogical, chronological, and bibliographical appendices, being the Hulsean Essay for the year 1876. By GERALD HENRY RENDALL, M.A. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. 1879.

Upon the death of the Emperor Constantine I., his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, divided the imperial titles and dominion among them. At the end of thirteen years, Constantius was left sole Emperor, and so continued until his death in A.D. 361, when Julian, son of the great Constantine's youngest brother, came to the undivided throne.

Christianity had then been established in government favor thirty-seven years—a full average generation of mankind—having evinced itself superior alike in arm and in moral power. And yet the general tone of Christian society had suffered from the number of real heathen, who, following imperial fashion, made profession of its faith. Julian's early education had been conducted severely after its method but under the direction of men whose lives accorded badly with its spirit. His cousin Constantius, imperious in constraining to compliance with his own views of Christian doctrine, violated in practice fundamental principles recognized alike by Christian and Pagan. The massacre of Julian's father and all his male kindred, except his brother, taught him silence and caution; but was not of a nature to propitiate favor for those who ordered or allowed it, nor for the religion they professed to defend. The subsequent execution of his brother left him, after the reigning monarch, the sole remaining male descendant of the family of Constantius Chlorus. Furnished with skilful instructors he was treated with the ostensible honor belonging to his rank, but as an actual prisoner. Julian found refuge in his own love of knowledge, and in the beautiful literature of Greece. Its warm and sunny poetry, its cogent eloquence, its profound and yet exalted philosophy, took hold of his understanding and enlisted his affections. In comparison, the Arian Christianity of his imperial cousin,

forced upon him, and which he could resist only at the risk of life, was arid and cold. And while the great Greek orators, philosophers, and poets kindled his admiration, the religion in which they lived was for his mind surrounded with a halo from their fame.

In that transition period when, although Christianity was in power, Paganism still disputed its right, many youth grew up in a state of uncertainty between the two. Those who earnestly believed in Paganism insisted upon taking the earlier foreshadowing of a Saviour in a Pagan sense. As Christians had their Saviour of Jewish descent, so the Gentile anticipations were to be fulfilled in a Gentile Saviour. And in the remarkable genius, singular character, and elevated rank of Julian many conceived that they had found the expected one. But the safety of his life depended upon maintaining the appearance of Christian belief, and the studies whereby he became acquainted with its doctrines, he obediently pursued. Subsequently a residence, which he was permitted to make at Athens, in the pursuit of philosophy, confirmed his attachment to the ancient Hellenic polytheism.

Believing himself the divinely predestined restorer of the worship of the gods, and under the special guardianship of Athené, Julian left the city of Socrates and Plato to enter upon the duties of public life. Germans on the west, and Persians on the east were dangerously invading the borders of the Empire. One ruler was inadequate. Julian was created Cæsar, and sent to take command of the army in Gaul. His three campaigns in that province and in Germany, unsurpassed in brilliant success by any since those of the great Julius, the unsought enthusiasm of the army, which constrained him to assume the rank of Augustus, and his victorious march to Sirmium, and thence on towards Constantinople, confirmed him in the belief of his divine mission. Athené was inspiring his measures, intimidating his foes, and attending him with invisible divine agencies. Accordingly he publicly abjured Christianity, and in the capacity of *Pontifex Maximus*, offered sacrifice on Pagan altars. The opportune death of Constantius at that juncture, when the whole Empire peacefully fell into his hands, was accepted as the conclusive sanction of his purpose from the gods, whose cause he now openly defended.

Without a misgiving, the young Emperor now proceeded with his plans to supplant the intrusive religion, and restore that of classic Greece—the faith of the heroes, poets, statesmen, and philosophers of her golden time. It was not his intention to persecute. He counted upon restoring Hellenism by removing the obstacles thrown in its way, and by presenting inducements to practice its observances, and by withholding government patronage from Christianity. But difficulties arose and conflicts inevitable, which involved hardships, and rendered severities necessary to the enforcement of order. But the resistance of Christians was less vexatious than the apathy of Pagans. The latter he had not counted on, and it disappointed him. In all the complications which arose, he proceeded with his policy, and never failed of hope that success would crown his perseverance, as in other things. In his final campaign into Persia, his progress was victorious over great difficulties to the very last step of strategy, in which he lost his life. And his last words evinced unshaken confidence that the gods were actually sustaining his policy as the vindication of their cause. The Galilean conquered, but there is no reliable evidence that Julian ever admitted or perceived it. His reign, as sole Emperor, extending to only one year and eight months, within which his revolutionary efforts for religion were confined, although of an activity seldom paralleled, was too brief to establish any part of his scheme, but also had come short of demonstrating impracticability.

Julian's native talent, his great learning, the kindness of his temper, his love of justice, and morally blameless life, left the question of his religious policy to rest before the public mind entirely upon its own merits. The spirit of rationalism, so widely prevalent in the centuries immediately preceding and coming after the manifestation of Christ, sifted and tested all religions. Under the process, the old Gen-

tile creeds were by intelligent men despairingly surrendered. Philosophic theories could only account for, or cover up, the general hopelessness. In the midst of that spiritual misery the Gospel appeared. Its exposure of the universal depravity was acknowledged as true, and by those who accepted them its blessings were found to be real. Consequently, after its practical effects had been proved by millions, more than three hundred years, reaction in favor of the old generally discarded superstitions had ceased to be practicable by any human means. But Julian's early death spared him the mortification of seeing his failure.

And yet let us not misjudge his aim. It was not Paganism, as then existing, which Julian proposed to put in power, but Hellenism, as he conceived it to have been in its orthodox condition. And to that revival he designed to add improvements, after the example of Christianity. As the subject lay before his mind, the worship of the gods was quite as capable of taking on the best features of the Catholic Church as Christianity could be. All the other ancient religions, including that of the Jews, he was disposed to tolerate as fragments of originally revealed truth. By such restoration of its own earlier excellence, and adoption of important elements from the Church, Paganism was to be an improvement upon both, and so to constitute the Pagan Catholic Church of the Empire. Julian's mistake lay in thinking that the old ethnic religions had retained anything in them to be a basis of reform; anything to meet the cravings of an earnest soul; and perhaps in his ignorance of their irremediable immorality.

But Pagans did not wish to be reformed. The licentiousness of their religion was to many of them its strongest attraction. A few enthusiasts and court attendants fell in with the plan, but the heathen masses took no interest in it, and when the Emperor died, it fell to the ground.

Of the character and public career of Julian nothing can be expected to surpass the masterly delineation of Gibbon; but his philosophy, and that predominant in his time, his theology, his idea of religion, and his practice of it, his method and measures for religious revolution, still needed, for the English reader, an expansion, in which the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire could not indulge. To them is Mr. Rendall's essay mainly addressed, turning not upon the splendid military career of the apostate, but upon the great religious and philosophical controversies in which he was concerned, and the persecution in which he became unwillingly involved, and in which his own reputation proved the greatest sufferer.

J. C. M.

DIE DEUTSCHE AUGUSTINER-CONGREGATION und JOHANN VON STAUPITZ. Ein Beitrag zur Ordens- und Reformationsgeschichte nach meistens ungedruckten Quellen von Lic. Dr. TH. KOLDE. pp. 466. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1879. [B. Westermann & Co., New York].

This is an exceedingly interesting and scholarly work, the result of patient investigation of the original MS. sources of the history, and throws much light upon a portion of history which is somewhat obscure and little understood, and not unfrequently misrepresented. There are three Parts of the work, the first devoted to giving an account of the Augustinian order, from its origin until the Council of Constance, showing that it originated through the combination of several older orders in 1256, when the rules of Augustine were adopted. The order became distinguished for its devotional preaching rather than scholarship, and after awhile became corrupted with the increase of wealth and worldliness. The second Part gives an account of the origin and development of the German congregation of the Augustinian order until the death of Andreas Proles. It sets forth the struggle for reformation by a return to the strict observance of their rules. The chief promoter of the earlier movement was Henry Zolter, and it resulted in a union of the five Saxon reformed convents. The work of Zolter was more efficiently conducted by Andreas Proles, who was made Vicar in 1461. He was not a witness for the truth shortly before Luther as Prohle

represents him, but a brave and pious man who was devoted to the principles of the mendicant orders, and the glory of God and the Church thereby, and he would have the rules of his order observed to the minutest detail as the surest way of salvation. Practical piety rather than a reformation of doctrine was his aim. He selected as his successor John von Staupitz. The third Part is devoted to the career of Staupitz. Under his influence the University of Wittenberg was established by Frederick the Wise, and it was at once resorted to by 416 students in the first year. Soon after, Wenzeslaus Link and Martin Luther were made prior and sub-prior of the Convent at Wittenberg, and then teachers in the University. Staupitz had great influence over these two favorite pupils, inducing them to study the Scriptures and find Christ their centre. Devotional union with Christ as well as practical piety was his aim. It was not Staupitz's theology, but his entire religious and moral personality which influenced Luther. He was not a timid, wavering man who finally fell away from Luther, or a forerunner of the Reformation, or a kind of Gamaliel, as he is variously represented by other writers, but a man who had grown old in the monastic order, and was indisposed to abandon it. "He remained what he was, a monk, but yet such an one who wore his hood as if he wore it not, who did not think that he could become holier thereby, and did not lay it aside simply because he could not gain the conviction that he could come nearer to the Saviour without it. He was not concerned to be a Papist or Lutheran, he would only be a follower of Christ—an *anima naturaliter evangelica*, like many before and many after him within the Romish Church."

Luther soon outgrew his master in breadth and depth of spiritual apprehension of divine truth, and more and more influenced him, so that Staupitz would not deliver Luther up to his enemies, though he confessed he had gone beyond his comprehension, and when he could do no more, he gave over his office to another favorite pupil, Wenzeslaus Link, who, with still greater boldness, used his position on behalf of Luther until, at last, he was persuaded by Luther's superior mind, and gave way to the irresistible tendency in the German congregations, and abandoned his position and monastic principles, to become a faithful preacher of the Reformation at Nuremberg. Luther himself was the last to leave the cloister at Wittenberg. He requested the Elector of Saxony to take possession of it.

The work is accompanied with rich and full notes and extracts from the original documents.

C. A. B.

ERNST WILHELM HENGSTENBERG. Sein Leben und Wirken, u. s. w., dargestellt von JOHANNES BACHMANN. Bde. I, 2. Pp. xvi. 376, viii. 431, 60. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1876-80. [B. W. & Co., New York].

The two volumes before us leave their subject still a young man, thirty-three years of age. Such fulness of treatment would hardly be justified even in the case of so eminent a man as Hengstenberg, if his life had not been so closely linked with many important religious, theological, ecclesiastical, and even political movements and events. Much of the material before us is, therefore, really historical rather than biographical. We can name no other theologian of the century whose life-work is so inseparably connected with important tendencies, conflicts, and developments of the age.

In October, 1819, Hengstenberg, then just seventeen years of age, entered the University of Bonn, at the beginning of its second year. No true picture of his University life could be given, that should fail to exhibit with some minuteness the peculiar religious and political state of that part of Germany, and of the student world, in the year immediately following the great war. Such a sketch is more than a frame for the picture of Hengstenberg's own life; the characteristic ideas and feelings of the time were, many of them, his as present elements in his character and factors moulding his future.

At the age of twenty he won his degree of Ph.D., publishing his dissertation on

the *Amrulkisi Moallakah*, etc., which secured for him emphatic commendation from Orientalists like De Sacy and Kosegarten. He was already co-operating with Brandis in preparing for publication an edition of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.

After a year spent in private teaching at Basle, he went, in 1824, as *Privat-docent* (at the age of twenty-two), to the University of Berlin, where he spent the remaining forty-five years of his life. Early in 1826 he became Extraordinary Professor, and in 1828 Ordinary Professor in the Theological Faculty, his rapid promotion being wrung from a reluctant ministry, who still knew how to keep him for many years on a partial salary. Among those who heard him in the winter of 1827-28 were Charles Hodge and Adolphe Monod, by both of whom he seems to have been much impressed. Early in 1827, before he reached the age of twenty-five, he had been chosen as the most suitable and competent person to edit the new *Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung*. Here much of his most effective work was done, with a most exemplary loyalty to truth and Christian courage under very peculiar embarrassments in consequence of the bitter censorship of the ministry for many years. It would be hard to estimate the service here rendered in the struggle with Rationalism, and in moulding the Evangelical sentiment and religious life of Germany. The spirit and power of the paper were foreshadowed from an early day by the part which it took in 1830 in the famous "Halle Controversy," the account of which occupies more than one-third of Vol. II. of this Memoir. From this time the daring and contemptuous Rationalism of Wegscheider, Gesenius, and their kin, was put upon the defensive, and its prestige irrecoverably lost.

The religious life of Hengstenberg himself, and of the high representative circle with which he became socially connected, as well as his literary and University work, are fully described. For years this work was done in a constant struggle with physical infirmity, and with the powerful interference of Altenstein, Bishop Neander, and other high officials. His biographer stoutly vindicates the irenic with the polemic sides and aspects of his course at different junctures, and shows us much that was not before generally known of the softer and gentler elements of the man, while at the same time his strong, brave work is put into those connections which must be seen if it is to be understood.

In these days we can not only excuse, but welcome the fulness with which the biographer exhibits the character and work of a man of whom it was so little characteristic to "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee" before boastful and irreverent Rationalism—or to resort to continual "hedging" in the statement of truth, for fear what might possibly gain plausibility or even recognition in the future—or to push charity to the verge of unfaithfulness.

C. A. A.

MEMOIR OF REV. JAMES WADDEL, D.D. By JAMES WADDEL ALEXANDER, D.D. 1880. Pp. 44.

This is an elegant reprint of a brief memoir of his grandfather, published by Dr. James W. Alexander in 1844, in *The Watchman of the South*, of Richmond, Va. The traditions of the extraordinary eloquence of Dr. Waddel are probably most known from the account in the *British Spy*. They are authenticated beyond all question, although it is to be regretted that no publications from his own pen remain. And his request that his manuscripts should be burned at his death seems to have been faithfully carried out. The graphic element of his preaching, described by Mr. Wirt, is very like one characteristic of his son-in-law, Dr. Archibald Alexander. It is much to be regretted that a full account of so remarkable a genius, and of such an influential life, has apparently not been practicable.

C. W. H.

ERINNERUNGEN AN AMALIE VON LASAULX, Schwester Augustine, u. s. w. 8vo, pp. xliii, 372. [B. W. & Co., New York]. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1878.

SISTER DORA. A biography. By MARGARET LONSDALE. From the sixth English edition. 16mo, pp. 290. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

The essential interest and nobleness of the character and life of "Sister Augus-

time," would tempt us to overlook the date of this German original, if we had not a further warrant in the fact that a translation is announced for early publication by a London house. She was for about twenty-two years Superior of the Sisters of Charity at the Hospital of St. John at Bonn. Nine years earlier she had joined the Order at the "Mother House" of the congregation of St. Carlo Borromeo, at Nancy. She was descended from a noble Lothringian family, and belonged herself to a family of great intelligence and energy, allied to and intimate with not a few of the marked families and personages of their time. She was of a nature too rich, genuine and independent to submit to and be cramped by the spirit that was dominating more and more in the religious houses. Implicit obedience she would neither render nor demand; religious formalism was abhorrent to her; fresh, warm, active, self-sacrificing piety alone would satisfy her. With rare organizing and executive ability, she was never so happy as when called to the front in exigencies like those of the Schleswig Holstein and Prusso-Austrian conflicts of 1864 and 1866. The trenches at Düppel and the battle-field of Königgrätz challenged her to the full exercise of her extraordinary power.

Absolute truthfulness and unselfish love adorned her character and enriched it with an influence reaching and attaching to her many beyond the circle of her own Church. Perthes and Von Bethmann Hollweg were among her most valued correspondents and friends. She was utterly out of sympathy with the Ultramontane movement in the Church, and when the crisis came in 1869-70, was in constant communication with the circles in Munich and Bonn that broke with the Vatican decrees. Michelis declared her to be worth more than six Bishops and twelve Professors. More and more she lost faith in man as Bishops in troops humbled themselves. She was too conspicuous to be passed by, was deposed, and denied in her death a Christian burial.

This volume is thus much more than the memoir of a noble private, or official life. It is full of information in regard to men and things in high places, and of historic significance.

In the biography of "Sister Dora" we have another sketch of a very marked character and life. In the two women we find the same intellectual strength, religious earnestness, and great executive power. There is a like consecration of the life to the service of Christ in the benevolent work of Sisterhoods, (the one in the Romish, the other in the English Church), and the same illustration of the impossibility of bringing such natures as theirs under the factitious authority and the formal constraints of such organizations. Both natures were too vigorous and earnest, too exuberant in spirit, too loyal to God's natural ordinances, too deeply conscious of individual responsibility to Christ, to yield to the technical and cramping prescriptions of the orders in whose work they had sought their sphere of action. "I am a woman, and not a piece of furniture!" was the explanation of her leaving the "Good Samaritans."

"Sister Dora" was a younger sister of the well-known contributor to "Essays and Reviews," Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Most of her extraordinary work was done in the years 1865-78 in hospitals at Walsall, Staffordshire, in the borders of the "Black Country." Her professional service to the numberless sufferers from casualties and epidemics, and her moral and religious power over the ignorant, the wretched, and the vile, crowd this well-told story with interesting and thrilling incidents. Her work was done as to Christ. "I feel, when I touch His sick and suffering," she says, "as if virtue came out of them." "As I lie on I seem to hear the still small voice, 'Ye did it unto Me.'"

Such natures are rare, such careers still more exceptional. They are enviable to whom many thousands live to bless.

C. A. A.

MATHEW AND CRAUFORD TAIT. Wife and son of Archibald Campbell, Archbishop of Canterbury. A memoir edited at the request of the Archbishop by the Rev. Wm.

BENHAM. American edition. 12mo, pp. xvi, 395. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1880.

In its structure this is a rare book. It is first the hand of the noble husband and father, the loved and honored Primate of all England, that sketches for us the characters of his wife and son. With perfect simplicity and naturalness, with thorough, tender, and deeply chastened manliness, he traces the most Christian and womanly life of the "help meet for him," with whose companionship he had been blessed for thirty-five years. His home as Master of Rugby, Dean of Carlisle, Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury, was, from the beginning of his married life, one of the conspicuous homes of England. Yet while true to every responsibility growing out of such influential and exalted station, it never lost its character as a genuine and healthful home for all its inmates, in which all that is excellent in nature and precious in grace was prized and cherished, and in unusual degree exemplified. Enriched with honors and with wide and lofty opportunities, it was refined by unusual chastenings. A deeply interesting and touching part of the volume is Mrs. Tait's own account of the extraordinary trial that came upon them when in five weeks five little daughters were swept away by a flood of scarlet fever. Grace sufficient was given to the stricken parents, even for those awful days. Faith triumphed then, and the subsequent life of the household showed in many ways how real, and strong, and manifold were the ties that bound it to heaven. The symmetrical and earnest character of the only son, gave bright promise of wide and solid usefulness—a promise blighted by his early death.

The work of the editor of this volume is very delicately and modestly done, exhibiting always and only its proper subjects. The sketch is an instructive exhibition of the way in which, and the extent to which, piety may pervade and glorify home life, and flow out in quiet, constant, inventive beneficence. This most attractive volume, the American edition of which is gracefully introduced by Bishop Huntington, cannot fail to become a favorite in many homes of all communions.

C. A. A.

III.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

NATURAL SCIENCE AND RELIGION. Two Lectures delivered to the Theological School of Yale College by ASA GRAY. Lecture I. "Scientific Beliefs." Lecture II. "The Relations of Scientific to Religious Belief." New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

In the present unsettled state of opinion and feeling on "the relations of scientific and religious belief," Professor Asa Gray is one of the few men whose views are of general interest. He is a skilled naturalist, a thorough evolutionist of the Darwinian variety, and at the same time a thoroughly loyal theist and Christian. He, as few others, is able to see somewhat on both sides of the question, and sympathize with the views and feelings of parties who are for the most part blindly assaulting each other across an apparently impassable gulf. We have no sympathy with those who maintain that scientific theories of evolution are necessarily atheistic. No man has proved this, and the presumptuous assertion of it has availed only to compromise its authors and the cause they have unwisely maintained. On the other hand, however, we do thoroughly sympathize with the words of caution with which President Porter concludes his article on the "Newest Atheism," in the May number of the *Princeton Review*, wherein he exhorts his friends, the theistic and Christian Evolutionists, who accept evolution as "a working hypothesis," to consider whether they do not therein "commit themselves to the merciless grasp of a logic from which it may not be easy to escape."

- The Christian Theist has no motive to dissent from the scientific principle of the uninterrupted *Continuity of Causation* throughout the universe. Every event, without a possible exception, has, doubtless, its causes and its effects, and the entire universe is a coherent system of causes and effects in which absolute discontinuities are unthinkable. Hence theologians agree with all scientists that every event which can possibly have existed has had its place in this system of causes, and is, therefore, always capable of a rational explanation by a competently informed intelligence, i. e., it will be found referable to adequate causes, each acting according to the law of its kind, e. g., the law of a physical force, or the law of a free rational will.

Nor has the Theist any objection to the scientific principle of the absolutely universal law of the *Uniformity of Nature* when that law is truly expounded. In the sense that the course of nature presents successively recurring series of absolutely similar events, there never has been any uniformity in nature. There never were no days nor two years, nor two leaves, nor two living things in all respects alike in succession, because the astronomical and the terrestrial conditions under which they are produced are continually changing. This no evolutionist will deny. The "law of the uniformity of nature," as Dr. Gray argues, is simply, that the same causes acting under the same conditions always produce the same effects. But if the conditions vary, or if new co-causes are added to those previously at work, of course the effects vary. In the absolute creation *ex nihilo* nature received its law and its uniformities were inaugurated. But in no subsequent miracle was the law of uniformity violated. A miracle is simply the introduction at a single point into the system of natural causes, of a new supernatural co-cause designed so to work together with the already working natural causes that the *resultant* should be to intelligent, moral agents a sign of God's presence, or power, or authority. Neither does any act of mediate creation violate this law of uniformities. When God first quickened protoplasm with life it involved an interruption of no established uniformity. Introducing a new force among those pre-existing, He provided that as of old, causes under new and everchanging conditions should produce new and everchanging effects.

Nor is there anything incongruous with Christian Theism in the more comprehensive and ultimate teleology which modern science tends to introduce. The old teleologists, we confess, confined their view too much to special organs and their intrinsic ends, overlooking the fact that they were produced by cosmic forces operating according to general laws which could have their ultimate end only in the end of the universe itself. The prevailing scientific view of the absolute unity of the universe and of the subordination of the parts to the whole, is in its essence none with that held by Augustinian theologians for ages.* The universe is an intellectual system. God has formed one coherent plan, comprehending in all their relations whatsoever comes to pass. The whole is a continuous system, every part being at once end and means and subordinate to the end of the whole. Hence the history of the universe in all its provinces is an ideal evolution, a providential unfolding of a general plan, in which general designs and methods converge in all directions to the ultimate end of the whole. The special convergence of parts to a special end can be understood, of course, by one who is unable to discern the relations of the part to the general plan. Yet, if one confines his attention to the special ends of parts, he loses sight of the higher adaptation of those general laws and forms and methods which determine the parts and explain their relation to the whole. While, on the other hand, they who, rejecting the aid of revelation, seek only to discover the relation of the parts to the absolute whole, necessarily end in agnosticism. For if the lesser and more obvious indication of purpose is ignored, the higher and ultimate must be out of our reach.

* Bib. Sac., Jan., 1860.

Darwin illustrates the difference between the old teleology and his view of the method of nature by the contrast between a special and a general providence. But these are not alternative views. They are logically inseparable. The universe is the product of intelligence, and therefore a coherent whole. A general providence involves a special intention of every part, designating it to its place in the system to the promotion of the general end. And an intelligent destination of every part to its special end involves the co-ordination of every part to the general end.

Nor, finally, has Christian theism any essential objection to the doctrine of the descent of species from species, as of individuals from individuals, if it be, indeed, capable of proof, the case of man, because of the specific assertions of Scripture, being excepted. Very evidently it is not beyond the power of the Creator, nor incongruous with what appear to be His methods on the whole, for Him to engraft, by a direct act of His will, new and higher powers upon an organism produced by natural processes originated in a previous creation. This comes precisely under the definition of "mediate creation," as to which philosophers, theologians, and scientists have all alike consented.

But that which Philosophy and Religion alike reject is the essential logic of this theory of evolution, the very essence of which involves the bringing, by natural process, of the living out of the non-living; the conscious from the unconscious; the rational from the irrational; the living soul, the spontaneous will, the voice of conscience from the mechanism of organs, which, in their turn, had their origin in the mechanism of molecules. The cause which produces the series of offspring is in the constitution of the original germ. "Natural Selection" merely removes the "unfit" out of the way, and thus leaves the "fittest" grouped in genera and species. Hence the theory necessarily implies that the soul of man, with its wonderful essential attributes, was virtually present in the primeval germ, and has been transmitted down through all the intermediate stages; or otherwise, that life comes from death, consciousness from unconsciousness; and reason, will, and conscience from mechanical force. This is *Evolution*. The word means it. The leading advocates argue it. The system necessarily implies it. This is Herbert Spencer's formula for the evolution of all being: progress "from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity (chaos) to a definite coherent heterogeneity (cosmos)." Against this reason and religion will always protest.

That cannot be evolved out of a cause which was not originally in it. But soul and reason, and will and conscience were not in the primeval tadpole. Therefore, where-soever they subsequently appear, they must have been implanted by God from without. But this is not "evolution," *and should not be called so*.

Professor Gray claims to be a thorough Evolutionist of the Darwinian variety, and yet a no less thorough theist and Christian. And although he says nothing to clear away the essential logical incongruousness of evolution and theistic philosophy, he, nevertheless, lays down principles which should be signalized as of great value to the theistic interest in the pending controversy.

I. He affirms (pp. 58 and 59) that the proofs which biological hypotheses appeal to "are largely probabilities, some of a higher and some of a lower order, and much that is accepted for the time is taken on trial on *prima facie* evidence." The facts accumulated by scientists are of final authority, but the immense mass of inferences thence deduced must take rank with the "beliefs" of the day, and submit to the fate which the passage of time allots to all more or less speculative systems.

II. According to Darwin the causes of all existing living beings are the few original germs, and their inherent powers of reproduction under the laws of heredity and variation. Natural selection merely sweeps away the unfit, and leaves the survivors grouped in distinct species. Darwin holds that this tendency to vary acts indifferently in all directions, and, hence, that the resulting forms which survive are accidents determined solely by the chance bearings of the everchanging conditions of

climate, etc., etc. Professor Gray, on the other hand, says (pp. 50, 51) : "The facts, so far as I can judge, do not support the assumption of every-sided and indifferent variation."

If, then, the variation is specially directed from within, it must be either (1) that they are predetermined by the constitution of the original germs implanted at creation, or (2) they must be providentially led along certain designed lines of special usefulness, which is the opinion of Professor Gray. Of which Darwin says ("Variations, etc.," Vol. II., pp. 515 and 516) : "No shadow of reason can be assigned for the belief that variations . . . were intentionally and specifically guided. However much we may wish it, we can hardly follow Professor Asa Gray in his belief that variations have been led along certain beneficial lines, as a stream is led along useful lines of irrigation."

III. (pp. 95, 96). "It is also urged that giving particular direction to a special act would involve an addition to the *plenum* of force in the universe, and, therefore, contradict the recently acquired scientific principle of the conservation of energy. It is not at all certain that all direction given to force expends force; it is certain that, under collocations, a minute use of force (as pulling a hair-trigger) may bring about immense results; and, finally, increments of force by Divine action, in time, of the kind in question, if such there be, would never in the least be known to science."

IV. There are no valid scientific objections to the miracles of the Bible. "But" (p. 108) "the very reasons on which scientific men reject miracles for the carrying on of nature, may operate in favor of miracles to attest the incoming of the supernatural for moral ends. At least they have nothing to declare against them."

V. (pp. 73, 76). "But is it (Darwinianism) a sufficient and a complete hypothesis? Does it furnish scientific explanation of the rise of living forms from low to high, from simple to complex; from protoplasm to simple plant and animal, from fish to flesh, from lower animal to higher animal, and from brute to man? . . . I answer, 'not at all.'" "While I see how variations of a given organ or structure can be led on to great modification, I cannot conceive how non-existent organs come thus to be, how wholly new parts are initiated, how anything is led on which is not there to be taken hold on." "Specially theistic evolution (p. 81) judges that these general causes (heredity, variation, natural selection) cannot account for the whole work, and that the unknown causes are of a more special character and higher order. *I think it does not declare that these are not secondary causes.*"

This is our point of breaking with Professor Gray. The "secondary causes" acting can only be the "secondary causes" existing. But at the beginning of the series these "secondary causes" did not contain, severally or collectively, either consciousness, or reason, or will, or conscience. Where did these come from? Are they the product of the combination of simpler elements? If so, can molecular mechanics produce life? Can bare vitality originate reason, or will, or the moral sense? If a thing can not be "led on which is not there to be led on," how can that be evolved out of a cause, which is not first involved in it? The cause can not so far transcend itself in kind and in degree. When these transcendental endowments take their place in the network of being, God must himself create and place them. He must add them to the sum of being previously created. And this is *not* "evolution." A. A. H.

GESCHICHTE DER CHRISTLICHEN RELIGIONS-PHILOSOPHIE SEIT DER REFORMATION. Von G. CH. BERNARD PUENJER. I. Band, Bis auf Kant. 8vo, pp. ix., 492. [B. W. & Co., New York]. Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn. 1880.

FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER'S REDEN UEBER DIE RELIGION. Kritische Ausgabe. G. CH. BERNARD PUENJER. 8vo, pp. xvi., 306. [B. W. & Co.] Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn. 1879.

RELIGIONS-PHILOSOPHIE. Von DR. ALBERT PEIP. 8vo, pp. xii. 464. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 1879.

THE GROUNDS AND PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION. By JOHN WRIGHT, B.A. 12mo, pp. 174. [B. W. & Co.] London: Williams & Norgate. 1879.

Dr. Pünjer, the author of the first of the works above mentioned, and the editor of the second, is connected with the University at Jena as *Privat-docent*. A dissertation on Kant's doctrine of religion, published in 1874, had indicated the direction of his special tastes and studies. His work on the "Philosophy of Religion" has a broader range and a more purely historical aim than Prof. Pfeiderer's *Religions-philosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage*, the most recent important German work that somewhat resembles it. Pfeiderer has his own matured system constantly in mind, and criticises what he historically describes. Pünjer reserves for the future any presentation of his own view, and proposes in this work, which is to be completed by another volume, to sketch concisely and objectively the views which have been indicated or elaborated by all the theologians and philosophers of any note who are entitled to recognition: we say indicated, because but few of the writers named have presented their views in the form of a philosophy of religion.

The centuries preceding the 15th are soon disposed of. In the 15th century and the early part of the 16th, fresher and more independent philosophy shows itself. The great theologians of the Reformation develop strongly-marked and characteristic views in regard to the religious life, the source of knowledge, and the proper function of reason in religion, and the estimate to be put upon scholastic philosophy. The divergent or erratic developments of Protestantism, the general, and more particularly the religious philosophy of English Deism and of those who combated it; the systems of Des Cartes and Spinoza; the French and German philosophic movements of the 18th century, and the beginning of reaction in Germany under Lessing, Herder, Hamann, and Jacobi, supply themes for later and successive sections of the present volume.

The author's characterizations are concise and clear, his style good, and his effort manifest to exhibit impartially the persons and systems of which he treats. Not only the most important works of the several authors referred to, but, in many cases, the most valuable editions of them, are indicated, so that this history becomes an important *vade mecum* to those interested in its theme.

The second work in our group is a critical edition of Schleiermacher's well-known and powerfully influential "Discourses on Religion." The text of the first edition (1799) is taken as the foundation, and the modifications introduced successively in the second (1806) and third (1821) are indicated by changes in the type, or added page by page in notes. The development of Schleiermacher's own view is thus brought out as clearly as possible, and the relation of the successive phases of his own thought to the thought of his time made more intelligible. It is a matter of minor interest that where there is no essential change in thought we are able to watch the writer's rhetorical endeavor to perfect the execution of one of his most representative works.

Prof. Peip's "Philosophy of Religion" is edited from his manuscripts by a pupil and friend. The author had been during the last twelve years of his life (1863-75) an "extraordinary" Professor in the Philosophical Faculty at Göttingen. He had become known before, and during his university career, by the publication of several philosophical works, the most important of which, perhaps, was his "Jacob Böhme, the German Philosopher," etc. His own system was founded largely on Böhme, Baader, and the later doctrine of Schelling, although of a more positive and constructive type.

He gives to the "Philosophy of Religion" the central place among the departments of philosophy. His definition of philosophy is "the ethical science of principles." Knowledge of God is immediate, like knowledge of self; God's general revelation of Himself coming to meet the necessary working of the constitution which He has given us. Subjective religion is the inner recognition of God by the nature which

He has constituted for such recognition. Objective religion consists of the aggregate of those doctrines and observances which have reference to the actual establishment, maintenance, and promotion of subjective religion in the individual and in the community.

The so-called "proofs" of the divine existence are really only helps to the understanding of the nature of God. All that they prove is, that if there be no God, the world and all our thinking and acting involves contradiction and absurdity. These reasonings do confirm belief in Him, and indicate some, at least, of His perfections, and hypothetically point to Him as Restorer and Redeemer, if man's failures and estrangement from God are ever to end.

After discussing these and related topics in the first division of his book, in another of equal length the author describes the chief forms of the world religions, natural and revealed; and then summarily concludes that among all the historical phenomenal forms of religion Christianity alone is adequate—it alone exhibiting God as an actual Redeemer; it alone establishing and confirming man's real freedom in God; it alone providing atonement for sin, and re-establishing normal relations between man and God. His incidental criticisms of other views are often valuable. Much of the thought and labor of the author's life are evidently embodied here.

Mr. Wright believes in man's possession of religious instincts and capacities—in God and communion with Him, and something of inspiration and revelation as the result of this communion; in sacred books, such as all the great religions possess (differing, indeed, in excellence), and in a Christianity which is the "first among many religions, all containing some truth, the best among many forms of faith; all good for the particular work which each has to do."

His little volume is popular, not scientific, and does not call for much comment in regard to the way in which he sets forth so much of religion as he believes in. That personal consciousness and experience are made to such extent the measure of what is anywhere possible, and that no special distinctions, endowments, or commissions can be anywhere conceded, are two of his great assumptions, which explain, in part, the meagreness and unsoundness of many conclusions. His spirit is, however, better by a wide difference than that of Mr. Voysey,* who by "kind permission" edits a friend's translation of selections from Lessing's famous "Fragments of the Unknown of Wolfenbüttel." The reason given for the fact of this long delay in translating Reimarus is this: he is "too thorough, too uncompromising, too faithful to his task to suit the present attitude of mind and heart toward the central figure of the orthodox religion."

We notice this book only to show by one more sign in what spirit and to what extent, by things new and old, the cherished faith is now assailed on English soil—not to take up the "Wolfenbüttel Fragments" for discussion as a novelty. The *Westminster Review*, we observe, in some cases, finds Mr. Voysey's suggestions to be no improvement on those of Reimarus.

C. A. A.

THE GOSPEL MIRACLES, IN THEIR RELATION TO CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY. By WM. M. TAYLOR, D.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 12mo., pp. 249.

On the whole, it is a more difficult task to produce a fresh and vivacious treatise on Apologetics, than in any other department of theological science. The main lines of argument for the truth of Christianity have long since been drawn. It is improbable that any really demonstrative matter has been overlooked by the multitude of apologists from the second century to the nineteenth, or that any really important argument against the Christian religion has been omitted by the sceptic. The work

* FRAGMENTS FROM REIMARUS: consisting of brief critical remarks on the object of Jesus and His disciples as seen in the New Testament. Translated from the German of G. E. LESSING. Edited by the Rev. CHARLES VOYSEY, B.A. 12mo, pp. 119. [B. W. & Co.] London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1870.

of the apologist must, consequently, be reproductive to a considerable extent, and it is not every mind that can re-state the commonplaces of apologetics with sharpness, arrange and combine them with cumulative effect, and enforce them with pertinent and felicitous illustrations. Dr. Taylor has done this in the seven lectures which he delivered before the faculty and students of Princeton Seminary, on the L. P. Stone foundation.

This volume is not a large one. The author was confined, by the nature of the occasion, to narrow limits. And yet he has presented the most important of the evidences for the credibility of miracles. There is no waste matter in the book, and the argument moves forward steadily from one position to another, without losing any momentum by reference to side issues, or by the introduction of second-rate reasoning.

Dr. Taylor first discusses the nature and possibility of the miracle. Here he founds altogether upon the doctrine of the divine personality. God, as the free creator of nature, can, of course, do as He pleases with the work of His hands. If atheism be true, the miracle is impossible; but if there be a God, the miracle is possible, and probable. The author then discusses the credibility of the miracle. Here he founds, first, upon the character of Christ. Our Lord himself testified concerning His own miracles when He appealed to them, as He continually does, as proof of His divine authority and mission. This testimony is valid, unless it can be shown that He was a deceiver, or self-deceived. But the sceptic generally concedes the moral excellence and intellectual soundness of Christ. The testimony of the apostles is then adduced. This, too, must be believed, unless it can be proved that they were victims of their own credulity, or were practising upon the credulity of others. After these positive arguments in favor of the miracle, Dr. Taylor criticises those of the sceptic, particularly the mythical theory. He concludes with an examination of the value of miracles as an evidence of the truth of religious doctrine, and of the spiritual significance of Christ's miracles.

Among the excellencies of this treatise, we call attention to the remarkably concise and neat manner of stating the effective points in an argument. Here, the preacher has influenced the student and author. The habit of presenting truth to the popular mind in an oratorical manner banishes from the volume all prolixity and heaviness. There is not a dull or an obscure line in the book. As examples, we cite the succinct statement of what Christ was and has accomplished, on pp. 37-39; and of the dilemmas presented to the sceptic on pp. 50-51, 54-56; and also the conclusive examination of Renan's demand that the miracle be subjected to the scrutiny of a committee.

The author combats, correctly as we think, the view of Trench that the miracle does not, of itself, evince the truth of a doctrine, but only gets a hearing for it, in order that it may there prevail by its own intrinsic truthfulness. This view supposes that the miracle may be wrought by Satan as well as by God. Trench says that a miracle "puts the miracle-worker in the alternative of coming from heaven or from hell." If this be so, the miracle may be an evidence for the lie of Satan, as well as for the truth of God, and the nature of the miracle will require to be determined by the kind of doctrine taught in connection with it. Dr. Taylor contents himself with the negative argument at this point. He shows clearly that the miracles of the Egyptian magicians were apparent only, and not genuine. The positive argument, however, is very strong. The theory that the miracle may be wrought by Satan as well as by God is dualistic, and involves all the difficulties and contradictions of dualism. The supernatural cannot be related equally and alike to the kingdom of good and the kingdom of evil. No being but the Creator of nature can suspend its operations; and Satan is not the creator. The very definition of the miracle as an extraordinary act of the *Supreme* Being, utterly precludes its first origin in any and every other being. The intuitive judgment of mankind is also against this view.

This judgment is expressed in the questions : " Can a devil open the eyes of the blind ? How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles ? " And in the affirmative : " If this man were not of God, he could nothing " [miraculous].—John ix. 16, 33 ; x. 21.

After so much that is excellent, the author can afford to listen to some fault-finding. We do not think that he is as logical as he commonly is, in saying that " it is about as absurd to ask which is first in the order of salvation, regeneration, or faith, as it is to ask, " Which was first in Lazarus, his restoration to life, or his coming out of the grave ? " To our mind, the latter question does not seem absurd ; and if the mere " order " is considered, there can be no dispute that our Lord imparted life to Lazarus before Lazarus came forth. When the author adds, in support of his statement, that the " experience " of the two things is " simultaneous," he has introduced a new idea. The experience of life is a different thing from the organization of it.

W. G. T. S.

THE FOUNDATIONS. A Series of Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity. By JOHN MUNRO GIBSON, D.D. 16mo, pp. 204. Chicago : Jansen, McClurg & Co. 1880.

Dr. Gibson need not apologize for adding another to our numerous works on the Christian Evidences. Books so thoroughly appreciative of the state and wants of the public mind, and so well adapted in many ways to what we are sure was in the first instance an interested audience, and no less so to the large body of readers, are never unseasonable or in excess. Books that strike so directly and effectively at the heart of the popular unbelief render a double service, in the relief of honest perplexity and doubt, and in the exposure of that which is determined and inventive.

Whether that which is new in Dr. Gibson's method will be found, even under his earnest and eloquent advocacy, to be such an improvement, as to promise easier and more complete success to the Church in its apologetic work, we are not so sure. If the Christian plea has been unnecessarily embarrassed when advanced in behalf of the Christian Scriptures or the Christian system, and can be urged with fewer difficulties and with greater encouragement when made to centre in Christ himself, that loyalty to Christ which is so undeniable and conspicuous a characteristic of the Church, will ensure and welcome this change of method.

Had this suggestion come from some other quarter, *e. g.*, from those who decry " book revelations," or system and dogma, and who delight in platitudes and gushing utterances about Christ, we should examine it with very different presumptions. But with Dr. Gibson the question is one of order ; all that any one can rightfully claim for the written revelation and the system which it contains, he would maintain with the foremost. He asks where the stress of difficulty presses, and how it shall be relieved.

Those who have been accustomed to make the Bible or the system of Christianity the object of apologetic advocacy and defence have surely erred, so far forth as they have failed to make Christ the heart and life whether of the Scriptures or of the system. But, on the other hand, when we are asked to regard and exhibit Christ as the revelation of God to be commended and vindicated in evangelical apologetics—the vindication of the Bible and Christianity coming in as the sequel and result—we in turn have questions to ask. For what is Christ made the revelation of God ? For what is He offered, and the world urged and required to receive Him ? In the answer the chief elements of Christianity are shown us. Christ is not a bare, bald revelation of God, however beautiful, glorious, and attractive. He is a revelation for a purpose. It is not His person only, it is also His work that is a revelation. Why this personal form and not some other ? Why this work and not some other ? When you have shown me man's need and God's provision in Christ for the relief of man's need, you have shown me all that in the Christian system with which apologetics is concerned. Many details of doctrine, order, and proportion belong to Didactic and Polemic Theology ; not here.

We have not heard the glad tidings until we have been taught fully of our need and of Christ's exact and complete provision for its utmost demand. Christ has not been preached to us until or unless in the method of the preaching every essential of Christianity has been preached.

We wait, therefore, to be convinced, that the Church will under this changed method better justify itself, and deal more successfully with the oppositions of heart and heart which it must everywhere encounter.

C. A. A.

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF MAN. The Seventh Series of the Cunningham Lectures.

JOHN LAIDLAW, A.M. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879. Scribner & Welford, New York.

The author, pastor of a Presbyterian church in Aberdeen, Scotland, here gives an interesting and valuable series of lectures on the subject of the doctrine of man. His arrangement of topics is after the dogmatic method, notwithstanding that it would present us the doctrine of man from the Biblical rather than the Theological point of view. His methods of argument are also dogmatic, so that we must class this book in the department of dogmatics rather than Biblical Theology, where it would seem at first, by its title, to belong. In his introductory lecture he puts the Bible doctrine of man in its relations to the scientific and philosophical conceptions, and rightly holds that the Bible does not attempt to give either the one or the other, but that nevertheless we should observe "those ideas of life and the soul which the Scriptures themselves assume in all their theological statements." This is the task of Biblical Psychology. In the second lecture Biblical Psychology is treated, and it is shown that it is not analytic and abstract, but concrete, and growing "from a mere simple and popular to a more complex and philosophical view of man's nature." He rejects *Trichotomy* and advocates *Dichotomy* as the Biblical conception of man's nature, and explains *nephesh* as the subject or bearer of life, constituted in the creature; *ruach* as the principle of life, bestowed by the Creator. In the New Testament the terms assume a new significance, through the exaltation of the *pneuma* to express the new life derived from the Holy Spirit; and the contrast between the flesh and spirit in the Pauline epistles is explained, in that the flesh is what nature evolves, and the spirit what God bestows. He rightly lays stress upon the unity and the *dichotomy* of man's nature, but as it seems to us, there is too little weight given to the statement that favors *trichotomy*. True Biblical Psychology will give the three modes of statement their proper place and relative importance. In lecture third, upon "The Divine Image and Man's Primitive State," we cannot accord with the author in finding in Gen. i., "that man was created an image of something intertrinitarian," nor in his exclusion of the form of man from the divine image; but he correctly lays stress upon the moral conformity to God and maintains that in this man is capable of growth. Lecture fourth is devoted to man's nature under sin and death, in which he urges that the image is not entirely lost, though man is depraved from the centre of the heart outward and utterly ruined. Death he regards as legal, moral, and physical, the two latter consequent on the former; and holds that death was involved in the physical structure of man and animals; that man, however, had a provision against death in the tree of life, which he forfeited in his fall. The fifth lecture, on the Psychology of the New Life, correctly rejects the notion of two antagonistic substances in the regenerated man, and shows that they are rather antagonistic principles; and that the conflict of Rom. vii. is not the contrasted experiences of an unconverted and a converted man, or indeed the normal experience of a converted man; nor does Rom. vii. 14-25 give us the portrait of an awakened Pharisee, and Rom. viii. 1-15, of a fully regenerate man; but that Paul is "presenting two ideal conceptions of the relations of the law and grace, respectively, of a man in Christ aiming at the attainment of holiness." In this we cannot regard the author as successful. In lecture sixth, on "Man's Nature in its Bear-

ing on a Future Life," while rejecting conditional immortality and the sleep of the soul, he does not seem to take very strong ground, or be positive in statement, but is content to reaffirm the ordinary views of the Church. We regret that he finds the resurrection in Job. xix. As a whole the work is well done from a dogmatic point of view, showing quite an extensive familiarity with the literature of the subject, and written in a clear and strong style. The notes in the appendix are full and valuable.

C. A. B.

THE SACRAMENTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, as instituted by Christ. By GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1880.

We have, in this volume, a learned and accurate account of the Sacraments of the New Testament. There are two—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The five additional sacraments of the Romanists the author briefly notices, but confines attention to the two Protestant sacraments which have been mentioned. He goes very fully into the sacrament of baptism, and into the controversies which have been held respecting it—its mode and subjects—among Protestants for the last two hundred years. These occupy nearly the first half of the volume. These controversies excite less interest than they once did, but are worth the attention of every Christian student; and he will hardly find a more satisfactory presentation of them than in the volume before us. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration, as held by Romanists, is here fairly set forth and refuted. Dr. Armstrong somewhere says that there is but one passage in the New Testament which can be plausibly quoted in its favor—"Except a man be born of *water* and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God:" and this, he insists, has no reference to the subject. The water spoken of by our Saviour, in His discourse with Nicodemus, cannot refer to Christian baptism, which was not instituted and made a sacrament for more than two years after this, but must refer, possibly, to John's baptism, or to other water purifications of the Jews.

The other sacrament of the New Testament was instituted by Christ at the close of His last Passover with His disciples, and is recorded by three of the evangelists in nearly the same words. It is a noble, venerable institution, full of instruction, and of excellent binding influence upon the Church. Our author gives a full explanation and defence of it, setting it forth as a "commemorative rite," a "symbolic rite," a "covenanting rite," an "eucharistic rite," and a "communion." Under this last head he goes into the question of close communion, as held by a portion of the Baptists and some other Protestant sects.

From this our author passes to the monstrous perversions of this sacrament by the Romanists, such as the mass, etc. They insist that, at the word of a priest, the bread and wine of the supper are converted "into the body, blood, soul, and divinity of Jesus Christ," which are partaken by the communicant at the mass, and insure salvation. This terrific power of the priest is held by him and is dispensed or withheld at his pleasure. It is often bought with money, or is refused on the most frivolous pretences. It is this which confers such a tremendous power, for life or for death, upon the Romish priesthood and Church, and has made it, for ages, the terror of the world.

I shall not follow Dr. A. in his presentation and refutation of this monstrous imposition. He has shown, more conclusively than we have seen elsewhere, that this pretence of changing the bread and wine of the supper into the veritable body and blood of Christ is not a miracle, but an *actual impossibility*. The bread and wine are not changed. They remain, in all respects, as they were before. They may be examined by all the senses—may be examined critically and chemically, and in every possible way, and are found to be the same, and yet they are pronounced by the Romish Church to be the body and blood of Christ. Now this is impossible. It cannot be true. A miracle may be true; and if properly attested, is true. One

body may be supernaturally changed into another, and may be proved to be so changed by all the senses, which are the proper judges in such a case. But the bread and wine in the sacrament are not changed. They remain the same, yet they are claimed to be the body and blood of Christ. Now this is impossible. It is bread, and not flesh; it is wine, and not blood; it is dead matter, and not alive—the same that it was before. Now, such a change as is here pretended we insist is no miracle. It should never be spoken of as a miracle. It is a *natural impossibility*.
E. P.

BEYOND THE GRAVE. Being three Lectures before the Chautauqua Assembly in 1878, with papers on Recognition in the Future State, and other addenda. By Bishop RANDOLPH S. FOSTER, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Bishop Foster, in this welcome addition to the literature of eschatology and the future state, proposes neither to assume his positions on the subject, nor "to treat the subject exegetically as purely a doctrine of revelation," but to "submit it to the reason, and examine it in the light of all the facts bearing upon it which lie within the circle of our intelligence" (p. 13). On subjects upon which God has given testimony in His Word, while on various sides, and in various degrees, they fall within the scope of human reason, it is very difficult, in any adequate treatment of them, to pursue either method exclusively. Bishop Foster cogently presents the arguments for the spiritual and immortal nature of man from the light of nature, with strong refutation of objections, in the first and second of his Chautauqua lectures. Still, notwithstanding "this fond desire, this longing after immortality," so deep in the human soul, is fortified by reasons so strong, founded in the natural constitution of things, it operates with great vagueness and incertitude among fallen men when unsupported by that revelation which reveals Him "who hath abolished death and brought life and immortality to light through His Gospel." Like the very being of God, this truth shines upon the human mind with most convincing and unquestionable evidence from the Word of God itself.

In the third lecture, accordingly, the author summarizes and explicates the scriptural teachings on the subject, having previously shown that the light of reason points in the same direction. He maintains that conscious existence continues between death and the resurrection, followed by an uninterrupted continuance after death, of the holy in endless bliss, of the wicked in eternal woe. The latter conclusion he considers impregnable in view of the teachings of Scripture, which, he shows, give no countenance to Restorationism or Annihilationism. The author expresses, in the strongest terms, the antagonism of his feelings to the eternal suffering of any sensitive being. In this we all share, even as we sympathize with Him who "hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked," but would that he should "turn from his way and live." Yet we think that this antipathy and the expression of it may be so over-done as to weaken the authority and salutary influence of the doctrine itself. It seems to us not the strongest form of putting it to say, as Bishop Foster does, "the doctrine is unwelcome and *horrific*, but probably true; the doctrine must be accepted, painful though it be" (p. 7). Something more, we are sure, could have been advantageously said to demonstrate the reasonableness and salutary influence of the doctrine, and the great evils which usually result from its rejection. Still, it remains true that punishment, especially eternal punishment, is God's "strange work," and yet the outflow of His immaculate purity, justice, and goodness.

Dr. Foster answers objections to the continued existence of the soul after the death of the body, by showing that spirit is without the attributes which make the body subject to dissolution and destruction. He also shows that the identity of the body, before and after the resurrection, depends not upon sameness of material particles, but upon the continuance of the same vital organic principle. The papers

in the Appendix, on recognition in Heaven, and the reign of death in the very life of animated nature, are valuable and interesting. They enhance the value of a volume otherwise valuable.

L. H. A.

DISCUSSIONS IN HISTORY AND THEOLOGY. By GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 555. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

These sixteen Essays have a wide range—wider even than the title of the book indicates. Written at various times from 1867 to 1880, they are brought together, here, not in the order of time—perhaps not in the order of logic. A general classification suggested in the preface includes in the first division the Essays relating to the history and character of the Roman and the Anglican Churches; in the second division, those relating to Philosophy and Theology; in the third division, those relating to Theism, and the Christian Evidences. Yet, this classification is not precise and exhaustive.

These discussions happily combine the historical and the logical. Our author sees history not as merely phenomenal, but as interpenetrated by a wise plan and thus manifesting to us the Divine Mind; while he presents logic not in the form of mere abstract reasoning, but in the vivid setting of concrete history.

Great men and great principles pass in successive review—men, in the foreground, such as Edwards and Channing, Taylor and the ancestral representatives of New England theology, and the Apostle Paul; and in perspective, representative reformers like Calvin, and Christian fathers like Augustine; principles in Philosophy like the problem of the human will, of liberty and necessity, of moral accountability, of the existence of sin in a moral universe, the strength and the weakness of Rationalism and Atheism; and questions in Theology like the being and attributes of God, the divine purpose and providence, the origin and the inheritance of sin, supernatural religion, and the doctrine of future punishment. All these subjects are forcibly handled, though sometimes too briefly. Vivid style, keen analysis, skilful logic everywhere appear. The book cannot fail to interest and instruct every attentive and thoughtful reader, although, to most persons, it will not prove to be light reading. Each chapter is interesting, and the whole discussion is able and suggestive. In almost every chapter there are vigorous thoughts flashing out like side-lights from the heat of the main discussion, quickening the mental vision and penetrating the polemic atmosphere, in certain directions, far out toward the horizon. It might be inferred that the supreme interest of the writer centres in the 10th and the 11th Essays, to which he devotes 125 pages. However this may be, we shall confine our notice chiefly to the second group, of which these Essays form an important part.

At once there is revealed the logical connection between the 10th and the 8th Essays, and the propriety of placing the one later in time earlier in the order of arrangement, so that the reader may trace "The Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards" before "The System of Dr. N. W. Taylor in its connection with prior New England Theology." Attacks upon the Calvinistic system challenged Edwards to its defence.

To the charge that Calvinism is inconsistent with human liberty and responsible moral agency, Edwards replied in his work on "The Freedom of the Will."

To the charge that Calvinism precludes both moral praise and blame, since it teaches that we inherit depravity and are punished for sin in which we did not in any way participate, Edwards replied in his treatise on "Original Sin."

Dr. Fisher tersely and significantly presents the philosophy of Edwards in these masterpieces of logical reasoning and dialectical skill.

Of Dr. Taylor, our author says, p. 286, "He was a philosopher who has had no equal in Metaphysics on our side the ocean since Pres. Edwards;" while he styles Pres. Edwards not only "the most illustrious graduate of Yale College," but, as a

dialectician and logician, "perhaps unmatched, certainly unsurpassed among men" (Sir J. Mackintosh). Yet our author represents Pres. Edwards as a Berkleyian, intense that he surpasses even Berkley himself, applying the idealistic theory of mind as well as to matter, so that personal identity, consciousness, the very substance of our individual being, are only repeated acts of creation at every successive instant of time.

We do not wonder, then, that Hopkins, the disciple of Edwards, "brought in the doctrine of divine efficiency in the production of sin;" nor that "he considered this a legitimate deduction from the teachings of Edwards;" nor that Emmons, in whom this doctrine of divine efficiency appears "in full flower," should assent (Works, IV., Sermon XXXV.), "Infants being men in miniature, God works in them as He does in other men, or produces those moral exercises in their hearts in which moral depravity properly and essentially consists. It is just as easy, therefore, to account for moral depravity in infancy, as in any other period of life."

Here, then, was indeed "a determinism more bald than Christian theology had ever tolerated." How far, according to these Essays, "The Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards" refutes the charge against Calvinism is not made precisely evident. We are glad, at least, to find that Dr. Taylor rejected this theory of divine efficiency.

But what, according to our author, was the philosophy of Edwards in regard to *moral freedom or liberty*?

The philosophic position which challenged Locke and Edwards to an attack gave them good opportunity for both skilful and successful dialectics—the untenable position that "choice springs from a previous state of indifference, an absolute neutrality of feeling, either preceding the act of judgment or interposed between that act and the act of the will." Their success was easy and deserved. But this baseless theory of liberty exposed and abandoned, what was the conception of liberty proposed by Locke and Edwards? The answer given in these "Discussions, etc.," p. 232, is that "Liberty relates exclusively to the effects of choice, or events consecutive to volition, and not to the origination of choice itself;" and again, p. 291, "Freedom consists in the dependence of the existence, or non-existence, of any action upon our volition of it." In this Locke "is precisely coincident with Edwards," p. 232. Indeed Edwards says, p. 292, "Liberty is freedom from hindrance or impediment in the way of doing or conducting in any respect as one wills."

But what if this definition be challenged as unsatisfactory, or rejected as superficial and inadequate? What becomes of the logic and the conclusion from such a premise? According to our author, even Dr. Taylor himself did not accept this attempted solution of the problem as consistent or successful.

But such independent criticism was not peculiar to Dr. Taylor or to New England theologians. Others, no less orthodox as Calvinists, were starting profound inquiries like these: Has the soul a self-determining power? If it has not, is it free? If it has, is not this the will? If so, is not freedom or liberty—by the very nature of the terms—defined as, the exercise of the will or self-determining power of the soul? Is not, then, the will a free cause? Is not man, then, a free agent, *i. e.*, a rational spirit who originates moral action? As such, does not moral action radically differ from material (physical) action—the latter being bound not (as Pope unwisely said) "fast in fate," but in the chain of physical causation—the former being not merely "left free" (as Pope more wisely said), but made free by the creative fiat of the Almighty? Does not this indicate the simple and sure solution of the troublesome problem of Edwardean causality underlying equally moral and material action? and relieve us from the Edwardean conclusion of philosophical necessity? Is not the crucial question (p. 250), "Can we conceive of a causal influence which makes an event infallibly certain, and yet not necessary?" answered readily and in conformity with the elder, historic Calvinism?

In the meantime, what, according to our author, was Dr. Taylor's definition

edom? (p. 308): "Freedom is exemption from something; it is exemption from constraining operation of that law of cause and effect which brings events to pass in the material world." But is this negative conception satisfactory? Does mere exemption constitute freedom or moral liberty? Even Dr. Taylor is not satisfied with his own attempt, but supplements it by asserting "the power of contrary choice."

It is not how such a theory solves the problem; or, whether there is such a power; or, what is "the power of contrary choice;" or, whether there can be such a power, that is not readily apparent.

Dr. Taylor's answers to these questions, either by our author or by Dr. Taylor, would have added especial interest to "The Discussions in History and Theology."

Dr. Taylor said, p. 309, "Augustinians and Calvinists had admitted the power of contrary choice in the case of the first sin, as well as in the case of the previous moral actions of Adam."

Dr. Taylor doubtless admitted and taught that Adam was created free and holy, yet mortal, so that he might fall from his innocence. But is this the same as admitting the power of contrary choice? Might not Dr. Taylor's favorite phrase, "freedom with power to the contrary," be improved by this change: Certainty of freedom?

The problem of "The Origin of Evil; or, The Introduction of Sin into the World" is fully and ably discussed by Dr. Taylor and by Dr. Fisher, pp. 305 and 320. Dr. Taylor fully discriminates between the divine action toward holiness and toward sin, and that God may be said to permit sin, while He promotes holiness. Yet we see in the principle of divine permission (not promotion) of sin, no evidence of a New England discovery, either recent or distant. The assembly of divines in Westminster 1643 embodied this principle in their Confession, Chap. VI., Sec. 1.: "This sin of the first parents, God was pleased, according to His wise and holy counsel, to permit, having purposed to order it for His own glory." Not that sin is the necessary means of the greatest good, but that God wisely and holily prefers that moral system in which sin is, in this way, permitted. According to our author, in the history of Systematic Theology previous to the seventeenth century, original sin had been accounted for by participation with Adam—not personal, but generic. This had been the philosophic explanation of the Scriptural fact of original sin (Rom. v., and elsewhere). But, now, in the seventeenth century, the federal theory was superimposed. When, pressed by objections, the philosophic defence of this Scriptural doctrine rested upon the old idea of real participation. But by the theory of creationism and Lockian philosophy (p. 290), this prop was broken down. "And now the opponents of Calvinism demanded with one voice some explanation of the imputation of sin to the descendants of Adam, which it was confessed they had no agency in committing." How does Edwards meet this "great objection," as he properly calls it? His answer is thus given (p. 290): "The guilt of a man at his birth is declared to be 'the guilt of the sin by which the species first rebelled against God.' The sin of apostasy is not theirs, merely because God imputes it to them, but it is really and properly theirs, and on this ground God imputes it to them."

It is difficult to see how any theory of transduction could make the participation really real and true. How this philosophy of Edwards is consistent with creationism and Lockianism is not readily apparent, yet we understand these essays to teach that Edwards was both a Lockian and a creationist.

In the essay on "The Apostle Paul," a final reference to the doctrine of original sin is made incidentally. It deserves, at least, a passing notice.

Paul's extended treatment (Rom. Ch. ix.) of predestination and election is dismissed by a single remark; and, to put this curt remark beyond the peril of question, it is based upon a summary conclusion about original sin, assumed as a foregone conclusion: "It was no part of the apostle's idea to offer in this ninth chapter

of Romans a metaphysical solution of the old problem of liberty and necessity, more than it was his design in the fifth chapter to solve the mystery of original sin. But what if this foregone conclusion be challenged, or be discarded as an assumption? Is it competent for our author to restrict the apostle's idea or to regulate design?

However some of the positions may be questioned, it is just to say that the on "The Augustinian and Federal Theories of Original Sin Compared," as well that on "The System of Dr. Taylor in Connection with prior New England Theology," is able and comprehensive. The one, at least, is a rejoinder to Dr. Hodge on "Presbyterian Re-union," and never does our author seem to be more in his element than when analyzing and criticising the federal (or representative) theory which he styles "the offspring of the seventeenth century." The special points of analysis may be found, pp. 357 and 358. The special points of criticism are mentioned pp. 403-409. Were it our purpose or our province, we have not space here to restate, much less to review these multiplied points.

Before concluding this inadequate notice, we might justly ask whether the Water (New England) theory of sin and guilt and imputation found in these Essays is any improvement on Pres. Edwards and Owen and the Westminster Assembly and Calvin and Anselm and Augustine? But this is not the chief question. Nor is it, whether Dr. Taylor's conclusion is consistent with, or destructive of, Dr. Hodge's view of these doctrines, but whether it is consistent with the Scriptural doctrines of sin and guilt and imputation?

We heartily accept the statement quoted (p. 287) from Dr. Smalley: "Sentiments are not" (should not be) "objected against merely because of their being innovations;" but we as heartily adopt the supplement—sentiments should not be entertained merely because they are innovations.

R. B. W.

IV.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

FAITH AND CHARACTER. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D., Pastor of "The Church of the Covenant." New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This volume is entitled to rank among the best contributions to the recent literature of the American pulpit. It consists of a series of sermons, originally preached to the author's own people, and treating of some of the most vital points of religious faith and character. Seven sermons relate to Faith in the Unseen, Intercourse with the Unseen, Christ the Interpreter of the Unseen; and these are followed by thirteen sermons upon Character, its Integrity, its Development, its Risks, its Independence, its Attitude toward men, its Active Side, and its Eternity. These are all weighty topics, coming home to every man's business and bosom; and they are discussed with singular skill and ability. While each discourse is complete in itself, they all conspire to produce the happiest unity of impression. The work is marked throughout by the fresh, vigorous thought, and the clear, incisive, manly style, which lent such a charm to "Gates into the Psalm Country." Dr. Vincent speaks out of a full mind, and what is in his mind he knows how to express in the very best way. His illustrations, whether drawn from nature, history, art and poetry, or from daily life and the walks of business, are always vivid and to the point. But their reverential tone, their fine spiritual insight, and the rich lessons of Scriptural truth and wisdom in which they abound, are what chiefly makes these sermons so admirable and so worthy of wide circulation. They seem to us eminently fitted to fulfil the author's design as expressed in his preface: "If the volume shall contribute, in any degree, to dissipate that indifferentism toward religion, which is rife, and which carries a

worse menace than positive unbelief; if it shall do aught, within the Church itself, to prick that dangerous conceit that emotional raptures, or activity in the Church work, or regular ecclesiastical standing can be substitutes for solid goodness and for consistency of conduct; if it shall go to strengthen the emphasis upon the fact that religion is a development of character, and is not summed up in the single experience which inaugurates that development; if, in showing that character attains symmetry through discipline and conflict, it shall nerve some sincere, but discouraged soul to fight its way across the storm-swept expanse between itself and its ideal; if, above all, it shall help any man to a larger and clearer view of the divine Saviour, and shall enable him to discover a new meaning in manhood, and a new dignity and sweetness in duty through their relation to Jesus Christ, it will not have been written in vain."

G. L. P.

THE KEYS OF SECT; OR, THE CHURCH OF THE NEW TESTAMENT COMPARED WITH THE SECTS OF MODERN CHRISTENDOM. By JULIAN M. STURTEVANT, D.D., LL.D. pp. 413, 12mo. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1880.

President Sturtevant must be credited with a life-long study of the subject of this volume, and a vigorous presentation of his peculiar views. He is everywhere known as an uncompromising opponent of all the known forms of Church organization, save that in which he was born and reared, and with which, for the past twenty-five years, he has been identified. No one in that section, where his lot has been cast since the autumn of 1829, needs be told, how strenuously he has opposed the prevalence of what he is pleased to call "sect" in the Christian Church. With him it is not "sectarianism" only, that is wrong, unchristian, wicked: it is the division of the one Church of Christ into provincial and state and national organizations—into corporate denominations, such as the Roman and Greek Catholic, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, the Methodist, the Lutheran, and the Reformed. It is all wrong; contrary to the teachings of the New Testament; a great hindrance to the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom; and should, as soon as possible, be remedied.

That which, in Dr. Sturtevant's opinion, lies at the foundation of the "sect" spirit and practice, is the claim, set up by all the sects, that Christ has instituted something more in government, than that of the local company of believers; that, to the government thus instituted, He has confided the "keys" of the kingdom of heaven,—the power to bind and loose, to administer the initiating rite of baptism, and to admit to the Lord's Supper. Such a theory he utterly rejects, and sets himself, in the larger part of this book, to undermine and disprove.

In contradistinction to all this, he maintains, "that the Church universal, the kingdom of heaven, can have no earthly or official organization, and that the only organized Church which Christianity admits, is the local society of believers": *i. e.*, a Congregational Church. Not that the Congregational system is absolutely perfect, especially in holding as it does, more or less strenuously, to the doctrine and power of the "keys." Let them abandon this error, and make discipline not punitive, but simply reformatory, and that by persuasion rather than authority, and then we have the model Church. The rivalry of sects will cease, and all will be harmony, peace, and love. In contrast with all this, he runs a tilt against Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, and Methodism, endeavoring to show how utterly wrong they are in keeping up their sectarian organization, and not adopting that of the Congregational—minus the "keys."

Dr. Sturtevant regards it as a great evil, "that villages and towns in our own country can be counted by hundreds, in which from four to six Protestant sects are maintaining a sickly and feeble existence, scarcely able, by the utmost possible effort and self-denial, to support themselves from year to year, without any efficiency or aggressive power, where but for our multiplication of sects, one church of Christ would be sustained, and exert its mighty influence over the whole community."

True, and well put, but how is it to be brought about? Let them all drop their peculiarities, and merge themselves into a Congregational Church! Nothing sectarian in all this; Congregationalism is not a "sect," not at all; it is the one Church of Christ! Such is the teaching, for substance, of this book. It is not new or strange. We have been familiar with it of old.

When Dr. Sturtevant went to Illinois in 1829, a Congregational minister, he became a member of the Presbytery of the Centre of Illinois, and was so reported in 1830. All Congregational ministers of that day did the same. In the new settlements, New Englanders united with Jerseymen in organizing Presbyterian churches. But in 1855, Dr. Sturtevant left the Presbytery. An era of sectarianism was ushered in. Congregationalists insisted on setting up their "*ism*" everywhere. It was not enough that a village was favored with an orthodox live Presbyterian church; a Congregational church must be set up over against it; all over the West, all the way to the Pacific. The most thorough-going sectarians in all that region, so far as our observation has extended, in all the twenty-five years that have succeeded, have been these same "no-sect" Congregationalists. And among the most active and earnest advocates of this policy has been the Rev. author of this "no-sect" volume. Dr. Norton, whose life-long residence in that region has given him peculiar opportunities of observation, says of Dr. Sturtevant—"He remained nominally in connection with the Presbyterian Church until 1855, though at that time, for years before, and ever since, he has been a most pronounced and radical Congregationalist. Under his lead that Institution [Illinois College], meant at first to be Presbyterian, then Presbyterian and Congregational, has been carried over wholly to the Congregational side. He has been the leader of that *ism* in this State from its very beginning, in about 1833. All concede to him remarkable ability but Presbyterianism in this State owes him no thanks."

The book is ably written, and the argument plausibly presented. But it is radical to the core. Its tendency is to break down the barriers of Church-government, to supersede all authority in spiritual matters, to dispense with all creeds even for the use of the local church, and in our judgment, to make what is recognized as "the broad Church" universal, and to corrupt utterly "the faith once delivered to the saints."

E. F. H.

THE SAVIOUR'S CONVERTS: What we owe to them, and How we may Aid them. By the Rev. WILLIAM SCRIBNER. 12mo, pp. 174. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

The design of this modest treatise is to awaken and deepen the interest which the people of God take in the multiplying of converts to Christ, and the training of them to a consistent, vigorous, and sanctified manhood. It is thoroughly Scriptural, and theoretically orthodox. Conversion, in every genuine case, is rightly attributed to the efficient agency of the Holy Spirit. Cases of conversion are of constant occurrence under the faithful preaching of the Word of God, but vastly more numerous under the special effusion of the Holy Spirit in revivals of religion. Not seldom the professed convert is such only in name. Such converts, of course, cause the way of truth to be evil spoken of. The true convert, also, in some cases, for lack of proper training, becomes "barren" and "unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ," is borne along on the current of prevailing worldliness, and brings reproach on the cause of the Master.

Mr. Scribner aims to arrest these tendencies, and with wholesome counsel, both to the Church and the convert, to establish the young believer in the truth, and to bring him into a nobler service and a purer fellowship. The book is eminently fitted to do good.

But, after all, the proper remedy is but lightly dwelt upon. In order that the convert may be "rooted and grounded" in the truth, his enmity to God must be rooted out; the old man must be slain, and a radical change must be wrought in

the current of his affections, his desires, his life purpose. In order to this, the pulpit must uncompromisingly and fearlessly proclaim the doctrines of grace. The native and utter depravity of the heart, the worthlessness in the sight of God of all acts and exercises previous to conversion, the awful retributions of eternity, the alone and entire sufficiency of the redemption made by Christ, justification by faith alone, and the necessity of a whole-hearted, unconditional surrender of the soul, for time and eternity, to Christ Jesus as the supreme Lord and Master of the believer, must be set forth in every form of conviction and persuasion.

It is to be feared that in these respects the pulpit is greatly at fault. In some quarters this kind of preaching has given place to a mere exhibition of the loveliness of Christ, the easiness of entering upon discipleship, and the pleasantness of the Christian life. In some of the so-called revivals of religion of the past twenty-five years, very little has been witnessed of deep conviction of sin; of struggling to subdue, or to be rid of, native and acquired corruption; of the utter prostration of the soul before God, because of its defilement, and the solemn heart-searching renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil, for Christ. Where all this is wanting, or mostly so, it may be expected that numerous conversions will be spurious, and that real converts will have but little of the martyr-spirit that should characterize every true disciple of Christ. The pulpit must be reformed. E. F. H.

THE MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONARY PROBLEM. By the Rev. HENRY H. JESSUP, D.D. 16mo, pp. 138. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The important department of Practical Theology which treats of the theory and method of Christian missions (variously called by German methodologists *Apostolik*, *Halieutik*, *Keryktik*, *Missionswissenschaft*), has been too much left to practical workers in the missionary field, to be wrought out experimentally for themselves. It has begun to demand its place in theological institutions and missionary training-schools at home. And, better still, thoughtful pastors and private Christians are recognizing not only the benefit, but the necessity of a more thorough acquaintance both with the principles underlying the work of missions, and with the varied and suitable methods which must be followed among different peoples. The comparative study of religions, pursued usually in the first instance for very different objects, is paying large tribute to, as well as deriving much material from, Christian missions.

Dr. Jessup has expanded and put into permanent form, in the little volume before us, the substance of missionary discourses, to which so many listened with pleasure and profit, in the course of his recent busy vacation at home. In his three chapters he points out the most prominent characteristics of Islam and the Mohammedan world that are unfavorable to the early and easy triumph of Christianity, such as are more favorable, and auspicious changes to be looked for as the result of the newer relations of Great Britain to the Turkish Empire. The little book is crowded with the results of study and observation and ripe experience, and should be widely scattered through the churches. C. A. A.

PROTESTANT FOREIGN MISSIONS: their Present State. A universal survey. By THEODORE CHRISTLIEB, D.D., Ph.D. Authorized translation by DAVID B. CROOM, M.A. Crown 8vo, pp. xv. 248. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

This comprehensive and careful survey of the present condition of the Foreign Missionary work of the Protestant Churches was first presented to the Evangelical Alliance at its meeting in Basle. It was published in the German original in the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift*, in November and December, 1879, and, about the same time, in the official volume issued by the Alliance. In this form it was incidentally noticed in our April number.

The author is too wise and too much in earnest to attempt a mere historical out-

line of the work of the Churches, with a statistical summary of the more measurable factors and results. He aims to detect and exhibit whatever is most characteristic in spirit and method in each field, and in the working of each organization, as well as what is wanting in local or co-operative work. A rare mastery of the numberless details of fact, great skill in presenting the missionary theory of each working body, as growing partly out of its view of man's need and Christ's salvation, and its own churchly relation to Christ, and partly out of missionary experience; and unusual power in condensing and exhibiting the material which gathered to such vast dimensions under his hand as he wrought—these are among the conspicuous characteristics of this very valuable volume. This whole discussion is most instructive to Christian intelligence, encouraging to Christian hope and expectation, and stimulating to the Christian conscience, and should become a valuable aid to missionary interest, consecration, and effort in the homes and churches of the many lands which it will reach. The English translation is prepared under such control by the author as to guarantee all admissible improvements in substance, as well as an authorized and acceptable form.

C. A. A.

V.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

ALASKA, AND MISSIONS ON THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST. By Rev. SHELDON JACKSON, D.D. Fully illustrated. 12mo, pp. 327. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. 1880.

The most ubiquitous man, in the American Presbyterian ministry, is the Rev. author of this book. His home is Denver, Col., but we should judge that it is about the last place in which to look for him. Now we are grasping his hand in Centre Street, New York; presently he is exploring the wilds of Utah; then he is investigating the Aztecs, and climbing up their singular habitations; next he is scaling the Rocky Mountains, and hunting up the lost sheep in the wilderness of Idaho; and, having a few idle days on hand, he must needs bend his steps to the vast archipelago of Alaska. So, on the 10th of August, 1877, he finds himself at Fort Wrangel. Returning to the East he published, first in his own monthly sheet, the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* (for he is an editor withal), and then in the other religious papers of the denomination, glowing accounts of what he has seen and heard, as one has described it: "a paradise for the naturalist, a happy hunting-ground for the ethnologist, and a new and boundless field for the geologist," to say nothing of the agriculturist.

Once more, "armed with a little brief authority," as an agent of the U. S. Government, he finds his way with Secretary Kendall, "the Big Chief," in the summer of 1879, to the same Hesperides, threading the sinuosities of Puget Sound, and reaching, July 21st, the familiar post of Fort Wrangel, and then pushing his way north through the longest stretch of inland navigation on the sea-coast of any country in the world.

What he saw and heard, as a faithful editor he puts in print; and his fervent appeals wake up the dormant energies of the Church in behalf of this remotest of our American possessions—so far away that San Francisco is but the half-way house to its *ultima thule*. The winter finds him at home, and he gathers up his fugitive editorials, which, with a well-condensed introduction of statistics gathered from authentic sources, he publishes in a book, "with numerous illustrations and his own speaking portrait." Such is the book before us. We welcome it as "good news from a far country." It will help, we trust, to stir up the churches to a new and lively interest in our missions there, and to plant on those hyperborean shores the foundations of many generations.

E. F. H.

THE YOUNGER EDDA: also called Snorre's Edda, or the prose Edda. An English version, etc., with an Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary, and Index. By RASMUS B. ANDERSON. 12mo, pp. 302. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

This translation, while not absolutely complete, contains all that can be of use to the general reader or student, exceeding in its compass any translation previously made into any modern language. The accomplished and enthusiastic scholar from whose hand the work comes had in his "Norse Mythology" (Chicago, 1875) and other works proved his competence, and inspired confidence in his scholarly spirit and ability. We profess no qualification to judge his work critically. We welcome as promoting knowledge of the Old Norse literature and the early Teutonic religion and life. While new translations and digests and interpretations are multiplying for the means of acquaintance with Oriental systems of religion and philosophy, ancient and modern, it is due to the Northern and Western peoples, who are our own kindred, that their less elaborate and pretentious, but quite as intensely earnest, works be carefully studied. The material generally accessible has hitherto been quite too meagre. This edition, with its various and ample apparatus, will helpfully guide the interest which it will awaken.

C. A. A.

THE READER'S HANDBOOK OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1761-1783. By JUSTIN WINSOR, Librarian, etc. 16mo, pp. 328. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1880.

Books not contained in the Boston City Library, or the library of Harvard College, or reached by references there made, are not books to which the common reader needs to be referred. Books on the American Revolution of which Mr. Winsor has acquired no knowledge, lie no less beyond the urgent want of any but specialists. And for a fine tact and trained skill in making wide bibliographical knowledge practically serviceable to others, that shall surpass his, one must search far and long. This little volume is full enough not only to meet the wants of the common reader, but to set the specialist well on his way. It is so constructed as to encourage breadth of research and a judicial quality in estimating the sources and materials of knowledge. *E.g.*, the items in regard to Arnold's treason occupy seven pages. The authorities referred to in connection with the entire transaction, or with prominent elements in it, number about 125. Contemporary accounts, as well as the summaries and conclusions of later writers; the sources of information in regard to British comment on the actors and their fate, as well as to the common and special American judgments, are abundantly pointed out.

A copious index of twenty-one pages and some 2,500 items greatly enriches the volume. We can hardly think that the encouragement will be wanting which is needed to secure like handbooks, proposed by Mr. Winsor, on other themes of history, biography, travels, philosophy, science, literature and art. He who aids us to read wisely and well is one of our greatest benefactors. This volume indicates and illustrates the great value to distant, scattered, quiet readers, of large libraries in competent hands.

C. A. A.

A SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, including both the Classical Language and the Older Dialects of Veda and Brāhmana. By WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY. 8vo, pp. xxiv., 485. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

All students of Sanskrit throughout the world must welcome the appearance of his grammar. It forms probably the most important contribution to the subject, as viewed from the stand-point of linguistic science, since the publication of Bopp's essays in the same direction. In more than one leading quality, Professor Whitney may be regarded as the legitimate successor of that great master in the grammatical treatment of Sanskrit. No others have taken up the subject with the same independence and the same freedom from prejudice and traditional bias, and no others have deferred so much to the rightful claim, on behalf of the general student, that

the principles and methods of grammatical treatment should be adopted which are applied to languages and language generally, and not the artificial, mechanical, cumbrous, and perplexing system which had been carried into Europe from the hands of the native Indian grammarians by the pioneers of Sanskrit study in the West. This demand does not imply any censure of those who have worked up Sanskrit grammar from the native stand-point; for as the classical language is itself in many of its phenomena highly artificial, it is proper that there should be at hand an elaborate and minute specification of all the multiform rules and exceptions it exemplifies. The native system, represented by Pāṇini and his disciples, aimed to secure encyclopædic fulness and absolute accuracy both of statement and explanation, and a debt of gratitude is due to scholars such as Colebrooke and Benfey, who in their great works have best made practically available to us the results of such Titanic labors. But such a method of treatment, with all its scope and minuteness, is really superficial and external, and answers the needs of the practical student as little as it meets the requirements of the comparative philologist. Of this fact Bopp and Whitney seem to have been equally aware. In two main respects the latter differs from and improves upon the former; his departure from the traditional treatment is wider, while his methods and plan are more modern, and, so to speak, more Western; and throughout his work the language is treated historically from the oldest Vedic forms downwards, the earlier phenomena of Sanskrit not being dealt with as mere variations from the "classical" standard. We shall now enumerate the most important features in which the treatise differs, as far as we know, from all of its predecessors.

With regard to the subject of euphonic changes in words due to combination, it may be said in general, that the rules which have come to us from the native grammarians must be acquired by all learners. The only thing to be aimed at by an independent grammarian is to secure their best arrangement and classification. From this point of view Professor Whitney seems to have dealt with the subject in a way to best satisfy the critical student, though beginners might acquire the most essential rules more rapidly from such a scheme as that presented by Monier Williams in his "Practical Grammar." Our author puts first the rules for internal combination (*i. e.*, of stems with formative elements), and makes them more primary and fundamental than the rules for external combination. On this he is undoubtedly right, both upon historical and theoretical grounds. In the classification he seeks to coördinate or differentiate according to acknowledged phonetic principles—a matter for which the general linguistic student will feel grateful, as well as the learner of Sanskrit.

On the subject of the noun, Professor Whitney gives what is perhaps the best scheme for the declensions yet proposed. His first declension comprises stems in *a*; the second, stems in *i* and *u*; the third, stems in *ā*, *ī*, and *ū*; the fourth, stems in *r* (*ar*); the fifth, stems ending in a consonant. Special attention should be called to the treatment of his third declension, in which much light is thrown upon the history of the Sanskrit noun by the full exhibition of the difference between radical and derivative stems in *ā*, *ī*, and *ū*.

It is in dealing with the more difficult and complex subject of the Verb that the best field is afforded for original and independent treatment, and it is in this region that our author has worked out the most striking and successful results. The subject may, in fact, be said to be thoroughly revolutionized under his hands. It was inevitable that very serious innovations would have to be made by any one who should venture to take up the language quite independently on scientific methods, and also deal with it according to its historical development. The special features of his presentation of the doctrine of the verb may be indicated as follows: (1) The proper distinction is made between tense and mood, the confounding of which, begun by the native grammarians, was never abandoned by Europeans.

The tenses are (*a*), the present; (*ḡ*), the imperfect; (*c*), the perfect, or reduplicated preterit; (*d'*), the vedic pluperfect; (*e*), the aorist, of three typical forms, simple, reduplicated, and sibilant; (*f*), the so-called *s* future; (*g*), the conditional, or preterit future, as it might be called; (*h*), the periphrastic future (non-vedic). Along with the tenses are treated the corresponding participles, the vedic participles belonging to the aorist being also recognized. The moods are the indicative, subjunctive (vedic), optative, and imperative. The infinitives and gerund are, of course, treated as verbal nouns. (2). It being recognized that the other tenses have moods and participles as well as the present, the old division into general and special tenses (a nomenclature misleading in every word) is abandoned, and in its place we have a division into groups or systems; the present-system, the perfect-system, the aorist-system, and the future-system. In the present-system is, of course, included the preterit of the present, or the imperfect. (3). The arrangement of the conjugation-classes is given according to a more scientific and natural order than has hitherto prevailed. A primary and a derivative type of conjugation being assumed, there are in the primary two main conjugations. The first consists of those classes in which there is a distinction of strong and weak stems, and a shifting of the accent therewith connected. The second embraces those in which the place of the accent is fixed, and the present-stem ends in *a*. This just reverses the order of the two main conjugations as popularized by Bopp. The first class in the first conjugation answers to the 2. or *ad* class of the Hindu grammarians, and the order of the rest is determined by the amount of addition made to the root to form the stem. The fourth class, however, groups together the stems in *nu* and the stems in *u*, thus subordinating the 8. or *tan* class of the Hindus to the 5. or *su* class. In the second conjugation the passive or "accented *ya* class" is placed beside the "unaccented *ya*," or old 4. class, as a co-ordinate member of the group. Serious objection might, we think, be made to the last-mentioned change. This arrangement provides for nine of the old classes, with the passive. The old 10. or *ur* class is assigned by the author to the derivative or secondary conjugation. In the detailed presentation of the verb each system, present, perfect, aorist, and future, is taken up separately, and under each system the verbs are exhibited in their moods and participles, in the order of the conjugational classes. We venture to predict that this whole plan of treatment will grow in favor with students, the more they use the book.

Lack of space forbids us to discuss particularly the classification made of compounds into copulative, determinative, and secondary adjective, the last two embracing subdivisions. A detailed examination will probably convince the student that whether it is as convenient practically as the old arrangements, it is more philosophical than any yet attempted.

Some other commendable features of the work should be noted. More attention is paid to the subject of the accentuation of the forms than in any previous grammar that we know of, and the subject of the Sanskrit accent generally is admirably treated. One of the most valuable characteristics of the work is the attempt made to show the relative frequency of the occurrence, in the actual literature, of the different grammatical phenomena, whether sounds, inflective elements, word-forms, or combinations of words. It is hardly necessary to suggest what a boon this will be, not merely to the beginner, bewildered by the multiplicity of forms rare and frequent, but to the more advanced student throughout his course. It ought to be said, moreover, in general, that a distinction is always made between the forms and words that are found in the accessible literature of the language, and those that are put forth by the native grammarians. Anything of the latter class which the author's research has not discovered to be in actual use, he has marked provisionally by the term "not quotable."

Some strictures might be made upon the grammar. The most serious is that the treatment of the syntax is so defective. It is but fair to say that Sanskrit syntax has

never yet been attempted with any degree of thoroughness or success. Still, no grammar can be said to be complete till that important department is adequately dealt with. The author does, indeed, give the most frequent and marked uses of the cases, moods, tenses, and infinitives as these come up for inflectional discussion; and in this we believe he has adopted the proper order of treatment. But a separate division of the whole work ought to comprise syntax proper or the arrangement of words and clauses; and here a good deal of what is usually taken up under the head of composition or word-combination might be more appropriately handled. It is a commonly expressed notion that Sanskrit syntax is a very simple affair, and that if the subject of composition is well understood, the student knows nearly all that is necessary upon the subject. This is a great mistake. The very vagueness of expression in the language gives great variety to its possible and actual syntactical forms, while the synthetic character of the idiom, even apart from the use of compound words, requires full elucidation and illustration. The numerous and varied forms of dependent and subordinate sentences also demand careful presentation. The disadvantages under which the author labors in not treating syntax proper separately and fully, may be illustrated by calling attention to the very meagre statement of the peculiarities of relative sentences. It appears in connection with the inflection of pronouns, in two brief paragraphs of the smallest type (§512).

The grammar is not so marked for clearness and simplicity of style as the author's earlier works. The desire to be idiomatically English in expression and to secure perfect accuracy of statement seems to have led to the use of a style somewhat too elaborate and frequently too involved to enable a beginner to take in at a glance the bearing of each sentence. The reading becomes more pleasant as the book becomes more familiar.

One or two questionable statements may be noted. In §223 the author is probably wrong in assigning the root *nah* to a primary *nadh* instead of *nagh*. The forms cited in support of the assertion may easily be accounted for on the theory that a *dh* origin was simulated as in *vadhā* wife, from *vah*, and in the "middle" cases of *anadvah*, ox. The author's explanation of the last-named phenomena (in §404) is unsatisfactory. From the statement in §42 as to the origin of *c* (*c'* or *ch*) and *ś* it would be inferred that they both came directly from the same sound. It should have been stated that the latter, with the Lithuanian *sz*, came for an Indo-European sound differing from the ordinary *k*, and usually denoted by *ḳ*.

J. F. MCC.

A CONCISE LEXICON TO THE TALMUDO, TARGUMS, AND MIDRASH WORKS. By F. S. DE SOLA MENDES, Minister of the Congregation Shaaray Tefilla. Part I. 8vo, pp. 48. New York: Hebrew Book Union. London: David Nutt. 1880.

This work, to be completed in four parts, is rather a vocabulary than a lexicon, properly speaking. The words occurring in the above-mentioned writings are arranged in alphabetical order, but are not at all discriminated according to dialects; and as no references are given, the student would be at a loss to know anything of their linguistic or literary associations. The meagreness of the work may be inferred from the fact that each article occupies on the average less than half a line. The work, however, will be useful to those who have not a dictionary at hand. An attempt is made to discriminate between Semitic and foreign words. This is not always successful. It is a surprise to find a Hebrew scholar deriving *בָּנִי* for example, from the Gr. *γλυκῆς*.

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I.

EVOLUTION IN RELATION TO SPECIES.

I PROPOSE, in this brief article, to submit some objections, of a strictly scientific or logical character, against the now fashionable hypothesis of evolution as an explanation of the origin and mystery of species in organic nature. I shall take occasion also to criticise the logic of its advocates. But I shall lay no stress upon its supposed sceptical tendencies for several reasons.

One of these reasons is, that, although infidels with their keen instinct everywhere welcome and defend extreme views on this subject as unanswerable arguments against the truth of the Holy Scriptures, yet all evolutionists are not sceptics. Some of them are firm believers in the Word of God, and declare that, as they understand it, they find nothing in it opposed to evolution. Some are clear and strong Theists, whether believers in revelation or not, strenuously maintaining that the forces of nature by which the processes of evolution are supposed to be carried on, are not in any sense the properties of matter, but the uniform action or energy of the Divine will. Others, whilst claiming that these forces are truly the properties of matter, escape the gulf of scepticism by holding also that God, by an original and personal act, endowed matter with these properties. Others still exclude the human soul entirely from the hypothesis, and claim that for its existence a creative act of God must be supposed. In

all these cases, doubtless, evolution doctrines may be held in consistency with faith in the personality and providence of God. There are others, however, and not a few, who affirm and maintain that the evolution forces are the properties of matter in such a sense that the question, how it came to be possessed of these properties, is excluded from scientific investigation and from the domain of human knowledge. These are the agnostics, for whom it would seem that materialism and atheism are unavoidable. But with such as these, of course, none but scientific objections can have any weight.

Another reason for confining myself here to such objections is, that science, as it seems to me, can be safely left to refute its own sceptical tendencies. For it is essentially progressive and ever advancing to new positions, or points of view, from which its previous hypotheses and theories are necessarily seen to be incomplete, or inadequate, and many of them entirely false. Consequently, scientists often advocate at one time what they strenuously oppose at another. In this way, the objections which they raise against the Scriptures, and which appear to many to be unanswerable, at one stage of their progress, they often, at another stage, overthrow and trample upon. Of this, evolution itself affords us a notable example. For only a few years ago, it was fashionable among a certain class of scientists to deny the truth of the Mosaic account of the deluge on the ground that the different species of living creatures were so numerous that they could not possibly have found room in Noah's ark. But now the evolutionists are moving heaven and earth to convince us that there never were any such things as permanent species, and that all organized beings have been evolved out of a very few primordial forms, perhaps from a single one, and ultimately from inorganic matter. Consequently, they have dropped this argument against the Scriptural account of the flood, as a live coal; for at the time this great catastrophe occurred, which may be placed as far back as any one chooses, the several varieties of land animals may have been so few as to find ample accommodation in the ark. In this way, science is constantly dealing with its own errors, which, therefore, may be safely left to its own correction.

In the meantime, before we accept any hypothesis of the

scientists, it will be wise for us to wait until we see whether they themselves will not turn against it, as they have done in so many cases. Nor should we, to whom the faith of Christianity is everything, ever allow ourselves to admit that if this or that claim of science be made good we must give up our Bible. We should rather say to the scientists, with a certain wise and great man in his day :

"Go on, gentlemen, make all the discoveries you can. We are not afraid of the truth. But you will please to remember that whilst you are disputing about anything, we are not obliged to accept it. It is our place to wait until you have come to an agreement. And when you have established any new truth so that you yourselves no longer dispute about it, we will accept it in perfect assurance that it cannot possibly have any bad influence upon our faith. For since, as we hold, the Author of nature and of revelation is one and the same infinitely wise and good Being, true science and true religion can never have any quarrel with each other."

Moreover, it is irrational for us to submit our minds blindly to the general theories, hypotheses, speculations, inferences and reasonings, which are so often put forth in the name of science. For scientists, like all other men, are fallible, and much given to speculative and discursive views. I venture to affirm that theology itself (which is saying a great deal) was never more prone to daring speculation than is physical science at the present time. We should bear in mind, also, now that it has become fashionable with scientists to submit to the public in popular lectures the evidences upon which they rely for the proof of their general and speculative conclusions, that their hearers are often quite as good judges of the nature, validity and force of their proofs, and of the soundness of their reasonings, as they themselves can possibly be. For logic is one and the same thing in all the departments of human thought and life. There is not one logic for physical science, another for moral science, another for political economy, and another for business affairs. There are no better practical logicians than our ablest men of business. Hence the statesman, the theologian, the lawyer, and the mind that has been well-trained in business, are abundantly competent to judge whether the proofs of such general speculations in science are conclusive or not. Otherwise, what good reason can be given for submitting them to the public in popular lectures? Consequently, when we detect in them the most palpable violations of the universal and immutable laws of logic,

as any intelligent person may often do, we need not hesitate to reject them. But, with respect to the facts of observation, or experiment, the case is all different. Here we may well accept in faith and with gratitude those vast and priceless treasures of information with which the discoveries of science are constantly enriching human life.

I come now to the scientific or logical objections which I propose to offer against this boasted hypothesis of evolution, which makes it necessary for me to enter here into some discussion of the essential nature and proper definition of species in the organic world.

The principle of classification, then, as is well known, lies at the foundation of science and of human knowledge. Consequently, it is everywhere represented in the languages of mankind, for every common term is the name of a class. Classes are formed by the mental processes of comparison and generalization. When we direct our attention to individual objects, we immediately begin, by an instinct of reason, to compare them with each other, and to note their points of resemblance and difference. Those that resemble each other in the greatest number of particulars we group together, and thus form our primary or lowest classes. Such a class of individuals is termed a species. These primary classes, again, we compare with each other, noting their points of resemblance and difference, and thus group them into classes of classes. Such a class is called a genus. Applying the same process to these higher classes, with similar results, when we have carried it as far as possible, we are finally arrested at one highest of all classes, which is that of undifferentenced being. The word, being, as denoting barely that which exists, or the word, thing, which means whatever can be thought of, is the name of the highest class which it is possible to form. Among all these classes, and in every branch of science alike, that which bears the name of species, being a class of individual objects bearing the greatest resemblance to each other, is the most important. It is upon this that every system of classification rests.

But here a great difficulty is encountered in determining the limits of species from the fact, that a great number of objects, especially in the world of organized beings, are found, upon

inspection of their mutual resemblances, to shade off by almost or quite insensible gradations, and even to overlap, so to speak, upon each other. Thus the Virginia mocking-bird, one of the thrushes, and the most richly endowed of all singing birds, partakes of the nature of the hawk—it is, to a certain extent, a bird of prey—for in its wild state it will kill and eat a sparrow as naturally as does the sparrowhawk. In addition to this, creatures which bear the closest outward resemblance to each other are often found to be very different in their inward structure; whilst those which are most alike both in appearance and in structure often differ greatly in their physiological characters, especially in life and life's powers, faculties, and manifestations. The Saint Bernard and terrier dogs, for example, have little outward resemblance, but their life is so nearly or quite identical that it can be freely propagated between them, and their offspring are also fertile one with another. On the other hand, the Muscovy and common duck bear a much stronger resemblance to each other, yet they are so diverse in life that, although it can be propagated between them, their offspring is a hybrid or mule, in which, consequently, the development of life and variation on that line comes to an end. Also, it has been often asserted that the Caucasian man of the highest type and the negro of the lowest differ from each other in appearance and structure more than the negro and orang or chimpanzee; but the former are so completely identical in life that it is not only propagated between them with the utmost freedom, but their offspring are as fertile one with another as themselves; whilst the negro and the orang are so diverse in life that it cannot be propagated between them at all. Thus it appears that the veiled mystery of life is most salient, and its distinctions most capable of being apprehended by the mind, in the phenomena of its reproduction.

For these and other reasons, our elder naturalists, and all until very lately, were agreed in regarding as subordinate all other points of agreement and diversity, for the purpose of determining the limits of species in the organic world, and in attaching a paramount importance to those of life and life's organs, functions, operations, and manifestations. Thus Linnaeus, the founder of the modern science of natural history,

selected those organs in plants by which their life is propagated, and, neglecting all other points of agreement and diversity, erected upon them alone his all-comprehending system of classification. Thus also the naturalists of succeeding times have grouped in species all known organized beings which they regarded as possessed of such a unity of life as that it could be propagated among the individuals of the same species in a permanently fruitful form. I do not mean that experiments upon this point were actually made in one case out of a thousand, but simply that hybridity was universally regarded as a final test of species in this sense, that all organized beings which might be found normally incapable of propagating among themselves a fertile offspring should be classed as of different species, and all which were capable of this, in the same. The divergencies by intermixture and other circumstances among the members of a species, rendering them liable to constant change in their peculiarities, were made the basis of certain fluctuating subdivisions, which, with the strictest regard to etymological propriety, were termed varieties.

Now these statements readily furnish us with a definition of species which is sharply determinative of the extent and limits of the idea. For, according to these views, species in natural history can be nothing else but that unity of life in a group of organized beings in virtue of which they resemble each other, and are normally capable of propagating among themselves a permanently fruitful offspring. This definition was substantially concurred in by all naturalists until the rise of evolution, and it is abundantly confirmed by the following passage in "the still classical work of Cuvier," in which he says :

"The birth of organized beings is the greatest mystery of the organic economy and of all nature. . . . All organized beings produce similar ones, otherwise, death being the necessary consequence of life, their species would not endure. . . . *There is no proof that all the differences which now distinguish organized beings, are such as might have been produced by circumstances. All that has been advanced upon this subject is hypothetical.* Experience seems to show, on the contrary, that, in the actual state of things, varieties are confined within rather narrow limits ; and, so far as we can retrace antiquity, we perceive that these limits were the same as at present. We are obliged, then, to admit of certain forms which, since the origin of things, have been perpetuated without exceeding these limits ; and all the beings appertaining to one of these forms constitute what is called a species. Varieties are accidental subdivisions of species. . . . Fixed forms which are perpetuated by generation distinguish their species. . . . Generation, being

the only means of ascertaining the limits to which varieties may extend, species should be defined the reunion," or grouping, "of individuals descended one from the other, or from common parents, or from such as resemble them as closely as they resemble each other."* To this it should be added, that "allied species produce between themselves an infertile offspring. Remote species of the same genus are those between which hybrids are never produced."

Now it is admitted on all hands, for it is undeniable, that this characterization of species, in which, as I have said, all the elder naturalists are substantially agreed, marks a real distinction in the actual state of things, and represents a vast range of facts in the organic world. An immense number of organized beings either cannot interbreed with each other at all, or their offspring is infertile. An immense number of others are capable of being grouped into classes such that the members of each class can and do freely interbreed with each other, and their offspring are no less fertile than themselves. And here I raise the question against evolution: Ought not the classifications of science to mark and signalize this great and broad physiological distinction and difference between organized beings? Is it true science utterly to ignore it in classification as if it did not exist? Yet this is just what all evolutionists are forced to do. The fact, indeed, is so undeniable and significant that they cannot help recognizing it from time to time, but the point which I make against them here is, that in their classifications, the primary object of which is to mark resemblances and differences, they utterly ignore it. Is this true science?

That I do not misrepresent them is evident from the fact, that their hypothesis itself is the assumption that there is no such distinction in permanence; that wherever it exists it is the result of circumstances; that all the differences between existing species have arisen through gradual divergencies, in the course of innumerable ages, among the descendants of common parents, which, therefore, were formerly capable of interbreeding, and may again become capable. It is still more evident, if possible, from their own characterizations of species. For although, for obvious reasons, they fight shy of precise definitions, yet they explain with sufficient clearness the meaning which they would if they could attach to the word. Thus Professor Huxley in his "Origin of Species":

* *Animal Kingdom*, edited by Dr. Carpenter. Introduction, pp. 18, 19.

"If in a state of nature you find any two groups of living beings which are separated from each other by some constantly recurring characteristic, I don't care how slight and trivial, so long as it is defined and constant, and does not depend upon sexual peculiarities, then all naturalists agree in calling them two species; that is what is meant by the word, species—that is to say, it is, for the practical naturalist, a mere question of structural differences." P. 104.

Now all this is very curious. For, in the first place, Huxley's assertion, that "all naturalists agree" in this characterization of species, is as far from the truth as possible. The truth is, that no naturalist, not even himself, as we shall presently see, practically distinguishes species from each other by any such tests as these. Secondly, by this expression, "a mere question of structural differences," he excludes all such as are physiological and biological, which include all the phenomena of life, among which, of course, are those of its propagation, and which, as we have seen, are the most significant of all the differences by which organized beings are distinguished from each other. This makes good what I have said, namely, that evolutionists ignore all such differences in their classifications, and again raises the question, is this true science? Thirdly, in making the distinction between species to depend upon any "constantly recurring characteristic," no matter "how slight and trivial," he lays down a principle which requires him to class the white man and the negro as of different species, for what can be a more "constantly recurring characteristic" than their opposite colors? But this neither he himself, nor any other evolutionist pretends to do; for it is not favorable to their hypothesis, and Huxley himself, in the work already referred to, explicitly says:

"I am one who believes that, at present, there is no evidence whatever for saying that mankind sprang originally from any more than a single pair; I must say, that I cannot see any good ground whatever, or even any tenable sort of evidence, for believing that there is more than one species of man." P. 113.

He has forgotten the constantly recurring, though trivial, characteristic of color, by which the black man and the white are distinguished. Thus, in fine, he finds it impossible consistently to abide by his own characterization of species. He loses sight of it on almost every page of the work in which it is given, and uses the word as including physiological traits, which he had expressly excluded. For example, in his discussion of hybridity, he says: "Hybrids are crosses between

distinct species. . . . Between species, in many cases, you cannot succeed in obtaining the first cross (remote species). . . . Here is a feature, then, great or small as it may be, which distinguishes natural species," p. 107. Here we have, on a single page, three examples, taken at random from innumerable others, in which he recognizes physiological distinctions between species, and uses the word precisely as defined by Cuvier and the elder naturalists. Especially in the last example, what does he mean by "natural species"? We see in these criticisms and quotations the sense which evolutionists desire, in the interest of their hypothesis, to attach to the word, species, and how utterly unable they themselves are to use it in this sense, by reason of the opposition which they everywhere encounter from the stubborn facts of nature.

I come now to discuss the arguments upon which they rely for the overthrow of the older definition, and for the establishment of their hypothesis, in which we shall see with what reason Cuvier could say, in the words which I have placed in italics: "There is no proof that all the differences which now distinguish organized beings are such as might have been produced by circumstances. All that has been advanced upon this subject is hypothetical." For these statements are as true now as when they were put on record by that great man. To this day, all that has been advanced in favor of evolution is "hypothetical."

There are only two such arguments, each of which, however, includes a multitude of particulars.

The first of these is the argument from analogy, which is thus stated by Professor Packard:

"Reasoning *a priori*, we assume that organisms, both plant and animal, have been created out of pre-existent forms because it agrees with the general course of nature. All agree that the solar system was evolved; that the earth was evolved . . . that . . . the nebular hypothesis is necessary to account for the origin of our earth. . . . Hence evolutionists assume that plants and animals share in this process of evolution."*

Thus far, then, the hypothesis can be no better characterized than as a mere assumption. But this argument includes also the many cases in which organic forms which had been hastily regarded as of different species have been discovered, upon more perfect knowledge of them, to be mere varieties.

* *The New York Independent*, Feb. 5, 1880.

of the same, as the squirrels of tropical America, for example, have been reduced from fifty-nine to twelve species. Evolutionists lay much stress upon these discoveries and reductions, as if they indicated that the differences between all species might, conceivably at least, be thus reduced. But here, as in many other cases, their logic is manifestly false; for all that such reductions can prove is, that naturalists are liable to error, and have erred, through imperfect knowledge, as was unavoidable, in regarding as of different, what were in truth, varieties of the same species. Nor does it matter how many more such discoveries may be made, in so far as the evolution hypothesis is concerned, because, whatever definition of species be adopted, in ten thousand cases for every one of them, it must still and forever remain as impossible to reduce the differences among organized beings to a unity as it is that the lion should interbreed with the cow, or the mouse with the elephant.

But now this whole argument from analogy, however numerous the particulars it may include, can never, with its utmost logical force, prove that anything is so; the most that it can prove is that it may be so, and raise an antecedent probability in its favor. For thus Leverrier, for example, reasoned from many strong analogies to the probability that there was a certain undiscovered planet on the outskirts of our solar system; but he did not pretend that this was to be received as a truth of science until he had discovered, and could show, his planet, Neptune, through the telescope. Upon this evidence from analogy, therefore, whilst scientists may fairly accept evolution as antecedently probable, and as a good working hypothesis, which is full of suggestion, and which may lead, as it has led them, to many valuable discoveries; yet they cannot logically claim for it the character of a scientific truth, which others are obliged to accept, and with which other known truths must be harmonized, until it shall have been demonstrated by proofs of an entirely different character.

The only other argument for the hypothesis is, that it will account for, explain, or render intelligible, a vast number of facts in nature, especially the resemblances and differences among organized beings. These facts are such as the following: The existence of rudimentary organs—the rudimentary

hand in the whale's flipper ; the male mammæ, which are supposed to have been dwarfed by ages of disuse, together with all the female organs in the male in a rudimentary or *atrophied* condition ; and, in like manner, all the male organs in the female, in a similar condition—the changes which are observed to take place in organized beings under the influence of circumstances, such as those by which, it is admitted, the various types or races of mankind have been formed ; the progress in organization from the lower and more simple to the higher and more complex types, which is everywhere conspicuous ; the manner in which the differences in organisms shade off into, and overlap upon each other by almost insensible gradations, especially as this has been disclosed by late discoveries of fossil remains ; the origination of new forms successively in the lapse of past ages ; together with the perishing of such as were ill-adapted to, and the preservation of those which were in harmony with, their changing physical conditions and surroundings. These are only examples of a great multitude of facts in organic nature which it is claimed that this hypothesis will account for and render intelligible.

Now this argument, which is strictly inductive in its character, if it were without flaw and perfect, would, I frankly concede, be demonstrative ; that is to say, if the hypothesis were in itself conceivable, and if it would fairly account for all the facts to which it properly applies, and if these facts could be accounted for in no other way, then we should be obliged to accept it as a scientific truth, resting upon evidence precisely similar and equal to that upon which we receive the Newtonian theory of gravitation. But, unfortunately for its advocates, all of these three necessary conditions are wanting, as I now proceed to show.

In the first place, then, it is not claimed that it will account for all the facts to which it properly applies. It is admitted on all hands that it includes as yet unsolved difficulties, some of which will be referred to in the sequel. Now, in this state of the case, the fact that it will account for a great number of phenomena is not sufficient evidence to establish it as a truth of science. For other hypotheses, as is well known, have been maintained on similar grounds, and yet have subsequently been found untenable. Thus in astronomy the Ptole-

maic or geocentric construction of the solar system was for a long time universally accepted on the ground that it accounted for a vast number of facts and celestial phenomena ; whilst the vortices of Descartes accounted for almost as many of them as the theory of gravitation itself. Yet both of these celebrated hypotheses are now universally rejected, and few persons are now aware of what a place in science they formerly occupied. Such, therefore, notwithstanding the number of facts which it is claimed that it will explain, may hereafter be the fate of evolution. Professor Huxley is well aware of this, and in view of it he well says, though in palpable inconsistency with other deliverances of his to which I shall refer:

"You must understand that I accept it provisionally, in exactly the same way as I accept any other hypothesis. Men of science do not pledge themselves to creeds There is not a single belief that it is not a bounden duty with them to hold with a light hand, and to part with it (?) cheerfully, the moment it is really proved to be contrary to any fact, great or small." "Origin of Species," p. 145.

But how he can reconcile this with what immediately precedes it, and of which it is given in explanation, passes my comprehension. For there he says: "I think it is Mr. Darwin's hypothesis (of evolution) or nothing; that either we must take his view, or look upon the whole of organic nature as an enigma the meaning of which is wholly hidden from us." P. 144.

Moreover, it is very far from being true, that it is either evolution or nothing. For all these facts, especially the resemblances and differences among organized beings, can be equally well and better accounted for by another and totally different hypothesis, namely, that of the distinct and independent creation of species as defined by Cuvier and the elder naturalists. Evolutionists, indeed, contend that this is rendered improbable by many facts, and that it is utterly overthrown by the late discoveries among fossil remains of intermediate forms between existing species, which, as they claim, render the transition of one species into another an easy matter. Thus, Professor Huxley, in his New York lectures, ventured to assert that if but one more "missing link" should be discovered, namely, a horse with five toes, "evolution would be demonstrated." But here again he sets all logic at defiance. For what if his five-toed horse were found? Nay,

what if any number of such approximations were discovered, and the structural differences between all species were reduced to a minimum? How would that "demonstrate" that any one species has been actually derived from, or evolved out of, another, whilst the bar of their inability to interbreed remains between them, and whilst their resemblances can be fully accounted for on a different hypothesis? How many things bear the closest resemblance which yet no one pretends to have sprung one from another? The planets of our solar system, for example, are very much alike, but this does not even suggest that the earth has been evolved out of Jupiter, or both out of the sun. Such is the logic of evolutionists by which they demonstrate their hypothesis, and overthrow that of the distinct and independent creation of species!

But now, if we concede that either of these two hypotheses will equally well account for the facts in question, there still remains a logical necessity for an *experimentum crucis*, a crucial test, that is, a fact verified and established which can be accounted for by one of them, but not by the other, in order to determine, on scientific evidence, which of them is to be preferred. Now such a crucial test we have in the universally acknowledged fact, that individuals of different species can produce between themselves no fruitful offspring, and, in most cases, no offspring at all. For this fact which, as we have seen, is one of vast range throughout organic nature, is fully and satisfactorily accounted for on the hypothesis of the distinct and independent creation of species, whilst it is utterly inexplicable on that of evolution. This, as we shall see directly, is admitted by Professor Huxley. For what conceivable reason can evolution give us, why the descendants of the same parents should ever come to be normally incapable of continuous propagation with each other? On the other hand, no such crucial test in favor of this latter hypothesis is conceivable except an actual, observed and verified transition or transformation of one species into another, such as that of a bison into a cow, a dog into a cat, a horse into an ass, a chestnut tree into an oak, or the development of a new species out of a pre-existing one so that their members should be incapable of crossing breed with each other. In order that this hypothesis should rise even to the character of a scien-

tific theory, at least one beast must be observed to have become a man, or one animal or one plant to have been transformed into another of a different or new species. But no such transformation has ever been observed. No evolutionist pretends to have discovered any such crucial test. In two or three cases, indeed, among the lowest forms of organic life, doubtful claims have been put forth to the evolution of new species out of pre-existing ones; but, in all these cases, the species have been distinguished by mere structural differences, and the question, whether they could interbreed with each other or not, upon which in this argument everything depends, has never been tested.

Professor Huxley, in the work already referred to, has given this subject an extended discussion, and we may safely accept his admissions.

"We have seen," he says, "that breeds known to have been derived from a common stock by selection may be as different in their structure from the original stock as species may be different from each other (?). But is the like true of the physiological characteristics of animals? Do the physiological differences of varieties amount in degree to those observed between forms which naturalists call distinct species? This is a most important point for us to consider. . . . For there is a most singular circumstance in respect to natural species," (Again, what does he mean by "natural species"? For true science knows no others) "at least about some of them—and it would be sufficient for the purposes of this argument, if it were true of only one of them, but there is, in fact, a great number of such cases—and that is, that similar as they may be to mere races or breeds (varieties) they present a marked peculiarity in the reproductive process. . . . If you take members of two distinct species, however similar they may be to each other, and make them breed together, you will find a check. . . . If you cross two such species with each other, then—although you may get offspring in the case of the first cross (allied species), yet, if you attempt to breed from the products of that crossing, which are called hybrids . . . then the result is that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred you will get no offspring at all. . . . Between species, in many cases, you cannot succeed in obtaining even the first cross (remote species). . . . This is a very extraordinary circumstance." (He has just said that it is so ordinary as to be almost universal). "One does not see why it should be." (Here he admits that evolution cannot account for it). . . . "Here is a feature, then, great or small as it may be, which distinguishes natural species of animals. Can we find any approximation to this in the different races (varieties) known to be produced by selective breeding from a common stock? Up to the present time, the answer to that question is absolutely a negative one. As far as we know at present, there is nothing approximating to this check. . . . Here you see is a physiological contrast between races (varieties) produced by selective modification and natural species. . . . By selective breeding we can produce structural divergencies as great as those of species (?) but we cannot produce equal physiological divergencies." Pp. 104-111.

Subsequently he adds:

"Mr. Darwin, in order to place his views beyond the reach of all possible assault, ought to be able to demonstrate the possibility of developing from a particular stock by selective breeding two forms which should either be unable to cross one with another, or whose cross-breed offspring should be infertile one with another. . . . Now

it is admitted on all hands that, at present, so far as experiments have gone, it has not been found possible to produce this complete physiological divergence. . . . If you have not done that, you have not shown that you can produce, by the cause assumed (evolution) all the phenomena which you have in nature. . . . If it could be proved, not only that this *has* not been done, but that it *can not* be done." (So! by what law of logic does he require us to prove a negative?) . . . "If it could be demonstrated that this is impossible (*sic*). . . . I hold Mr. Darwin's hypothesis (evolution) would be utterly shattered." Pp. 140-141.

Now I have been compelled to leave out much of this long-winded discussion, which is loaded with verbiage, but I have given in the author's own words his exact meaning in every particular, as any one may see by reference to the pages quoted. Here, then, we see it fully and expressly admitted that the crucial test which the hypothesis of evolution requires has not been discovered, and we are gravely challenged to prove the negative, that its discovery is impossible! in which case, we are told that the "hypothesis would be utterly shattered," as if the burden of proof rested upon its opponents, and not, as it does wholly, upon its advocates. No, the evolutionists do not pretend that they have discovered their crucial test. They tell us that they have not yet had sufficient time; for one such transformation may require many thousands of years. Says Professor Jevons:

"The deeper differences between plants have been produced by the differentiating action of circumstances during millions of years, so that it would naturally require millions of years to undo this result, and prove experimentally that the forms can be approximated together again." "Principles of Science," p. 414.

Give us time enough, they say, and we will show you plenty of such transformations. Well, we may safely give them all the time they ask, and a million of years hence, when they shall claim to have discovered one such fact, we—will examine it.

But the inability of different species to produce a fertile offspring is not the only fact which cannot be explained on the hypothesis of evolution. In addition to this, there is a vast number of other facts, and these the most important of all, namely, the facts of human consciousness, of which it gives us no rational account. This is frankly admitted by some evolutionists, who, therefore, exclude the human soul, and all the phenomena of consciousness from their hypothesis, and claim that it is to be applied only to man's physical nature, together with the lower organic world. But the great majority

of its advocates, and all the ablest logicians among them, steadfastly refuse to make this exception, because they see plainly enough that, if it can be applied to the mental faculties of animals, no scientific interest requires them to exclude those of man. In fact, the exception is made by those only who are trying in this way to guard their religious faith. But inasmuch as this objection against the hypothesis, that it does not rationally account for the phenomena of consciousness, has been frequently and strongly pressed by others, I shall do little more than state it here.

Our mental faculties, then, and their operations—reason, sensibility and will; our conceptions of abstract, universal, and necessary truths; our ideas of the true, the beautiful and the good; our moral distinctions between right and wrong; our consciousness of freedom and immortality, of God, and of the whole invisible, supersensual and spiritual world—these great salient facts cannot be accounted for by the uniform forces of nature, nor by the properties of matter, whatever “potentialities” be ascribed to it, nor in any way consistently with the evolution hypothesis. Its advocates do, indeed, make spasmodic efforts to explain the phenomena of our moral nature. But the best they can do is to tell us that our distinctions between right and wrong are nothing but the summation or result of the experiences of good and evil through which our ancestors have passed transmitted to us their descendants by the principle or law of heredity: thus what was in them a distinction based upon experience becomes in us a distinction independent of, and prior to, our own individual experience. In the same way precisely they try to explain the operations of animal instinct. But even in this latter case they signally fail. For it is incredible that bees, for example, should have learned by manifold experiments through innumerable failures how to construct their perfect hexagonal cells, which combine the greatest possible mechanical strength and capacity of contents with the least possible expenditure of material and waste of room. Otherwise their intellectual faculties must be regarded as vastly superior, for such purposes at least, to those of human beings. The same is equally true of the operations of an ant-hill, of the flight of birds of passage, of the unerring return of the young fish

from their wanderings in the ocean to the river or stream where they were spawned and hatched, and of almost all the phenomena of instinct properly so called. Much more is this explanation inadequate to the phenomena of the conscience, of which the most fundamental and essential elements, namely, its authority and its moral character, are left unexplained. For it does not touch the fact of our consciousness of moral obligation, which obviously is not contained in, and consequently cannot be derived from, the mere experience of good and evil, howsoever prolonged through innumerable generations. Neither does it touch the authority with which the conscience delivers its sacred oracles—that “categorical imperative” the awful impression of which Kant, the philosopher, could compare to nothing but that of the starry firmament. In fact, this explanation reduces this great mystery of “the voice of God in man” to a faculty of mere prudential wisdom, to a selfish regard for our own welfare and happiness, to a complete level with animal instinct. This is not to account for facts, but to deny, or at least to ignore them. In like manner, our sensibility to the charms of moral sublimity and beauty, the admiration we feel for an act of noble self-sacrifice, the promptings of great and heroic souls, our indignation at injustice and iniquity—all these and other similar facts are inexplicable on the hypothesis of our derivation from ape-like creatures, in which no such susceptibility has ever appeared. Together with these, and above all, the phenomena of the human will can never be accounted for by the properties of matter, nor from the uniform operations of natural forces, nor in any way consistently with evolution. For if we know anything, it is that the will of man is not subject to the uniformity of natural laws, that it is a self-moving power (*autokinétos*). Human life, as proceeding from the will, does not run in fixed grooves, as the wheels of a steam-engine. We have the ability to choose for ourselves whether we will go in one direction or another, which is a freedom absolutely inconceivable as a property of matter, or as a quality of any of the natural forces.

In fine, the hypothesis of evolution necessarily involves and implies particulars, processes, details of transition or transformation which cannot be represented to the mind, of

which no conception can be formed, which are absolutely unthinkable. Among these are the origin of vegetable life from inorganic matter, that of animal life, with its mental faculties and operations, from the vegetable, the transition of sexless into sexual beings, the separation of the two sexes, previously combined in the same individual, into individuals of either sex alone, the transformation of insensible, irrational, involuntary, impersonal, unmoral things into sensible, rational, voluntary, personal, moral beings. Not one of these transformations is conceivable, or thinkable, in the several steps or details of the process which it necessarily implies. Nor is the difficulty lessened, though it is veiled and disguised, on the contrary, it is increased, by the immense length of time which is required and allowed for each of them. Especially, with respect to the evolution of sexual out of sexless forms, we have a logical right to ask, what was their condition at each step or stage of this transformation? In what conceivable way could their existence have been preserved, and their species propagated (if species they can be said to have had) during those hundreds of thousands of years whilst they were neither one thing nor the other, but partly sexual and partly sexless forms? Let any one undertake to represent to his imagination the procedure and details of what must be supposed to have taken place, and assuredly he will find that they are inconceivable. Again, in the separation of the two sexes, what were the several steps and details of the process? Whilst that which is now the male was ceasing to bear children; whilst his mammæ, now dwarfed and *atrophied* by ages of disuse, were ceasing to give suck; whilst all the female organs in the male were, from the same cause, falling into a state of atrophy; in like manner, whilst that which is now the female was beginning to bear separately, and her bosom was undergoing development; whilst all the male organs in her body were falling into a similar state of atrophy—together with all the prodigious changes in the internal structures and physiological traits of both which are necessarily implied—what then and through all the ages of this transformation, were the physical and mental conditions of the creature which is now the male and female man? How was its existence maintained, and how was its species (?) propagated, during

all these immense periods of time, whilst it was neither male nor female, but partly both? Is it not evident to all men that, before we can be even plausibly required to accept this hypothesis as a truth of science, we have a logical right to demand of its advocates, that they shall represent intelligibly all of the several steps, stages, processes, details, if not those which were actually followed, at least those by which the transformation might possibly, or conceivably, have taken place? But none of them, though they have been often challenged, indirectly at least, and though the necessity of it is palpable to all men, have ever dared or attempted to furnish us with any such scheme, and this, for the best of reasons, because it cannot be done. For these and all the transformations which have just been enumerated, together with innumerable others involved in the hypothesis, do necessarily include procedures, particulars, details, which no mind can, by any possibility, represent intelligibly to other minds, nor to itself—which are absolutely unthinkable. Now what other refutation does true science require of any hypothesis, or theory, than that, in its particulars, it is unthinkable?

The late lamented Professor Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, whilst he filled the chair of physics in Princeton College, was always very full and explicit on the nature and uses of physical hypotheses and theories. He took great pains to impress upon his classes that they were very useful in giving direction to experiment and research, and thus in leading to new discoveries. But he was accustomed to add: "Young gentlemen, your hypothesis is good for just so many new facts or truths to the discovery of which it can lead you. When it will yield you no more discoveries, you have no farther use for it—you may throw it away." Now, agreeably to this view, it is undeniable that evolution has opened the path of scientific research in many important directions, and has led to the discovery of many new facts and truths in the organic world. Neither have we any reason to think that it is yet exhausted. For scientists it may long continue to be a good and fruitful working hypothesis. But, for such reasons as these which I have here given, it has no claim to be regarded as an established truth of science, with which other known truths must be harmonized; and I

venture to predict that the time is not far distant when, as an explanation of the origin of species and of the mystery of life, it will be cast by scientists themselves "to the moles and to the bats," with the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, the vortices of Descartes, the notion that nature abhors a vacuum, and other Baconian "idols of the tribe and the theatre."

J. H. McILVAINE.

II.

HISTORY OF THE EARLY SCOTTISH CHURCH.

TERTULLIAN, in one of the last years of the second century, or the beginning of the third, wrote as follows :

“The various races of the Gaetulians, the extensive territories of the Moors, all the bounds of Spain, the different nations of the Gauls, and haunts of the Britons unvisited by the Romans, but subjugated to Christ, and of the Sarmatians, Dacians, Germans, and Scythians, and of many remote nations, and provinces, and islands, many to us unknown, and which we can scarcely enumerate, the name of Christ, who is already come, has reached, and now reigns there.”

An incidental remark of Origen, written thirty or forty years later, implies the same :

“When did Britain, previous to the coming of Christ, agree to worship the one God? When the Moors? When the whole world? Now, however, through the Church, all men call upon the God of Israel.”

In both passages, it is presumed to be a fact, which none dispute, that people in Britain had, at least as early as the beginning of the third century, adopted the religion of Christ.

No distinction existed then between England and Scotland, the whole island being called by the common name Britain. Roman dominion alone distinguished the southern part from the northern, which had not been reduced to the condition of a province. A boundary line running between the Clyde and Forth, included as Roman a great part of lowland Scotland. The people consisted of various nations occupying their separately named territories, and the Romans divided their conquest into provinces, some of which were precariously held ; but after the victories of Agricola, it could not be said that any nation, south of the Clyde and Forth, had been unvisited by the Romans. Accordingly, the remark of Tertullian asserts that Christianity had, in his time, been carried north of that line. Tertullian is prone to color highly, but there is no ground for charging him with falsehood ; and when he says that there were, when he wrote, parts of Britain subdued to Christ, which were not subject to Roman arms,

we can not take him to mean less than that some Christians were to be found among the independent Britons north of the Roman provinces.

By what means Christianity had been carried into Britain is nowhere directly stated by any reliable authority ; but certain probabilities are obvious. More than a hundred years before the words of Tertullian were written, Roman armies had been maintained in the land. Dispersed over the country in camps, many of which have left their names to the towns that grew up around them, and under their protection, the men necessarily came into acquaintance with the natives. And some earnest Christians were, in the second century, soldiers in the Roman ranks. Britons were also enlisted in the army, and marched to other provinces, or to the capital. And those who returned brought, some of them evil no doubt, to their homes, but others may have learned Christ, and brought back with them the message of the Gospel. From the nature of the Christian impulse, conviction of the truth of Revelation, we may safely infer, did not remain silent, amidst a heathen people visibly suffering the penalties of a cruel religion. Much may have been done by humble pious soldiers, whose names were never known to history, because they labored not by public efforts, but quietly, each in conversation within his own little circle of acquaintances. Nor is it likely among the Christian men who, in various departments of business, must have visited, and resided for years in Britain, that not one devoted himself, of more set purpose, to the work of a missionary for the heathen populace. It was a period of great activity in missionary enterprise. And speaking for Christ was not confined to the clergy.

The British churches, in after-years, bore marks in doctrine and worship, as well as in their ministry, of having been planted in an age not far from that of the Apostles.

Within the bounds of what is now Scotland, it was the part lying south of the firths of Clyde and Forth which participated in that blessing, though not to the exclusion of some conversions further north, on the eastern coast. The victories of Agricola, in that part of the island, were made between the years 81 and 85 A.D., and Caracalla surrendered the territory as far south as the wall built by his father between the

Tyne and Solway, in the year 211. During that whole interval of one hundred and twenty-seven years was the south of Scotland under Roman rule. From the latter date we hear nothing further of Britain until the appearance of Carausius in the early years of Diocletian. But that successful naval leader, whom the senior emperors thought best to recognize as an associate in government, is himself the only theme of the history which touches the country in his days. In 293 Carausius was murdered by Allectus; and Allectus, at the end of three years, was defeated by Constantius Chlorus, to whom the administration in Britain belonged by the Diocletian scheme. Constantius died at York in 306, and was succeeded by his son Constantine.

The interval from Caracalla to Carausius, about seventy years, seems to have been entirely free from northern invasion, and that part of Scotland once subject to Rome remained in peace. Christianity planted there within the preceding one hundred and twenty-seven years best accounts for the long uninterrupted tranquillity within itself.

Meanwhile, the Scots, a people from Ireland, were securing settlement, by war or treaty, among the southern Hebrides, and on the adjoining mainland. From their subsequent relations to the Caledonians, it is probable that they came as allies, and either as allies or with the same common motive with the Picts, made invasions upon their southern neighbors. Some of their settlers were Christian, but in mass the people were heathen. The name Pict, as applied to the Caledonians, appears first in the address of Eumenius to the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, upon his victory over Allectus, in 296. And Eumenius distinctly applies it to the inhabitants of North Britain, before the time of Julius Cæsar.

The army which carried Constantine in victory to Rome, and first elevated the military banner of the cross, began its march from Britain. How much of a British element it contained we cannot say. But it indicates the convictions prevailing in the province that Constantius, who treated Christians with favor, was greatly beloved by the people. And if Constantine was not then himself a believer in Christ, he evinced his belief that the Christians were the stronger party, by attaching himself to their side; and the army under his

command consisted, beyond all doubt, largely of Christian men. Eight years later, at the council of Arles, there were three bishops from the British provinces south of the Tyne, that is, south of the wall of Hadrian, but none from the north. As long as connection with Rome existed, its ecclesiastical progress was communicated to the provinces. But Christians of the further north, cut off as foreign, by the receding of Roman dominion, and by frequently recurring wars, had few opportunities of obtaining relays of religious instruction from the imperial city, and had to remain fixed in what was originally taught them, or, at least, whatever new practices grew up among them were not dictated from that quarter.

Another hundred years of imperial rule was that of Emperors professing and protecting Christianity. Roman Britain was now fully recognized as a Christian country. The north, meanwhile, was harassed by incursions of Scots from Ireland, who formed settlements in the west, and joined the Picts in raids upon the Roman provinces. Strength was thereby added to the heathen element, while the Christian was greatly diminished and depressed. On the east, the ravages of Saxons had already begun. It was in that state of things that the first positive facts of Scottish Church history emerged into light.

On the extreme south of Galloway, which looks over the Irish sea, the coast is divided into three capes by the bays of Luce and of Wigton, and the Solway firth. The middle cape terminates at Barrow Head, in an embankment of sea-worn rocks, about two hundred feet high. North-east and north-west from that point, the rugged barrier girds the coast to the extent of many miles. The general level of the country lies at a corresponding elevation above the sea, and without possessing mountains, rises irregularly into a multitude of isolated hills. Up the eastern side, about three miles from the blunted apex of the cape, there is a break and depression in the rocky wall, forming a natural harbor of small extent, made safe by a little island lying nearly across its entrance. On that point of land, and in that little harbor of Whithorn, in or about the year 390, landed the first Christian missionary to Scotland known by name.

Ninian was a native of Christian Britain, probably of North

Wales, where the British churches were in a flourishing condition, according to the venerated practices established by their founders. At Rome he had sought a more complete education than his own country could afford. His residence in that city must have been in the pontificate of Damasus I., or of Syricius, or in part of both. The constitution of Constantine was then in full force, and the hierarchical system in union with the State, although still new, had already shaped itself into the likeness of the civil government. On his return through France, Ninian visited Martin, bishop of Tours, from whom he could not fail to hear more or other lessons on the merits of sacerdotal and monastic orders. He arrived at Whithorn, there can be little doubt, with ideas of Christianity formed, to some degree, upon what was to be found in Rome under Syricius; but nothing is credibly recorded of him at variance with the simple practice of earlier Christians. He built a house for residence and worship, and preached the Gospel there, as well as elsewhere in the country of the southern Picts. Many of that people had heard the message of grace before, but, ere Ninian's work closed, all of those living to the south of the mountains of Dumbartonshire, had, in the language of Bede, "forsaken the errors of idolatry, and embraced the truth." The death of Ninian is assigned to 432. His successors, and the results of his labor, are lost to the view of history for many generations. But after the establishment of Romanism in Scotland, Galloway emerges as an Episcopal diocese, with its missionary Ninian a saint.

About the time of Ninian's death, Palladius arrived as an emissary of Rome, sent not to convert heathen, but to conform existing churches to the Romish model. For, as John of Fordun writes, the Scots in Scotland had long before been believers in Christ, but had as teachers of the faith, and administrators of the sacraments, only Presbyters and Monks, following the rite of the primitive Church. Also Prosper of Aquitaine, writing in 455, says that Palladius was sent to the Scots, who believed in Christ, to be their first bishop. The enterprise failed. Even had Palladius found the people willing, his time was too brief. He died at Fordun in Kincardineshire, about a year after his arrival. The record of the attempt, however, has proved to be not in vain. It consti-

tutes undesigned testimony to the fact that some Scots so far north were already Christian, before an emissary of Rome had reached them, and also that their Christianity was not included in the Romish system, nor in all respects conformable to it, and clearly, that in their Church they had no clergy whom Rome recognized as bishops. On this head the reasoning of Skene is, for him, singularly unsatisfactory.

Roman arms and civil authority were finally withdrawn from Britain about the year 410, while heathen Picts continued to harass the Christian population, from the north, and heathen Scots from Ireland, on the west. The latter seem to have been in quest chiefly of plunder and of slaves. In one of their raids, a youth of sixteen years of age, named Succat and Patricius, was carried off and sold, or assigned to an under-chieftain of the O'Neil, in the county Antrim, who put him to the task of tending cattle. By his own account—and it is hardly worth while to adduce anything said about him from any other quarter—Patrick was a native of Britain. And that he meant the island of Britain, and not Brittany, admits of no reasonable doubt. For he writes of his wish to go from Ireland to Britain, and even as far as to Gaul, in such a way as to imply that Gaul lay at the distance of a considerable journey beyond Britain. He also uses the plural of the name, *Britanniæ*, *Britanniis*, and *Britannias*, after the custom of the Romans when speaking of their provinces in Britain, and calls that country his *patria*. Moreover, it was not until late in the next century that the name Armorica began to give place to that of Brittany, on account of the great number of British, who, by that time, had taken refuge there from the domination of their Anglo-Saxon conquerors. It is a tradition consistently retained in Scotland that the place of Patrick's birth was on the Clyde, on the western frontier of the Roman province of Valentia, and within the native Christian kingdom of Strathclyde. He was the son of a Christian family, in a Christian community, who must have derived their religious instruction from a date earlier than Ninian. Born when Ninian was only beginning his work, seventy or eighty miles away, he was instructed from childhood in Christian doctrine. His father was a deacon, and his grandfather had been a Presbyter. The hardships of bondage intensified his

early religious impressions. After six years he escaped, and carried with him the purpose of returning to Ireland to preach the Gospel. About the time of Ninian's death, 432, he entered upon the execution of that design, and, with a few assistants, landed at the extremity of Lough Strangford, in the county Down. By the divine blessing upon the energy with which he prosecuted his mission, the Gospel was soon carried over that and the adjoining counties; and in a ministry of thirty, some say forty or more, years, churches were organized in all parts of Ireland, and pastors educated for them and ordained over them.

Christianity, as preached by Patrick, observed the primitive simple rites once common to all the churches, Roman as well as the rest, but longest retained in the old, out-of-the-way British churches, within which Patrick had received his education. He went to Ireland not to propagate a sacerdotal system, but, as he writes, from love to Christ and to the souls of men. Nor does he refer his commission to any human authority, but says that it was Christ the Lord who, in a vision, commanded him to go, and the admonition of the Holy Spirit which retained him in the work he had begun. He was a Presbyter when he went to Ireland, and his Episcopal rank, whatever that amounted to, he received in his own country. Those whom he ordained to the ministry he calls by the name clerics alone. They were local pastors laboring also as missionaries to extend the bounds of the Church each in his own neighborhood, while he was the head missionary over all. By fabrication of later writers they were all constituted bishops, in the Romish sense, to the number of three hundred and fifty. Of course, in so small a country as Ireland, their number declares what kind of bishops they were. At the southwestern extremity of Lough Strangford rise certain low grassy hills called downs. On one of those Patrick chose his first preaching station. It subsequently received the name Downpatrick. At Armagh, upon the "hill of willows," and on ground given by Daire, chief of that district, he erected the edifice in which he most frequently ministered himself. His saintship and other ecclesiastical honors were conferred at a long subsequent time, when papalism, in effort for universal dominion, deemed it expedient to adopt and claim credit for

all earlier Christian achievements, disguising them with its own colors and decorations.

While Patrick was pursuing his mission in Ireland, new settlements of heathen were forming in South Britain. Saxons had commenced their invasions before the Romans withdrew; but after the Romans had finally declared their inability to protect the province, they came in greater numbers, and with more success, and soon had their colonies planted along the whole eastern coast, from Kent to Northumberland, extending successively to the countries on the Tweed and Forth, while Norsemen had begun their invasions on the further north-east. By the middle of the sixth century, what is now Scotland was the residence of at least seven different national groups—heathen Norsemen on the north-east; heathen Saxons on the south-east; on the intervening part of the east coast, Scots, with at least an intermixture of Christians; Britons, partly Christian and partly heathen in the south centre; Christian Britons and Picts of Galloway and Ayrshire; Picts, purely heathen, in the Highlands of the north; and heathen Picts with Scots, partly Christian, in the south-west Highlands and Hebrides.

At that time, the kingdom in the south centre, namely, that of Strathclyde, still retained its relations to the Britons in the north-west of England and in Wales, and the same profession of Christianity. But the Church within its bounds had suffered greatly from neglect of instruction, and long-continued warfare with heathen on both north and east, and its clergy were disorganized. It was the period of intensest conflict between Britons and Saxons—the time of King Arthur and his legendary wars, belonging to the most successful resistance ever made by the Christian natives to the aggressions of their heathen invaders. And some of Arthur's battles seem to have been really fought for the kingdom of Strathclyde. Kentigern, more commonly called Mungo, a man of eminent gifts and piety, undertook to restore Church order and the activity of religious enterprise. Called by the king, the clergy, and Christian people, and ordained by a bishop from Ireland, he entered upon his work toward the middle of the sixth century. With long-sustained zeal he labored for the revival of Christianity within his own charge, and in aid of it

elsewhere, in opposition to encroaching idolatry, and encountering much resistance from it. A number of youth, under his instruction, followed the example of his life, and aided in the execution of his plans.

While heathenism, in some parts of Scotland, was still strong, and resisting the work of Kentigern from both north and east, the princes of Ireland were defenders of the Christian faith, and some of them its ministers. It was one of the latter who recompensed the favor of Scotland to his native land, by carrying the Gospel to her western Highlands. Columba, of royal descent in the family of O'Neil, was born in or about the year 520, at Gartan, in the county of Donegal. Early in life he attached himself to the service of the Church; but his youth was greatly divided between it and the political and military conflicts of parties. Finally, as he approached middle age, he broke away from all secular interests, to devote himself solely to the work of the Gospel. From the lofty headlands of his native county, far over the intervening ocean, could be seen the grayish-blue mountains of the southern Hebrides, Islay, Jura, Colonsay, and others. On some of those Columba knew that there were colonists from Ireland converted before leaving home, but now without religious instructors. Others were descended of people who had left Ireland before Christianity reached it. And far out of sight beyond, under the cold sky of the north, on islands and mainland, lay tribe after tribe of Picts in a state of utter heathenism. Columba resolved to set apart the remainder of his days to preaching the Gospel in those spiritually destitute regions. At about the age of forty-three he found himself in condition to carry his design into effect. As a Presbyter of the Irish Church, (a higher clerical rank he never bore,) and accompanied by twelve assistants, in the year 563, he set sail in his *currach*, and, after landing at several intermediate points, fixed his residence upon Iona.

That little island, about three miles in length, and one in width, lying off the south-western extremity of Mull, from which it is separated by a sound one mile and a half wide, and on every other side lashed by the free sweep of the Atlantic ocean, was for Columba conveniently situated within the territories acquired by his countrymen, and yet not far from the

borders of the Picts, whose conversion he had in view. At that point also, he was protected by the chief of a Scottish colony, who gave him the island, and was prepared to welcome his Christian instructions. There he and his assistants erecting for themselves such houses as they needed of the humble materials of wattles and earth, Columba set up one of those missionary schools, which formed a feature of the old Irish and Scottish Church. Monastic institutions they might be called, in some sense, namely, in that their inmates lived together in common, with some degree of ascetic self-denial, and in obedience to their own superior; but not monastic in the sense of assuming the regular vows of poverty, obedience, and celibacy, or in holding relations to the papacy by sanction or otherwise. It would misrepresent their character, therefore, to call them simply monasteries. Their so-called monks were, in reality, secular clergy educated for pastoral or mission work, as the superior or fraternity saw fit to direct, or themselves might choose; or they were students in course of preparation for such work. And yet they were not common secular priests. For, they always made the college house their home. Even those of them who married, and had other residences, did not surrender their place in the fraternity. A monastery was nothing until it had received sanction from the head of the Catholic Church; in the Scottish Church, the clerical fraternities were themselves the heads of authority. Originally missionary colleges distributed over the land, as convenience seemed to require, they became the seats of ecclesiastical government.

Such an institution was now set up in Iona, from which to direct the operations of missionary enterprise, and in which to prepare men to be pastors for the new congregations. Its authority was in itself, vested by consent, or election, chiefly in its principal, who took his orders from the Lord, whose Gospel he preached. As he was not a diocesan bishop, but a Presbyter of the Church of Ireland, and as all succeeding superiors of Iona, in that line, were Presbyters, and yet, conjointly with the brethren, sent out and installed those who were called bishops, of whom he was always allowed the precedence, the style of bishops concerned was plainly that of parochial pastors. No other could belong to that connection.

As the earliest theological college, in which pastors were educated, licensed, and ordained, Iona instituted the earliest form of government in the northern Scottish Church. For, there were yet no diocesan bishops, neither were there yet any presbyteries or synods to discharge the duties of general superintendence, in that quarter. In other words, it was a missionary church, and the missionary college was the source of its ecclesiastical authority, and determined the style of its government.

The Christian enterprise of Columba and his companions encountered little opposition among the Picts, and was cordially supported by their countrymen, the Scottish colonists of the Hebrides. Meanwhile, relations were established with Mungo and the Church of Strathclyde, giving and receiving encouragement and support. In the course of little more than thirty years, the western and central Highlands were brought under Christian instruction. And these added to Strathclyde and Galloway, and the eastern Scots, by whom Christianity had been professed from before the days of Palladius, constituted all Scotland, except the Saxon and Scandinavian settlements.

Columba died in Iona in 597. His burial-place continued long afterwards to be the most venerated cemetery in Scotland—the chosen resting-place of chiefs and kings. His little isle became an illustrious seat of Christian learning, from which went out ministers of the Gospel, with evangelical and educating influences over all Scotland, islands and mainland, and far beyond its bounds.

In 635, Oswald, heir of the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, having been converted to Christianity during a residence of several years among the Scots, succeeded to the throne of his fathers. Earnestly desiring to have his subjects instructed in the Gospel, he applied to the Scottish Church for a missionary. Iona sent him Aidan, a man of singular meekness, piety, and moderation, who was received with high respect by both king and people. Aidan's progress was rapid and of enduring effect. Oswald gave him a residence not unlike that which he had left in the Highlands. Eight miles south of Berwick, at the foot of the seaward hills of Northumberland, and separated from them by a belt of water about two miles.

broad, but at one place almost entirely withdrawn at low tide, lies the island of Lindisfarne. It is only seven miles in circumference, and contains a smaller proportion of arable land than Iona. There did Aidan erect his modest house of rough timber thatched with straw; and there other Scottish clergy came to his assistance, and younger men were educated for the ministry. Lindisfarne became another seat of Christian learning—an Iona for Northumberland, and out from it proceeded missionaries, preaching the Gospel in all directions through that kingdom. In the course of a few years they exceeded those bounds, and planted churches in the heart of Mercia, and as far south as the kingdom of the East Saxons.

But another missionary enterprise was, at the same time, advancing from the south. In the year when Columba died, 597, a party of Benedictine monks, with Augustine and Lawrence at their head, landed on the coast of Kent. They came directly from Rome, sent by Pope Gregory I. Ethelbert, king of Kent, influenced, it is said, by his queen, a Christian princess of the royal house of the Franks, received them favorably, and, after a short interval, professed his belief in their creed. His example was followed by his people, ten thousand of whom are said to have been baptized on the following Christmas. Canterbury was constituted an archbishopric, and Augustine its first incumbent. The plans of the Romish monks wrought prosperously. Proceeding northward, it was not long until they encountered the missionaries of Lindisfarne. On several points their teaching and observances were found to differ. In the controversy which arose, Lindisfarne, sustained from Iona, was ill-matched with Canterbury, backed by all the weight of Rome. Before the end of the seventh century the island school of Northumbria had passed entirely under Romish control, and separated from her original connection. Accordingly, the Scottish and old British Churches, in maintaining the integrity of their own doctrine, worship, and discipline, remained apart from those of the Anglo-Saxons.

Of the Scottish Churches the central authority, in the eighth century, was still Iona; and of the old British Churches that of Glasgow for the kingdom of Strathclyde, extending down the north-west of England to Wales. Other British

Churches were those of Wales and of Cornwall. The Scottish Churches proceeding from Iona were newer than the British, but of the same historic connection, differing in form of government and some practices, but agreeing in the orthodoxy of their faith. A primary concern in the Scottish Church was to provide adequate education for the ministry. A school was accordingly the centre of its operations. The work of the school consisted in the study of the Latin language, and especially of the Latin Bible, with the doctrines of Revelation, as then classified and defined, the practice of religious duties, observances of devotion, and the training necessary to the proper exercise of their ministerial functions. Their standard of doctrine was the Bible. Much time was devoted to copying it; and in the study of it help was obtained from such commentaries and summaries as their learned had prepared. In some of their practices they differed from other branches of the Catholic Church, as in their peculiar tonsure over the forepart of the head, their observance of Easter after the example, as they understood it, of the Apostle John, and, most of all, in that they worshipped neither saints nor images. In all matters the pastors of the congregations recognized no human authority superior to the head of their school at Iona. And the school, without possessing any right of primacy, could not fail to exercise a watchfulness over the ministerial conduct of the clergy. As the bounds of the Church extended, other schools were planted at different places, and constituted on the same plan. Such were those of Abernethy, St. Andrews, and Dunkeld.

Thus, the government of the early Scottish and Pictish Churches was neither Papal, Episcopal, nor Presbyterian, as those systems now stand, but collegiate, in which theological schools were the chief rulers. They educated the ministers, assigned them to their missionary or pastoral places, were the authorities consulted when difficulties arose, and the homes to which recourse could be had for rest, or consolation.

Saxon monks, in course of time, came among them, and effected some changes in externals, and especially among the Picts, and under favor of the Pictish king Nectan, in the beginning of the eighth century, introduced some of the Romish ideas and terms; but even there the effect was only tempo-

rary. In the southern Hebrides and the opposite and more southern mainland, where the Scots prevailed, Saxon innovators met with little favor, and no success, except in some indifferent matters, like the tonsure. The Scottish royal line continued to hold its separate seat of power at Dunstaffnage in Lorn, and defended the cause of Iona.

Early in the ninth century, the Norwegian Vikings appeared among the isles. Iona was plundered, and in successive invasions completely devastated. Subsequently it revived and continued long to be a highly venerated seat of Christian influences; but its great power in the Church was now divided with Ireland on one hand, and the Scottish mainland on the other, the principal part being removed to Dunkeld, on the opposite eastern side of Scotland. In 843, the king of Scots happened to be left the nearest heir to the Pictish throne, and removed his residence from Dunstaffnage to Scone, the capital of the Picts, near Perth, also on the eastern side of the thus united kingdom. For many ages the isles were ruled, and to some extent inhabited, by Norsemen. At first those invaders were heathen; but in course of time, Scottish missionaries and intercourse with the Christians among whom they lived, brought about the conversion of their settlers, who became Christians according to the instructions proceeding from Iona. Later immigrations from Norway brought men of Christian persuasion according to the type of Romanism planted in their native land by the successors of Anschar; but that was comparatively a small element of population, and created no discord in the religion of the country.

The Saxon settlers of England had become zealous Romanists, and made repeated attempts to introduce their opinions and practices among their neighbors of earlier Christian faith. The Scottish Church enjoyed no congenial alliance save with those of Ireland and of Strathclyde. Their cause was one—that of retaining, as best they could, the doctrine and observances of their own earlier times. In that state of exposure to proselytism from England, and successive invasions from the continent, great vigilance was demanded of the Scottish ministry to maintain their cause. Aid was furnished by the monarchy in its successive steps of growth, first by the union of the Scots and Picts under the Scottish crown, then by the

conquest of the Angles between the Forth and Tweed, and then by the succession of the Scottish King Duncan to the throne of Strathclyde, whereby Scotland was extended southward to the Solway, with a claim to British dominion beyond it. Norsemen still ruled in Caithness and the isles.

From the eighth century to the middle of the eleventh is a period of deep historical darkness in the Church of Scotland, in the course of which its purity may have suffered more than can now be ascertained. No important change, however, took place. For at the end of that interval all its characteristic features emerge the same as before. It is then that we find the Scottish clergy called Culdees, a word most likely of Celtic origin, meaning servants of God, which came into use among the common people, within the unhistorical period. It is not found in any writings of the preceding.

About the same time also certain changes began to be introduced, of a nature to discolor and obscure the past, as well as to transform the future of the Scottish Church. Soon after the annexation of Strathclyde, occurred the murder of King Duncan, and usurpation of the Government by Macbeth, in 1040. Malcolm Canmore, son of the murdered king, found refuge in England, and at the end of about sixteen years, aided by an English force, succeeded in recovering the throne, through a war, in which Macbeth was defeated and slain. A friendly feeling was thereby created in the Scottish royal family toward the Saxons of England, which evinced itself when, in the Norman Conquest, Edgar Atheling, heir of the royal Saxon line, with his household, received a home in the palace of Malcolm Canmore.

The Norman Conquest did not extend to Scotland, but its effects gave occasion, in that country, to some very important changes. Upon religion the change amounted to a revolution. Margaret, sister of the fugitive Saxon prince, became the wife of King Malcolm, and had much influence with him, through the respect in which he held her Christian character. A woman of sincere piety, with a degree of ecclesiastical learning uncommon in that day, and her thinking molded by the Romish Church, she was able to defend it before the majority of men by its traditional interpretation of Scripture. It had been her wish to enter a nunnery and spend her whole

life in devotion. And hardly was she persuaded to forego that purpose by the offer of a throne, and of what must have weighed more in the estimation of such a woman, the love of a brave, true-hearted, and generous man. Becoming Queen of Scotland, she took under her special care the interests of religion.

Although, in observation of Easter and monastic tonsure, accommodated partly to the persuasion of Saxon monks, at an earlier date—and there seems to have been a falling off in zeal of piety—the Scottish Church was still, in the main, what it had been constituted by its founders. Its monasteries, so-called, were still ecclesiastical colleges, and not abodes of any monastic order. Their inmates were free to marry and to hold property. Their principals wielded each a sort of episcopal authority, and the parish ministers recognized no higher. Ascetics were to be found, who withdrew to rocky islets, or other desert places, and lived in utter solitude, but, in so doing, they were outside of the Church system—mere voluntary anchorites. The Culdees, or ministers of the Scottish Church, were supported by offerings of the pious, and their colleges were, from time to time, liberally endowed with lands. Some of those lands had been latterly appropriated by churchmen for themselves and their families; still, in the days of Queen Margaret and her sons, there was a large amount of such property in the hands for whom it was designed. Nor did the Culdees yet accept their orders from any earthly sovereign, lay or ecclesiastic, out of their own body. The king might be their friend; he was not their head. The Bishop of Rome might be the greatest among bishops; but Scotland was no province of his, nor did they hold any relations, except that of a common faith, to him. And from several of his practices they dissented. All this was fearful heresy in the eyes of Queen Margaret. Some of her innovations were real improvements, as, for example, her regulations for the better observance of the Sabbath, and the laws forbidding marriage with a deceased brother's widow, or with a widowed step-mother; but most of them enforced upon the nation hitherto unknown or unadopted superstitions of Rome. With what forms the Culdees observed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper may not be clearly or fully ascertainable, but

assuredly they were not the same as the Romish, nor did they imply the same meaning. For one of the grand points of change which Margaret introduced was rejection of the Scottish rite and adoption of the mass. Another article enforced the recognition of the Lord's real body and blood in the substantially changed elements of the eucharist. In the observance of the anniversary of the Lord's passion, the queen also innovated upon the Scottish practice, and introduced the extension of the Lent fast to forty days, beginning with Ash-Wednesday, and all the other holy days then kept by the Romish Church.

To effect those purposes Queen Margaret had councils of the clergy called, in one of which, at least, she appeared in person, and maintained her positions in oral address. Her husband sustained her throughout, and added the weight of his royal sanction to the consent of the councils. How far the acquiescence of the clergy became practical, and how far the changes were accepted into the real faith of the people, we cannot say. But it is worth remarking that the Saxon queen, with all her excellence, was not popular among the Scots, and in the high places of the subsequently introduced hierarchy Scottish ecclesiastics had little share, and that, long afterward, when the Scottish people once more took the regulation of their Church into their own hands, they rejected all the changes then made, excepting those touching marriage and the Sabbath.

Queen Margaret was the first among the sovereigns of Scotland to interfere with spiritual matters, in dictating faith and forms of worship. Rome, in whose interest her work was done, recognized the service, and rewarded it with the honors of canonization; and a learned ecclesiastic of that connection composed a glowing biographical eulogy of the royal saint, in which her good works are made to appear, as Alban Butler says, "more wonderful than her miracles," with which she was also adorned. Under her sons, Edgar, Alexander I. and David I., who successively occupied the throne, the Saxon influence at the Scottish Court continued to increase. Educated piously and with scrupulous care in the faith of Rome, those princes added to the change of doctrine and observance effected by their mother, a corresponding change in government.

Establishment of the diocesan system, according to the Rom-

ish model, was commenced by Alexander, and carried forward to completeness by his brother and successor, David. The method generally followed was that of conferring a favor upon a suitable Culdee college by creating its principal a bishop, assigning him jurisdiction over a definite extent of country, and the income of certain lands, for the maintenance of his rank. The other members of the fraternity, where desirable or willing, naturally constituted the chapter of the diocese. Where such preparation was not available, a new foundation was filled at once with a Saxon incumbent. The transformation proceeded with the greater facility that some of the sacerdotal titles, though with a different application, were already in use in the Scottish Church. By Alexander, St. Andrews was changed from a seat of Culdee learning to that of a diocese; while the See of Glasgow was founded by act of Pope Pascal II., in consecrating the first incumbent, and thereby conferring on it what was deemed a more than common importance. Early in the reign of David I., about 1127, Dunkeld was transformed, by making the principal, or abbot, of the Culdee College a bishop. The diocese of Dumblane was erected in a similar way. And the Culdee institution of Brechin was changed into the diocesan See of Brechin, by converting the brethren of the college into the dean and chapter of the diocese.

In this enterprise, the monarch's example was followed by his powerful, but refractory subject, Fergus, Lord of Galloway, and his rival, Olaus (Aulay), king of the isles. By the former the diocese of Galloway was constituted, subject to the archbishop of York; and by the latter, that of the Suderies (Sodor) and Man, about the year 1134. By Suderies was meant the south Hebrides, and the Isle of Man was the royal residence of the Norse king of the isles. At the death of David, in 1153, the transformation was complete, although Shetland and the Orkney Isles, being under Norwegian rule, were not brought into the system until the next century, and the diocese of Argyll was not separated from that of Dunkeld until the same period.

In the establishment of a diocesan system after the Romish model, but copied immediately from the Anglo-Saxon, it followed that the English archbishops claimed jurisdiction over the bishops in Scotland. But to admit that, would have been to surrender the national independence, and, on the part of the

king, the control of what he had himself created. One step more must be taken. A Scottish primacy must be constituted. The necessity was early perceived, and action taken in regard to it by Alexander I., who turned the property belonging to the Culdees of St. Andrews into an endowment for the new metropolitanate. Turgot, the first incumbent, was a Saxon, who had been a monk of St. Cuthbert's in Durham. He found much difficulty in getting his office into satisfactory relations with the English metropolitans and Romish practices on one hand, and the royal authority, priests, and practices of the Scottish Church on the other. After six years of trouble, he went into England for advice, and never came back. His successor, Eadmer, also a Saxon, found the same difficulties. Some clergy of his native country advised him to comply with the usages of the Scottish Church, as far as he could "without dishonoring his character, or hazarding his salvation." In their estimate, it seems, the difference between the Scottish Church and the Romish, on some points, was vital. Eadmer preferred to abandon the strife, and returned to England. Again Alexander chose a Saxon. Why? He wanted a Scottish primacy without dependence on England; could he not find a clergyman at home able and willing to be primate? It seems not, or that he felt unwilling to trust any of them with so much power. Robert, the monk, had to contend with the same difficulties which discouraged his predecessors; but he weathered through them, and held the office until his death in 1158 or 1159. The bishop of St. Andrews, however, did not reach full recognition of his metropolitan honors, during the true middle ages. York persisted in the claim of superiority over all the new bishoprics of the north; nor would the Pope interfere to restrain his ambition, or to enforce compliance.

During the same reigns, another branch of the Romish ecclesiastical empire was planted in Scotland. The sons of St. Margaret thought the Church not complete without the monastery, and had the two set up side by side, as if they had been two halves of a unit. To neither the diocesan nor the monastic system were the Culdees held to belong. They were set aside to make way for the bishops, and totally ignored in setting up the orders. Introduction of monasteries was pushed forward with zeal and rapidity, until the land was full of them.

In 1098, Alexander founded, at Coldingham, an abbey for Benedictines, supplying it with English monks from Durham, and a priory at Dunfermline, for the same order, which was afterward changed to an Abbey, the monks being brought from Canterbury. In 1114 he erected an Abbey for regular canons of St. Augustine, at Scone, to which was attached a priory on an island in Loch Tay, in 1122, and another Abbey of the same order on Inchcolm, in 1123. But in abundance of this kind of work, David I. distanced all rivalry. In 1128 he established an Abbey of Augustinians at Edinburgh, which being dedicated to the Holy Cross, was called the Holy Rood. He built at Melrose, upon the ruins of the old Culdee institution, an Abbey for Cistercian monks brought from England; also the Abbey of Cambus Kenneth, for Augustinian monks from France, that at Kelso, that at Jedburgh, and others, besides priories in various parts of the kingdom. He furnished establishments for Knights Templar, and Knights of St. John, whom he was the first to bring into Scotland. Monastic houses for women were erected by the same pious prince. Three convents of Cistercian nuns were established at Berwick, at Three Fountains, and at Gulane in East Lothian.

Here again the example of the king was imitated by some of his wealthy nobility. Fergus, Lord of Galloway, founded for Premonstratensian monks the Abbey of Souleseat, and another at Tungland, and one for Cistercians at Dundrennan. Hugh Moreville, constable of Scotland, erected the Abbey of Dryburgh, on the Tweed, and that of Kilwinning, in Ayrshire. And Cospatrick, Earl of March, and his lady, built a convent of Cistercian nuns at Coldstream, and another at Eccles, in Berwickshire.

Iona, through repeated calamities, partially maintained her ground a generation longer; but finally, broken, plundered, and degenerate, succumbed to the common fate, and in 1203 submitted to become a seat of Romish monasticism.

In brief, within the successive reigns of those three sons of St. Margaret, twenty-seven monastic institutions were established within the bounds of Scotland, besides provision for the ecclesiastico-military orders, all of them planted with foreign monks or nuns. Native institutions were appropriated, and without scruple added to the wealth of the Crown,

to endow the foreign substitutes. Culdees, if they wished to retain a place in the Church, had to accept it under the new system, and abjure their own. What the sentiment of the people was we can only conjecture. For the records of Scotland now pass into the hands of defenders of Rome, who also exercised a retrospective care in manipulating those of the past.

The ancient Scottish Church may have been better than the Romish, it may have been worse, but all pretension that it was the same is certainly in error, seeing that a national revolution was needed to make it conform—a revolution imposed upon the country by powers of government in the hands of a dynasty half foreign by birth, and entirely foreign by education.

JAMES C. MOFFAT.

III.

PAUL'S CONVERSION AND THE PAULINE GOSPEL.

IN his well-known work on the Apostle Paul, Renan remarks: "After being for three hundred years the Christian Doctor *par excellence*, thanks to Protestant orthodoxy, Paul in our day is on the point of finishing his reign. Jesus, on the contrary, is more living than ever. It is no more the Epistle to the Romans which is the *résumé* of Christianity. It is the Sermon on the Mount. The true Christianity, which will remain eternally, comes from the Gospel, not from the Epistles of Paul."* Judging from present appearances the prophecy of the French *savants* seems destined to remain, for a while at least, unfulfilled. Paul's reign, so far from coming to an end, appears rather to be entering on a new lease of power. His history and teaching occupy a prominent place in men's thoughts at this hour; and the literature of "Paulinism" is constantly receiving important additions both in the English-speaking parts of the world, and on the Continent of Europe. This abiding and increasing hold of the great apostle of the Gentiles on the mind of the Church, and indeed we may say of the civilized world, does not surprise us. For next to Christ himself Paul is by far the most important figure in the New Testament history, and after the Gospels there is nothing in the New Testament literature to compare in respect of doctrinal value to the Pauline Epistles, if we except the Epistle to the Hebrews, viewed as of other than Pauline authorship. And not only is Paul next to Christ; he is, moreover, akin to Christ, a most congenial and adequate interpre-

* "St. Paul," p. 569.
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ter of the true genius of the doctrine taught by the great Founder of our faith. If we look away from mere details, and processes of reasoning, and fix our attention on the great outlines of Paulinism, we cannot fail to recognize in Paul a genuine disciple of Jesus, possessing a true insight into the innermost significance of His teaching. The kingdom proclaimed by Jesus was a spiritual kingdom, a kingdom of grace, a kingdom of joyous filial liberty, its citizens standing in the relation of sons to God as their Father, a kingdom in which the supreme law is love, and a kingdom open to all comers on equal terms: to "publicans and sinners," Samaritans and heathen, not less than to the descendants of Abraham. Turning from the Gospels to the Pauline Epistles we find there Christianity conceived and elaborately expounded and defended as a religion of the Spirit as opposed to ritualism, a religion of grace as opposed to self-righteousness, a religion of freedom as opposed to legalism, a religion of charity as opposed to Pharisaic exclusiveness; and by reason of these attributes a religion for the whole world, and for all ages, the religion of humanity, the absolute religion.

In claiming for Paul close affinity to Christ we are not concerned to deny that we may find in his writings not only broad fundamental resemblances to the doctrine of the Great Master, but also striking contrasts; contrasts sufficient to impress us with the truth that Jesus is greater than Paul, and to make us feel as if in the Gospel we were nearer heaven than in the Pauline Epistles. In the Gospels we find immediate intuitions of truth, in these Epistles elaborate and sometimes fatiguing dialectics; in the one region reigns a divine calm with blue sky overhead; in the other, storms of controversy rage, and the heavens are obscured with drifting clouds. The teaching of Jesus is adorned with poetic beauty and artless lyric simplicity; the utterances of Paul are often poetic in spirit, and full of glowing eloquence, but the eloquence is rugged, unrhythmical, passionate, wanting in repose and literary grace and felicity. In the mind of Jesus there is a healthy objectivity: flowers, birds, fields, all natural objects have a place in His capacious heart, and all receive occasional mention in His discourse. Paul's mind, on the other hand, is characterized by intense, we had almost said morbid, subjec-

tivity. His gaze is introverted: he is too much preoccupied with great absorbing questions of moral and religious concern to see or notice outward things. As a missionary he passes through many lands, but in his writings we look in vain for pictorial touches, and find references only to the spiritual phenomena of the regions visited. On his arrival at Athens he beholds the multitude of works of art for which that city was famous; but what strikes him is not the beauty of the statuary, but an inscription on a certain altar, which to his mind becomes forthwith invested with a deep symbolic significance. Even the facts of Christ's life seem to have little interest for him, if we may judge from the paucity of references to these in his Epistles. He hardly mentions any facts, save the cardinal ones of the crucifixion and the resurrection. It has sometimes been supposed that this parsimonious allusion to the events of our Lord's wondrously interesting life on earth is due to ignorance. But we might as well infer that Paul had never seen the countries he is said to have visited because he gives us no descriptions of scenery after the manner of modern travellers. The silence is due to preoccupation of mind with certain great ideas regarding the religious significance of Christ's earthly history, in virtue of which he is determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ crucified and risen—determined in the sense of being bound, constrained to this course as by an overmastering influence, possessed by great thoughts which leave neither liberty nor inclination to follow any other course.

Along with this intense subjectivity and preoccupation naturally went another characteristic, in which Paul comes behind Jesus. Nothing strikes one more in reading the Gospels than the many-sidedness of our Lord's mind, we might call it *circularity*, conceiving a circle as a figure consisting of an infinite number of sides. In contrast with this many-sidedness of Christ's teaching we may without disparagement recognize a certain one-sidedness in the teaching of Paul. He is a man of one idea. His motto, as he tells us himself in the Epistle to the Philippians is *ἐν ᾧ, one thing only*. This is his motto not in action merely, but in thought. He knows in part, and prophesies in part. This partiality, however while it may be a limit or defect, is not a fault; it is rather

virtue, for it fits him supremely for doing the work assigned him by Providence. God meant to use him as His instrument to give currency in the faith of Christendom to the great truth that salvation is of grace, and He so burnt that truth into his soul that he could not get past it, or see round it, or refrain from speaking of it; could not find time for speaking of anything else except in relation thereto. The one-sidedness of the instrument, thus explained, is a homage to the importance of the truth proclaimed. And it is important to bear this in mind; for the infirmity of the instrument is apt to breed in us unawares a dislike to the teaching in connection with which it is manifested—a dislike which, if we mistake not, is wide spread in our day, and of which the sentences quoted above from M. Renan, may be regarded as the expression. Having adverted to this source of anti-Pauline prejudice, we may allude to another closely related thereto. To sons of culture delighting in sweetness and light it is apt to appear an unpardonable sin in Paul that he was a controversialist. A controversialist he certainly was, but it was his misfortune, not his fault. The great question in debate, that respecting the position which Christianity was to occupy as toward Judaism and the Law, whether one of subservience or co-ordination on the one hand, or one of independence and supremacy on the other, must arise sooner or later. Conflict on this point, on which the whole future of Christianity turned, was inevitable, and some one must render the service to the world, of fighting for the right in the momentous quarrel. Paul was the man raised up by Divine Providence to perform this great task, and instead of blaming him for this destiny, let us rather be thankful that he clearly discerned and firmly chose the right side, and that he fought for it with incomparable skill, and with heroic ardor and resolution.

There is one thing which, amid all changes of taste and theological tendency, will forever guarantee the labor and teaching of the Apostle Paul, against becoming objects of indifference to the human mind. It is the remarkable history of the man previous to his becoming a Christian. Paul the apostle had once been a Pharisaic zealot for the law and a ruthless persecutor of the Christian Church. These facts invest his whole career subsequent to his conversion with at

last the interest of contrast, and supply to the pious mind a most legitimate occasion for recognizing the power of Divine grace in bringing about so great a change as that involved in one becoming a preacher of the faith, who had formerly been a destroyer of it. But the early antecedents of Paul may be turned to more than merely picturesque or pious uses. We may very legitimately hope to discover some *causal* connection between the apostle's history before his conversion, and that conversion itself and all that it subsequently led to. It is by no means unlikely that a careful study of that history may assist us to understand both how Saul of Tarsus became a Christian and how he became such a Christian as we know him to have been, holding such sharply-defined views of the Gospel as we find taught in his Epistles. This is the scientific as distinct from the pictorial or pious use of Paul's early biography. Such a scientific method of bringing available materials to bear on the solution of an important religious problem commends itself to the temper of the present age, and it is therefore only what was to be looked for when we find the method pursued in recent works, such as those of Pfeiderer on "Paulinism," a book deserving careful study on the part of every theologian, on account both of its distinguished ability, and the spirit of candor by which it is pervaded, and containing an exposition of Paul's teaching, whose general character may be indicated by the formula: *an exegetical vindication and a philosophical dissipation* of the Reformed interpretation of the Pauline system of doctrine. This author approaches his task by asking himself the question: How are we to conceive *the genesis of the Pauline doctrine*? observing that the question presses itself with peculiar urgency in reference to Paul, inasmuch as he was not only not an immediate disciple of Jesus, but did not even derive his views from such as had been disciples. The method by which he seeks to answer his own question is to endeavor to find such a psychological explanation of Paul's conversion as may contain at the same time the germ of his peculiar doctrine. He holds himself justified in seeking a common explanation of the conversion and the doctrine by Paul's *own* statements, especially that one in the commencement of the Epistle to the Galatians, where the apostle solemnly declar

that he was taught the Gospel by the revelation of Jesus Christ, the subsequent context showing that the revelation referred to is that made to him at his conversion, consisting in such a manifestation of Christ himself to the spirit of Paul as made the mission to the heathen (to which reference is made in the same context), appear to his view a matter of necessary consequence. If so, then, argues Pfeiderer, "we may thence plainly see that Paul's faith in Christ, as regards its distinguishing characteristics, namely, its antinomianism and universality, really dated from his conversion, and had the same root with it." The problem, accordingly, is to find the common root in the inner processes of Paul's spirit which led up to, and issued in, his conversion.

We readily recognize the legitimacy as well as the interest of the problem, and are prepared to examine with unbiased mind any attempt at its solution. We do not allow ourselves to be scared by the fact that some of those who have made the attempt, including Pfeiderer, have themselves been biased by a desire to eliminate the supernatural out of Paul's religious history, and to make his conversion and his conception of Christianity appear natural products of immanent laws of the human spirit. With such writers as Pfeiderer, it is a fixed axiom that there can be no breach of natural continuity in the universe in any sphere, physical or moral; no miraculous incursion of Divine Power into the domain of natural law, either in the inanimate world, or in the human soul. This axiom they bring with them to the consideration of Paul's history, and it dominates their treatment of the most marvellous event therein, viz, his conversion on the way to Damascus. Common to all is the determination to eliminate the miraculous, though they differ as to their mode of achieving the feat and the amount of effort expended in the task. Some make very slight and easy work of it. What a simple affair does Paul's conversion become, *e. g.*, in the hands of Renan!

"In the midst of the hallucinations to which all his senses were a prey, what saw he, what heard he? He saw the figure which pursued him for many days; he saw the phantom about which were current so many recitals; he saw Jesus himself, saying to him in Hebrew, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Impetuous natures pass all at once from one extreme to the other. There are for them what cold natures know nothing of, solemn movements, minutes which decide the rest of life. Reflecting men do not change, they transform them-

selves; ardent men, on the contrary, change and do not transform themselves. Dogmatism is a Nessus-shirt which they cannot tear off. They must have a pretence for loving and hating. Our Western races alone have produced those spirits, large, delicate, strong, and flexible, which no momentary illusion carries away, which vain affirmation seduces. The East has never had men of that species. In a few moments all his most profound thoughts crowd into the soul of Paul. The horror of his conduct appeared in all its vividness before his eye. He saw himself covered with the blood of Stephen. That martyr appeared to him as his father, his initiator; he was touched to the quick, utterly confounded. But, in brief, he had only changed his fanaticism. His sincerity, his need of absolute faith, forbade moderation. It was clear that he would employ for Jesus the same fiery zeal that he had employed in persecuting Him.*

It is not consistent with German gravity to solve serious questions in such a flippant style, and accordingly German theologians of the naturalistic school either go into the matter far more elaborately, of which we have a very good example in the case of Holsten in his work on the Gospel of Peter and of Paul,† or more wisely show their respect for the difficulty of the problem by abstaining from all attempts at its solution, while asserting the possibility of solving it. Such was the course pursued by the famous Dr. Baur, who, in his great work on the Apostle Paul, contented himself with saying:

"Who has a right to say that such a revolution in the religious and spiritual life of the apostle could not develop itself out of his inner man in a natural way? Who will venture to maintain that even the most sudden transition from the one extreme to the other lies outside the sphere of psychological possibility, and in case such a phenomenon is deemed unnatural, that the unnatural can be realized by a miracle? If anywhere a miracle is to be rejected, it is in the psychological sphere, and in such cases in which the miracle could only be regarded as a violent incursion into the natural development of the spiritual life."‡

But how far Dr. Baur was from deeming a purely naturalistic explanation of Paul's conversion, a simple affair, we learn from words written at a later period—words honorable to his candor and indicative of true greatness: No analysis, he writes, in his work on the Christian Church of the first three centuries: "No analysis, either psychological or dialectic, can search the inner secret of the act in which God revealed to him (Paul) His Son."§

In presence of such naturalistic attempts to eliminate

* "Les Apôtres," p. 182.

† "Zum Evangelium des Petrus und des Paulus."

‡ "Der Apostel Paulus," p. 86.

§ "Das Christenthum und die Christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte," p. 45.

the miraculous from Paul's conversion, and to resolve what seems miraculous in it—the appearance of Christ—into a purely subjective vision, such as men of excitable temperament and epileptic habit can have at certain crises in their history, involving intense mental activity and nervous excitement, the believing mind is strongly tempted to regard all attempts at discovering a natural connection between the experiences of Paul before and after his conversion as illegitimate, and to rest content with receiving that event as a pure and absolute miracle. In this mood we speak of the event in this wise: It pleased God in His sovereign grace to open Paul's eyes and to change his heart, and so to convert the *quondam* Pharisee and persecutor into a Christian apostle. And in speaking thus we only repeat Paul's own words, for he was wont to speak of the matter in such terms as these: "It pleased God to reveal His Son in me that I might preach Him among the heathen." It was a reverent, devout manner of speaking which well became him, and which we may lawfully, not to say profitably, follow. Only, in so doing we must be on our guard against a mistake, into which we may inadvertently fall, that of assuming that it was psychologically improbable that one such as Paul had been antecedently to his conversion, could become such as we know him to have been after his conversion; in other words, that so intense a Pharisee and legalist could become a Christian, and especially such a Christian, an intense, enthusiastic advocate of a religion utterly opposed to Pharisaism and legalism. By such an assumption we make the marvellous change more miraculous than there is any need for, and introduce divine agency as the accomplisher of psychological impossibilities, saying in effect: See here Paul the Pharisee, see there Paul the apostle, what an incomprehensible contrast; behold what great things God hath wrought. Now, the truth is, there is no psychological improbability in such an one as Paul the Pharisee, if he become a Christian at all (reserving meantime the question as to the probability of this event), becoming such a Christian as we see him to have been. The psychological probability is all the other way. It may be predicted that if this intense zealot for the law became a Christian, he will be a Christian of a very remarkable type, as original in his new character and career as

he was in his old, and as different from his former self as possible, in so far as religious opinion and practice are concerned. It may be expected that he will go from one extreme to the other: that having been before his conversion, of all men of his time, the most ardent disciple of the law, he will after his conversion become the most thorough-going advocate of the doctrine that through Christ the law is abrogated. Having, to begin with, made the law everything, he will probably end by making the law nothing; nothing, at least, in the sense in which he formerly made it everything.

Thus far, at least, we can go with Baur and others in seeing, in the very pronounced Christianity of Paul after his conversion, an exemplification of the principle that extremes meet. But we may go further than this, and say that Paul's career as a Pharisee had something to do with his becoming a Christian. Given a man of Paul's temperament in an era when an old faith is dying out and a new one is being born into existence, and his conversion from fanatical attachment to the old to enthusiastic devotion to the new may be regarded as a not unlikely event. Such a man will throw himself in the first place with all the self-abandonment of a generous, resolute spirit, into the cause of the religion in which he has been reared, striving to give it a rejuvenescence, and exerting himself with all his might to repress its rival. But in the very act of practicing the old religion with the fervor of a devotee, he will discover its inherent weakness, and in the very act of persecuting the new religion he will discover in it truths, and in its professors virtues to which he will be constrained, in spite of prejudice, to do homage. And so a struggle will begin in his soul, which may go on secretly for a time, the zealot for the old faith feeling the force of truths in the new, to which, nevertheless, he will not yield—the wild colt kicking against the pricks. But sooner or later the crisis must come when the wild colt shall kick no longer; when the Pharisee shall own himself conquered by the Nazarene; and that day arrived, it may be expected, of course, that the new convert will be as zealous for Christianity as he was against it, and will preach the faith which he once destroyed.

That such an imaginary career falls within the limits of natural probability, all intelligent students of human history

will be ready to allow; and believing theologians can make the concession without prejudice to their conviction that into the conversion of Paul a truly supernatural element entered.* But when we advance beyond generalities and endeavor to ascertain in what precise way Paul's previous religious history served as a preparative for his conversion, more than one line of road is open to us. Till recently, theologians were pretty well agreed as to the hypothesis on which Paul's conversion could most satisfactorily be psychologically accounted for. The key to the mystery was found in the Pharisaic zealot's intense longing for righteousness.† Put broadly, the theory is, that Paul's very earnestness as a Pharisee helped to make him a Christian. With a little earnestness a man may remain a Pharisee all his days, but with a great consuming earnestness—a hunger and thirst after righteousness—he is not unlikely to go through to the other side of Pharisaism and become a convert to the doctrine that salvation is of grace. And so it was with Saul of Tarsus. Even in the days of unbelief he had a noble, passionate longing for righteousness, and he spared himself no pains to attain the desired end, and so commend himself to God. But the very thoroughness of the attempt demonstrated its impossibility, and so prepared the zealot for a radical change in his views—from a religion of self-righteousness to a religion of trust in Divine mercy. Such was the old theory. It seems intrinsically a credible theory, and, moreover, it has the additional recommendation of being in accordance with hints thrown out by the apostle himself in reference to his experience antecedent to his conversion.‡ From these hints we gather that Saul of Tarsus was from his youth up devoutly religious, according to his light.

* In an article in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1864, Beyschlag endeavors to show how, while Paul's previous experience was leading up to his conversion, there was still a necessity for a miraculous interposition. "Christ," he remarks, "can help this man before thousands, for the innermost nature of this man is prepared for Him before thousands; yet He cannot help him in a purely inward manner, since his inner man, while penetrated with intense unconscious desire for Christ, is nevertheless shut against Him by a strong door of passionate prejudice. Christ must burst open this door from without: He must help him from without inwards (Er muss ihm helfen von Aussen nach Innen)." The article is on the conversion of Paul, with special reference to Holsten's attempt to resolve it into a purely subjective vision.

† Beyschlag, in the article referred to, adopts this view.

‡ Compare such texts as Gal. i. 13-15; Phil. iii. 5, 6; Rom. vii. 8-11.

He believed with all his heart in God ; believed that God is, and that He is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him. To gain God's favor he regarded as man's chief end ; and according to all that he had learned from parents, rabbis, and sacred writings, he reckoned the faithful keeping of the commandments the direct, sure way thereto. And to this task of keeping the commandments he addressed himself with all the ardor of a deeply earnest, passionate nature. And for a while he seemed to himself to have succeeded, and was in high spirits and full of good hope, having, as he honestly believed, a conscience void of offence before God and men. But this hope and peace were the fruit of ignorance, or, more exactly, of partial knowledge of the law's demands. In his own graphic words, "He was alive without the law."* But one of the fruits of his moral earnestness was that he gradually got a deeper insight into the nature of duty. The infinitude of moral obligation began to dawn on his mind, and in consequence the star of hope set in the night of despair. In his own terse language, which in few words record an ever-memorable passage in his spiritual history : "The commandment came, sin revived, and I died." The awful thought forced itself upon his mind that by the way of legal righteousness to please God was unattainable. But the unwelcome conviction was not at once accepted and acted on—it was not likely to be, for Pharisaism dies hard. But there it was, demanding submission, and provoking recalcitration in the Pharisee's wild, untamed spirit. Such was the state of his mind at the very time he was persecuting the followers of Jesus. In that persecution, in fact, we see the untamed colt kicking against the pricks, with ever-increasing violence, till the process became too hard for himself ; when at length, like Ephraim of old, he yielded and said : "Turn thou me and I shall be turned, for thou art the Lord my God."

This view of Paul's state of mind while he was persecuting the Christians assumes that Christianity presented itself to his mind during the period of unbelief as the rival of legal righteousness. Sceptical critics tell us, however, that this is not true, and that Christianity, in its earliest form, was a mere vari-

* Rom. vii. 9.

ety of Judaism, having for its distinguishing feature the belief that Jesus was the Christ, and in all other respects conforming to existing Jewish opinion and practice. If this view were correct it would be difficult to understand what there was in the Christian community to provoke such bitter hostility in Paul's breast. The fact that he persecuted the Church is the best possible evidence that in the bosom of that society a new religion destined to alter much had appeared. A sure instinct told the ardent, thoughtful Pharisee that *there* was something that boded danger to the religion of the law; latent possibly as yet, and even not fully comprehended by the adherents of the new sect, but destined to become operative more and more. Not that it was altogether latent, for it had already begun to manifest itself as a principle antagonistic to legalism in the person of Stephen. This remarkable man had exhibited Christianity in such a light as to lay himself open to a plausible charge of speaking blasphemous words against the temple and the law, and of predicting, as the ultimate result of the influence of Jesus, the abrogation of Levitical worship and all old customs. Saul of Tarsus had seen this man, had heard him debate in the Synagogue, and plead before the Sanhedrim, and was an eager spectator of his martyrdom. He cordially hated the proto-martyr, but he felt his importance; he recognized in him the representative man of the new movement, the man who best understood the genius of the sect with which he was identified, and therefore he resolved to treat that sect as Stephen had been treated. And so the young Pharisee became a persecutor of the Christians, and while he persecuted he was trying hard to work out faithfully the legal system in whose defence he played the odious rôle, and while he tried he was more and more haunted by the suspicion that Stephen was right, and that the law was not the final basis of man's relations with God, and the suspicion maddened him and made him more violent and unreasonable till the frenzy reached its height, and the hour arrived when the Lord of the persecuted ones could interpose with effect, and utter the compassionate words: "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks," and tame the proud spirit into the obedience of faith.

In some such way as this have theologians tried to show how Paul's very experiences as an earnest law-keeping Jew tended

naturally to make him a Christian, and such a Christian as he was, one, viz, who believed that righteousness came not through keeping of the law, but through faith in Christ. But this way of accounting for the religious change which came over him is discarded by some recent writers, such as Holsten and Pfleiderer. The latter author, in his work on Paulinism, characterizes the theory as at least insufficient. In support of this charge he argues from the case of other Jewish Christians who may all, he thinks, be assumed to have experienced more or less the sense of inability to keep the law, and who, nevertheless, were not led by that consciousness to the conclusion that the law was no longer binding, or that it was useless for salvation, but merely to this, that *besides* the keeping of the law there was needed, in order to salvation, faith in the atoning death of Christ as a God-appointed means of cancelling the guilt of those who, after all their best efforts, still came short of perfect compliance with the law's behests. The position taken up by the average Jewish Christian was not, we are told, Paul's inexorable alternative, *either* the works of the law *or* faith in Christ, but both the works of the law and the faith of Christ. And it is asked: If this was all the length the sense of shortcoming brought the ordinary Jew, why should it take Paul further: beyond the hypothesis that Christ's death was a supplement of legal righteousness, to the daring and on the surface impious hypothesis that it was the disannulling of the law, and the replacing of it by an entirely new way of salvation? To this question our reply is: Because Paul was *no ordinary Jew*, but a man of extraordinary mental vigor and moral earnestness; because he was endowed with an exceptionally tender and active conscience, and also with what *Sabatier* well calls a passion for the absolute,* a thorough-going intellect which, with rigorous logic, followed out every principle to its remotest consequences. Most men are timid, inconsequent, half-and-half, given to compromise, accepting principles, and at the same time holding opinions demonstrably incompatible with them. But there are some exceptions, and Paul was one of them, and Luther was another, and we are, therefore, not surprised that Paul's Christianity took a very different shape from that of the average

* In "L'Apostre Paul," an excellent work, which ought to be better known.

Jewish Christian, any more than we are surprised that every monk who in his cell experienced troubles of conscience did not play the part of the German Reformer in the history of the Church. When such a powerful nature as Paul's appears we expect that it will feel far more intensely than other men, that which all feel more or less; that it will pass through more decisive spiritual crises, and that it will carry out principles brought into consciousness at such crises with a consistency and energy of which most men are incapable and to consequences whereof few dream. Does the action of conscience lead ordinary men to see the defects of their conduct and make them thankful to find in Christ one who supplements their shortcomings? The same cause at work in the exceptionally powerful nature will breed tragic despair as to the possibility of pleasing God by legal righteousness, and make him accept Christ not as a make-weight, or supplement, but as all in all, tossing aside legal righteousness as worthless, yea, the law itself as of no avail for the purposes of salvation.

But if Pfeiderer is dissatisfied with the old hypothesis, what, it will be asked, does he propose to put in its place? For the moral process above described he substitutes a dialectic process of which not conscience, but the reason was the seat, herein following pretty closely the example set by Holsten. His explanation of the process as given in the introduction of his work on Paulinism is, in substance, as follows: The problem, let it be recollected, is to find a common root from which can be explained at once the psychological process of Paul's conversion, and the genesis of his peculiar Gospel. Now as to the latter, Paul leaves us in no doubt as to what is the decisive ground of his whole doctrine concerning the law. He expresses it in Gal. ii. 21 in these explicit terms: "If by the law righteousness came, then Christ died in vain." Of course, holding this view, he, as a believer, could only conclude that Christ's death was meant to bring in a completely new righteousness which should stand in no relation to human performances, but be a pure gift of Divine grace. This conclusion he unhesitatingly adopted and worked out to all its consequences, so that his whole system of doctrine is a development of the central idea of the atoning death of Christ. But how did he come to adopt that strange idea? Is it credible or conceivable that the thought

of the crucified Messiah was the cardinal point in the psychological process which led to his conversion? Our author thinks it is, and he tries to prove it thus. Consider the position of the Pharisee Saul to the proclamation of a crucified Messiah. The cross of Christ is for the Jews the arch offence, because it is the death of all their hopes. The question, therefore, whether the crucified Nazarene was the Christ, as believers in Him alleged, was of vital importance to them. No wonder that so zealous a Pharisee as Saul could not rest, but saw in the persecution of the disciples a sacred duty. But this very persecution brought him into closer contact with the Christians. Of course he fought them not merely with outward force, but with the weapons of his formidable dialectic. Of course, also, he heard what the Christians had to say in their own defence, in which a foremost place was given to the resurrection, and also to texts in Old Testament Scriptures tending to show that suffering and death were a part of Messiah's career. What could he oppose to these arguments? He could not deny either the possibility of the resurrection or the feasibility of the Scripture proof in the abstract, because, on the one hand, all Pharisees believed in the resurrection of men in general, and because the mode of interpreting Scripture employed by the disciples was, in its general character, very similar to that current in the Rabbinical schools. But the less able he was to refute conclusively the arguments of the Christians, so much the more violently did the subjective feeling of the Jew and the Pharisee rise against the thought that the crucified one was the promised Messiah. He on whom the curse of the law fell, the bringer of Messianic salvation, therefore also of Messianic righteousness! It cannot be a righteousness according to the law which one cursed by the law brings in; it must be a new righteousness, a righteousness without all reference to law. Impious, absurd notion to be put down with a strong hand. But the very act of putting the impious notion down tends to make it appear more clearly before the persecutor's eye in all its glaring antagonism to legal righteousness. But the conversion, does it not become in the circumstances only the more inexplicable? Not quite so inexplicable if you attend to two further points. The one is this: The Pharisees looked for the immediate advent of the time of Messianic salvation. But in order to that, the people must be

righteous. But they are not, there is no present likelihood of their becoming so. What if they are to be made righteous in a new way? say by the atoning death of Messiah? The other point is the resurrection of Jesus, solemnly alleged to have taken place by men whose whole conduct bore a stamp of sincerity. Between the two, the thought of a righteousness arrived at by a short road through Messiah's sufferings, and the thought of that rising from the dead, believed in by a dying Stephen, the persecutor is brought the length of feeling that, perhaps, after all the Christians are right, and that he is wrong—a state of mind which must soon issue in a crisis, and which did issue in the crisis of conversion in the case of Paul.

We cannot deny to this hypothetical construction the praise of ingenuity, but it is too ingenious to be true, and it is very open to criticism at various points. Its first and most fatal fault is that, as the author admits, it makes the conversion of Paul a process of the theoretic consciousness, a "dialectic of religious thought," and a moral process only in the subordinate sense that his conscience loyally submitted to the conclusions of his intellect. How much more probable that the process was, to begin with, a moral one, and that the theoretic process followed afterward when the problem arose, to construct an intellectual scheme of thought in harmony with the religious position accepted under constraint of conscience. Then in favor of the moral process, as against the theoretical one, is the consideration that the former is fitted to be a source of motive power out of all proportion to that yielded by the other, and so can better account for the peculiar intensity of Paul's devotion to Christ. This feature of Paul's Christianity is fully recognized by Pfleiderer; indeed we know no writer who speaks of it in more glowing and appreciative terms, or who has kept it more consistently in view throughout his entire exposition of the Pauline system of thought. He very justly remarks that Paul is at no time a mere scholastic theologian, and that even his deepest speculations issue from the depth of his religious feeling; and he never forgets this in his own representation, so that the reading of his work is a much more refreshing and agreeable task than is the perusal of works on Paul's teaching by many more orthodox divines. Pfleiderer knows what a great part *Glaubens-mystik* plays in

the Pauline theology, and he knows also that the source of this mysticism of faith and the secret of its moral power is passionate love to Christ, to Him "who loved me and gave Himself for me." But whence this intense passionate devotion? Has it its source in a process of reasoning concerning the puzzling question as to the construction to be put upon the crucifixion of one who had made pretensions to be the Messiah? Is it not more likely to have had its origin in a moral process through which Paul was made aware that to reach a God-pleasing righteousness by self-effort was impossible, and that it could be got only by looking unto a God-appointed Propitiation? In view of such a process we can understand the intensity of those words spoken by Paul in the hearing of Peter at Antioch: "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I; but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." Such mystic self-identification with Christ crucified, and such ardent devotion to the Redeemer are not wont to be the outcome of "theoretic processes," whether respecting the cross of Jesus or any other topic. It is moral and spiritual processes alone which supply such mighty dynamics as are seen to be at work in the literary activity and the missionary enterprise of the Apostle Paul.

The quotation just made from the Epistle to the Galatians reminds us of another criticism to which Pfeiderer's construction is open, viz, that the use which he makes of the last verse of the passage from which the quotation is taken is very questionable. In that verse the apostle is represented as stating that if by the law righteousness, then Christ died in vain, and Pfeiderer finds indicated in the words the conclusive ground of Paul's whole doctrine regarding the law. Now what is actually to be found in the words is not the *ground* of Paul's doctrine concerning the law, but the doctrine itself stated in the strongest possible form. Paul's precise position as distinguished from that of the Judaists, was that the law and Christ were not to be combined as joint factors in salvation, but that a choice must be made between them; and in the conclusion of his remonstrance with Peter he takes occasion to state his position strongly and startlingly, a brother apostle had been practically denying it and affirming it.

the counterposition of the Judaists. In this famous Antioch utterance, which is the first recorded proclamation of the Pauline Gospel, Paul in effect charges his brother apostle with three offences. The first is that he virtually excommunicated the Gentile Christians by insisting on the observance of Jewish custom as a condition of church-fellowship. By withdrawing from the Gentile brethren out of deference to the zealots from Jerusalem he was in effect compelling the Gentiles to Judaize. The second fault charged against Peter was self-stultification. In refusing to eat with uncircumcised persons he was in effect building again the things which he had destroyed and treated as naught ever since the time when he had the vision of the sheet let down from heaven, so inevitably making himself a transgressor either in the past or in the present part of his conduct, for he could not be right in both—in eating and in refraining from eating with uncircumcised persons. Paul does not indeed directly say to Peter, "You have made yourself a transgressor by treating as binding a law which hitherto you have recognized as obsolete;" he puts the matter in the first person and in the form of a hypothetical proposition: "If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor." But this is a mere affair of delicacy; it is easy to see what is meant: it is a charge of inconsistency and self-stultification brought against Peter in the form of an innuendo. The third and most serious offence laid at the door of Peter is *frustration of the grace of God*. Here, too, the charge is insinuated, rather than broadly stated. Paul indicates what Peter has done by declaring, with passionate emphasis, what he himself has not done. He states his own understanding of the Christian position, and his own practice, and by implication represents Peter as occupying an opposite position. "I, Paul, through the law, am dead to the law; I am crucified with Christ to legal ordinances; I do not frustrate the grace of God, by acting as if the law was still obligatory. You, Peter, are not yet dead to the law. You act as if its ordinances were binding, and so in effect frustrate the grace of God." It was a very serious charge to bring against a brother apostle. Paul was fully aware of its seriousness, and so he hastened to justify himself for putting so serious a construction upon Peter's thoughtless conduct by adding the reflection, "If righteousness

come by the law [the only assumption on which Peter's action could be vindicated] then Christ is dead in vain."

This Antioch utterance, thus understood, gives us a very clear insight into Paul's views of the Gospel, but it gives us no information as to how he was led to adopt these views. We see clearly that Christ crucified is the central idea of Paul's system, the sum and substance of his Gospel. Christ crucified is everything to him, the law nothing. Here we are at one with Pfeiderer, and we hail it as another excellent feature in his work that he proclaims with due emphasis the cardinal importance of the idea of Christ's expiatory death in the Pauline system. But where we differ from him is in the inference he draws from the words in the closing verse in the second chapter of Galatians, that of the two truths: Christ crucified the source of righteousness, the law of no avail for righteousness, the former was first revealed to Paul's faith, and the latter then arrived at by logical deduction. We can see nothing in the text to justify this view. We do see as a matter of fact that Christ crucified is everything to Paul for righteousness, and the law nothing; but which of these two truths came first, and which last, which was ground and which consequence, which foundation and which superstructure, remains undetermined. There is nothing in the Antioch utterance to exclude the supposition that in the history of Paul's religious experience the truth first ascertained was the futility of the law for the attainment of righteousness, and that only then did the light of the truth that Christ crucified is our righteousness begin to break on a mind prepared by a discipline of sorrow to receive it with meekness and thankfulness.

Strange to say, while unwilling to admit that such was the order of discovery in so far as Paul's personal righteousness was concerned, Pfeiderer seems to think it probable that this order obtained with reference to the righteousness of his countrymen. Paul, we are told, did not first discover the worthlessness of his own righteousness, and then learn that Christ was his righteousness; but we are told by the same authority that he discovered the unrighteousness of his countrymen and the utter hopelessness of their ever becoming righteous by the faithful keeping of the law, and so hit upon the idea that perhaps Messiah himself would in some mysterious way—

say by His being a sin-offering—bring in righteousness. This is another weak point in the theory. How unlikely that Paul the Pharisee would attach so much importance to the want of righteousness in his countrymen as to be led thereby to change his whole conception of righteousness, and to find in the death of Messiah what he could see nowhere else, the needful preparation for the Messianic kingdom—this, observe, without any deep sense of his own want of righteousness. As long as he stood well in his own esteem, he was not likely to find in the unrighteousness of others an insuperable difficulty in the way of carrying out the Pharisaic theory. Messiah had but to come with a fan in His hand to separate chaff from wheat, and to gather the wheat into His kingdom, and to throw the chaff into the fire. It would only be when the truth as to his own moral condition began to dawn on him in all its grim reality, that the thought of a righteousness not of the law would force itself upon his mind. Then he might begin seriously to say to himself: "I despair of salvation by my own efforts. I can do outward works, pay tithes, fast, and so forth, but how to cleanse the inner man? The law says not merely, Thou shalt not steal, but, Thou shalt not covet; not merely, Thou shalt not commit adultery, but, Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife. I am full of evil thoughts and desires. There is a law in my members warring against the law of my mind. Wretched man! who shall deliver me?" To get this length is not in itself to accept the crucified Christ as our righteousness; but, certainly, one who has got this length is nearer that position than is one who is merely impressed with the unrighteousness of other men. The complacent Pharisee can find a subtle comfort in the prevalent unrighteousness of society, thanking God he is not as the rest of men. But one who has been brought to ask in despair: Who shall deliver *me*? will not rest till he has found some other ground for thanking God. By what precise steps Paul came to find that ground in a crucified Messiah, we do not profess to know. After all our thinking on the subject, we must confess a mystery in the matter for which no better solution can be suggested than Paul's own: "It pleased God to reveal His Son in me." But we can see this, that the moral despair into which Paul had fallen, and the faith in Je-

sus the Crucified, which brought back the light of hope once more into his soul, fit well to each other ; and we know it to be a simple fact of history, that those whose religious experience has most closely resembled Paul's in its former phase, have also come closest to him in their conceptions of the Gospel.

As to what Paul's conception of the way of salvation was, there is happily little room for doubt or dispute. The *genesis* of his gospel may be a matter of doubtful dispute ; his gospel itself belongs to the category of certainties. The central truth therein, as already stated, was Jesus Christ crucified for the sins of men. His acceptance of this doctrine having had its origin, as we believe, in his deep sense of personal sinfulness, faith in Christ naturally carried along with it the view of the law enunciated in his writings, viz, that the end, the *raison d'être* of the law was not righteousness, but simply the knowledge of sin. The same faith in Christ crucified to take away sin would lead by an equally direct path to Christian universalism—that is, to the doctrine that the benefits of salvation are available to all on equal terms, without distinction between Jew and Gentile. It was the enthusiasm with which he laid hold of this grand truth, a commonplace to us, but a daring innovation then, that fitted him to be an apostle to the heathen nations—an office to which he felt himself called from the day of his conversion, insomuch that he represents the latter as taking place for the sake of the former: "It pleased God to reveal His Son in me that I might preach Him among the heathen." It scarcely needs to be said that along with these new beliefs would go an entirely altered conception of God. To Paul the believer, looking for his justification toward the Lord Jesus Christ, God was no longer the God of exacting demands, but the God of grace ; no longer the God of wrath, but the God of love and peace ; no longer a Judge, but a Father ; in short, no longer a Pharisaic, but a Christian God—the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in Him the Father of all believers. The doctrine of *Adoption* was an essential element of Paul's creed, and the spirit of Adoption that which determined his habitual temper. He felt himself to be a son of God, therefore free : free from the law and from all other sorts of soul-bonds ; therefore fear-

less of to-morrow, of death, of the world; therefore joyful, sunny, buoyant as a ship on the waves of a summer sea; rejoicing evermore; praying without ceasing; in everything giving thanks; rejoicing in the hope of glory to be revealed when the groaning creation should be delivered of the new heavens and the new earth; rejoicing even in tribulation, because tribulation evokes the powers of endurance, and endurance gives the consciousness of testedness; and out of that consciousness springs a higher, confirmed, stable hope; rejoicing above all in God his Father—the *summum bonum*, the bliss of heaven itself, the stay and strength of the heart amidst the evils of this present life. These five truths—the sinfulness of man (learnt from personal experience); Christ crucified for sin; the law the way not to righteousness, but to the knowledge of sin; the Gospel a gospel for all mankind on the same terms; God *the* Father of Christians, and every believer in Christ His child—were indissolubly linked together in Paul's mind. It is idle to ask in what order they were revealed to him; probably they all burst upon his astonished view simultaneously, like a cluster of stars suddenly shaping themselves to the eye into a constellation, as we gaze up at the sky at night. In some parts of his system of thought there might be, there probably was, gradual development, as his mind followed out the essential principles of his faith to their remotest consequences. In what department of truth we deem growth most probable, we shall indicate immediately. Meantime, we express it as our conviction, that of the foregoing central truths, Paul had clear vision from the first. The mental processes necessary for their apprehension were gone through, not after, but before, his conversion. He was prepared for understanding and earnestly believing these truths by his resolute endeavors to work out the Pharisaic programme, salvation by the works of the law, and by the tragic failure of that endeavor. He would build a Babel tower that should reach unto heaven. He built it up to an imposing height, till it began to bulge and totter under its own weight, and at length fell headlong in irretrievable ruin. Then he saw that no man could get to heaven that way; that salvation was possible only by God stooping down from heaven in His grace to lift the sinner up; and that sal-

vation in this way, by grace, by divine condescension and love, was equally possible for all.

While we thus believe that what may be properly called Paul's Gospel was given to him by revelation almost at one gush, we should be prepared to find traces of growth or gradual development of thought, in what we may call the *apologetic* of his Gospel. Paul's conception of Christianity being regarded by many with distrust and aversion, and encountering frequent contradiction as an innovation or even a blasphemy, the task of self-defence was of necessity imposed upon him; and accordingly we find in his epistles many trains of thought fitted and evidently designed to serve an apologetic purpose. And we deem it not unlikely that this apologetic, rich and varied in its character, developed itself gradually in Paul's mind. The essential truths of his Gospel being purely spiritual might be given to faith at once by an immediate intuition, but the apologetic ideas being of a more speculative or philosophic nature might not unsuitably be left to reveal themselves by degrees, as the reward of continued reflection. Then the defence would naturally grow out of the attack, and one line of apologetic thought after another would occur to the apostle's mind, according to the side on which his doctrine was assailed. The points of attack and therefore of defence were in all three. Paul had to reconcile his doctrine: *first*, with ethical interests; *second*, with the claims of the law as a divine institution; *third*, with the prerogatives of Israel as the elect people. On a fourth side he was assailed, viz: in regard to his claim to be an apostle, but the issue here, so far as distinct, was purely personal, and may therefore be left out of account. To the first department of the Pauline apologetic may be referred much of what we find written in Paul's Epistles in regard to faith, the atonement, and the Holy Spirit. Paul proves that under his Gospel ethical interests are abundantly guaranteed, by pointing out that faith is a mighty energetic principle, ever working, and working in the best manner, viz: through love; that the believer in Christ crucified does not merely appropriate a benefit procured by a substitute, but is crucified with Christ; that to all who believe is given the Spirit of Christ, who is Christ himself revealed to the soul in His moral beauty, and by whose influence the believer is changed into the same image, from

glory to glory. To the second department belong the many striking statements which occur in the epistles concerning the true end and function of the law, the purpose in all being to show how the law was fitted to serve a God-worthy end, and how it might therefore be recognized as a divine institution, compatibly with holding that it was destined to eventual abrogation through Christ. Such signally is the purpose intended to be served by comparisons of the law now to a *παιδαγωγός*, now to a gaoler, now to tutors and governors, now to a cruel husband whose death sets his wife free to marry another husband. Such also is the purpose of all statements to the effect that by the law comes the knowledge of sin, irritation to sin, increase of sin, despair of salvation by personal goodness, the sense of an urgent need for a Redeemer. To this same department may be referred Paul's doctrine of the *σάφς* as a hindrance to holiness. To the third department of Pauline apologetic belong the three famous chapters in the Epistle to the Romans, which refer to the subject of election and kindred topics, the 9th, 10th, and 11th. In these chapters what Paul has chiefly in view is to meet an objection to his Gospel arising out of the attitude of the Jewish people to Christianity. The Jews generally rejected the Gospel, therefore one of two things seemed inevitably to follow: either the Gospel was false because disbelieved by Jews, or the Jewish nation, God's elect people, was cast away—cast away, too, in favor of the heathen peoples from whom chiefly converts to the Christian faith were drawn. The apostle meets the formidable objection first by assuming that the facts do signify the cancelling of the election, and showing that the cancelling affects only the outer circle of election, that God is not bound by the act of election, and that if Israel be disinherited it is for her own sin. Then he sets himself to show that the facts do not signify the final and irretrievable disinheritance of Israel, that there is mercy in God's heart still for His ancient people, and that in due time He will turn Israel from unbelief to faith.

These meagre, hasty hints will recall to the mind of readers duly conversant with the Pauline literature, many remarkable trains of thought which together constitute a body of apologetic truth of incomparable value, replete with original ideas and pervaded throughout by a lofty spirit of Christian wisdom

and charity. In that apologetic Paul appears at once as a philosopher (for some of his utterances in this connection amount to a philosophy of history in germ), a patriot, and a universal philanthropist, and is worthy to stand side by side with his Divine Master in his inimitable apologetic for loving the sinful, recorded for us in certain golden texts in the Gospels. In both cases, the beauty, truth, and sublimity of the apologetic are an index of the incomparable worth of the truth defended. We feel as we read the glowing words wherewith the apostle defends his doctrine from attack, that both the attack and the defence are evidence that the doctrine is divine—not of man, neither by man, but from the Father in heaven. Naturalistic philosophy, put to its last shifts to banish the supernatural even from what have hitherto appeared its strongholds, may for a moment puzzle us by its ingenious hypotheses and subtle argumentations. But we soon recover from the momentary fit of doubt when we yield ourselves up to the combined influence of Paul's history, Paul's faith, and Paul's defence of his faith. We feel that God's hand was in his conversion, God's inspiration was the source of his Christian creed, and God's Spirit of wisdom guided him in defending the truth so revealed.

A. B. BRUCE.

IV.

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE INDIAN QUESTION.

FOR two or three months during the past winter there were twenty Indians from the Utes, Pawnees, and Poncas, visiting Washington City on business with the Government. A lady, describing her interview with them, said she felt, on leaving them, like a bankrupt debtor bidding good-bye to his creditors in these words: "I owe you a great debt, but I am afraid I shall never be able to pay you." This is the relation the Church bears to the Indians of this generation. It is the relation of an undischarged obligation which, on account of past neglect, we shall never be able to discharge.

When Gen. Grant announced his Indian policy, and invited the different Christian benevolent societies to appoint agents and co-operate with the Government in the work of Indian civilization, Rev. E. P. Smith held a fine permanent position in New York City, but he felt that self-denying men must enter upon the work to which the President invited them or it would prove a failure. He, therefore, resigned his fine position in New York City, offered his services as Indian agent, and was appointed to the Pillager and Chippewa tribes in Minnesota. He at once set himself to the work of reforming the service, and secured the appointment of a commission which saved the Government, in one item of expense, more than half a million dollars. Large bribes were offered him to modify his report of this commission, and so anxious did he become for the safety of the document, that he mailed it at an obscure post-office to insure its arrival at Washington. Finding an excellent outlook for civilizing agencies at White Earth Reservation, he built school-houses and homes for the Indians, fenced in their lands, furnished them with stock, taught them agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and thus

illustrated the possibilities of a righteous policy in our dealings with the red men. On the occurrence of a vacancy at Washington Mr. Smith was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and entered heartily into the business of developing the benevolent policy of the Government, and breaking up the bad practices which had prevailed so long. The merciless opposition which he met from designing men who sought to profit at the expense of the Indians, exhibits one of the saddest phases of our republicanism.

His last report to Congress is an array of practical suggestions which, if faithfully carried out, would inure greatly to the benefit of the Indians and the nation. He is an example of the relation that a few choice spirits in the Church have borne to the Indians in our generation. Doing good in forgetfulness of self was his business, and he pursued it all through his life from the time when, as a student in Union Seminary, New York City, he piloted a freight-car loaded with poor children and rode with them to the West, where he found them homes, until the end when, having finished his labors for the Indians for a time, he engaged in founding mission-stations in Africa until he died on board a steamer on the African coast. His last words, dictated to the purser of the ship, illustrate the spirit of the Christian hero: "Good-bye! good-bye! The blessing of Jesus is gracious—is wonderfully gracious to me. I could not suppose it possible to go to heaven so blessedly and certainly; nothing but the love of the dear Saviour could carry me so easily across the river. I could not die happier, easier, more hopefully and blessedly than I am now passing away. I wish I could see you all again; and if God be gracious to me—as I trust, most joyously, He will—we shall live together again and do service—and do service with unspeakable joy, under a weight, even a burden of glory. Oh, who would not have such a Saviour! I am passing away to Him now, quietly, peacefully, and it is scarcely a step to the very banquet of His love. I would like to live for more service to Him, but there is nothing else worth talking about to keep me here. Come, my friends, come! Oh, beloved friends, come! We will have better service, more glorious in the life above. Hold on straight to the end. How glorious, how joyous, how blessed! It could

not be possible for me to set out on an excursion so triumphantly, transcendently, magnificently, as I now pass away to join Him whom we love, and shall yet serve in magnificent glory."

The Government, since the year 1869, has opened up a sphere into which Christian men can enter and labor, to great advantage, in the interest of this despised race. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Last summer, as I was travelling west on the Union Pacific, I was introduced in the cars to Miss Maggie J. Dunbar, a graduate of Steubenville Seminary, in Ohio, who was on her way to Fort Wrangel, Alaska. In a letter to the Board of Home Missions, dated Nov. 29, she gives her report of her first quarter's work. She says: "I am glad to be able to say that I have succeeded much better than I expected with the work upon which I entered so tremblingly. The school is prosperous; I have eighty names enrolled, with average attendance of forty. The pupils have not been as punctual as I should like, but this has been unavoidable, owing to their absence from the village. But now they are settled for the winter, and the school is filling up rapidly. I was told by some people, before I came here, *Indians* could not learn; but in this respect I have been very agreeably disappointed. I must say that in dress, order, and studiousness, they rank with many of our common schools. In singing, reading, spelling, writing at the black-board, or in mental arithmetic, they evince ability to learn what white children learn. Perhaps they are a little slower, but, considering they are mastering a new language at the same time, all due allowance can be made for them. My interest in the cause and work increases with every day of my life. I have every reason to be thankful to God for His directing me here, and prospering my way. All we want is God's favor and blessing, and then we may hope, in His own good time, to build up a model Christian village, reflecting light and radiating heat to many darkened tribes all along this coast."

This young lady represents the Church in its relation to the Indians in the work of education in church schools. Our missionaries to the Indians have been only less careful to lay the

foundations of intelligence among these people in good schools, than they have been to lay the foundation for the new life by the preaching of the Gospel. Says the author of "The Gospel among the Dakotahs": "Schools occupy a very important place in the missionary work. Among the Dakotahs the school was always subordinate to the preaching of the Gospel, but it was, nevertheless, regarded as a most important and indispensable auxiliary." Speaking later, Dr. Riggs says: "Education has made rapid progress, and with little effort and expense from us. Their teachers have been from among themselves—a most encouraging fact, as looking toward their ultimate civilization. All that has been required of the mission, for the last two years, has been to furnish books, the Indians themselves doing the work of teaching, under missionaries' care."

This writer mentions some thirty American female teachers who have labored from first to last among the Dakotahs to educate their children, and train up native teachers for the work of instruction. In 1851 a dictionary and grammar of the language of these Dakotah Indians was printed under the direction, and chiefly at the expense, of the Smithsonian Institute at Washington. It is one of the contributions of missionaries to science, and contained about fifteen thousand words. Prof. Henry, late of the Smithsonian Institute, said there was more demand for it than for any other volume published by the institution. It has been distributed to the various colleges and seminaries of learning in this country and in Europe, and may be a monument to missionary zeal long after the Dakotahs shall have perished from the earth.

These are but incidents showing the relation of the Church in its educational work to these red men of the forest, and now of the plains. While speaking of this educational work in behalf of the Indians, I may mention the new departure of the Government in its attempt to bring Indian boys and girls under the continuous influence of white Christian teachers by taking them away from their Reservations and educating them in Eastern schools; notably the attempt has been made at Hampton, Va., in connection with the negro school there established. Seventy-seven Indian boys and nine Indian girls spent last year in that institution, and this year, I understand,

there is a larger number. Perhaps some one will undertake to solve the problem how the Government is to make these nine girls "go 'round" when it comes to the point of finding wives for the seventy-seven boys. That part of "the Indian Question" the Government needs to take into serious consideration. The other school, established after this manner, is at Carlisle, Pa., where the old barracks has been put to use for this purpose, and Capt. Pratt, a Christian, Presbyterian, army officer, with the five teachers associated with him, is doing a noble work for the one hundred and sixty-seven Indian boys and girls committed to his care.

A bill is now pending before the House of Representatives at Washington, providing for a number of Indian schools similar to that at Carlisle, and it was in connection with the interests of this bill that a visit of inspection was made recently by Secretary Schurz and several members of the House Committee on Indian Affairs and of the Board of Indian Commissioners. "It would seem," says the *New York Tribune*, "that, judging from the meagre opportunities for inspection offered by a single visit to Carlisle, the movement promises to be an effectual aid, if not ultimately one of the chief instruments in settling the vexed Indian problem. If, however, only a part of that which is expected is actually realized, still it will have been a very profitable venture both for the Indians and for the Government." Heretofore the Government has attempted to assist and support boarding and day-schools in the Reservations, and the Church has attempted nothing more; but the Indian is not tractable by nature, and is managed more readily when he is entirely separated from tribal influences. Besides, so many Indian youths scattered among schools in the East would be the very strongest pledge on the part of the wild tribes themselves toward peace and good behavior.

It is scarcely necessary for me to speak of the highest relation which we bear to the Indian race, growing out of an obligation to *preach the Gospel* to them.

I confess there is almost as much disappointment to my mind in the results of Christian endeavor to Christianize Indians as there has been in view of the part taken by the Government in reference to their preservation and civilization. Rev. John Elliott settled in Roxbury, Mass., in 1632, and at

once began preparations to preach the Gospel to the Indians. In 1649 he published "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel among the Indians," as testimony of his success. In 1660 the church of Natick, the first Indian church in America, was organized, and in 1690 Elliott died, having lived to see thirty native preachers and over eleven hundred praying Indians. And yet the American Board, representing all the great body of Congregational churches, has only six hundred Indian members connected with the churches under its care, and only eight native preachers. Is it possible that after two and a half centuries of effort, this is the net result of these later efforts of New England churches among the Indians?

The first active efforts of the Presbyterian Church in behalf of the Indians began with the work of David Brainerd in the provinces of New York and New Jersey, about the year 1740. This mission was broken up with the death of Brainerd in 1781. The next general work was begun in 1818, and as the result of this effort, mission work was begun in seven different tribes. This work was transferred to the American Board in 1826, and in 1830 three-fourths of all the church members belonging to the churches under the care of the American Board were among the North American Indians. Another separate effort was made by the Presbyterian Church to start missions among the Indians in 1831, and as a result of this effort there were in 1860, at the time when secession began, in connection with our General Assembly in these Indian missions, twenty ordained missionaries, three native preachers, twelve laymen, and sixty female workers. In the churches were found 2,188 communicants, and in the schools 1,003 pupils. The war broke up this mission work, so that in 1862 there were reported only two missionaries, five male and eleven female workers, and sixty-five communicants. The others were in the Indian Territory, where the mission was suspended, although the churches there are still in existence. A new effort was begun after the war, in 1868, among the Navajoes and the Pueblos, and according to the last report there are now ten white ministers, eight licentiates, and fourteen female helpers. The total number of communicants is 1,351 (nearly one hundred added each year), and of scholars in boarding and day schools, 317. From this sketch we infer

that the chief fault connected with our work among the Indians is that it has been too spasmodic and desultory. The results are encouraging, but not nearly so large as they might have been, if the Church had held the vantage ground which it acquired early in this century.

But we pass now to the consideration of the more general Indian question, which is one in regard to their preservation and civilization, rather than their evangelization through direct missionary labor. There are really two questions involved in this main question. One is a question of *Legislation* and the other of *Administration*. The one is a question belonging exclusively to Congress, and the other belongs to the President and the Senate. Gen. Grant's policy, inaugurated in 1869, was simply a policy of administration. He threw upon a dozen benevolent Christian societies the responsibility of advising with the Government concerning the appointment of a part of the whole number of Indian agents. But such an arrangement as that, while very good in its place, cannot seriously affect the general question of the policy we ought to pursue in regard to the Indians. It is a question of law, and lies in the province of Congress to determine, and this is the reason why our Indian policy is in such a chaotic condition. Congress is the least fitted of all bodies in the country to establish a uniform and good policy in regard to the so-called despised races of this country, be they Negro, Chinese, or Indian; for the reason that they make partisan issues out of these subjects, and every individual Congressman has an "axe to grind" for himself, and several more for his political friends. It is safe to say that Congress will never do the Indians justice in the enactment of proper laws, until the Christian community rises in its might and makes its influence felt on this one subject. There are enough men in Congress that believe in the policy of extermination to such extent that, if in the course of the year there has been an Indian outbreak, as in the case of the murder of Gen. Canby by the Modocs, or of Agent Meeker by the Utes, any wise and pacific measures then pending would fail of enactment, and even the whole well-established policy of the Government for years may be unsettled by the excitement created by one such Indian fight as that in which Custer and his troopers

perished. Yet this is just as great folly as it would be for a city government to abolish all wise measures because a squad of policemen had been shot by a drunken mob on the street, or for a State Legislature to disturb its system of charities because an insane man had murdered his keeper in one of our asylums. So unsettled is the mind of the public on this subject, that it is almost impossible to secure the enactment of wise laws for the settlement of this most troublesome subject.

The first question that arises in regard to the policy of the Government is, "What is the power of Congress over the Indians?" There are two theories on this subject. One was expressed in December, 1870, by the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, Matt. Carpenter presenting the report. After making what purported to be a fair and complete recital, which, however, seems to have been really inaccurate and illogical, of judicial opinions, the report contains the following startling announcement: "Inasmuch as the Constitution treats Indian tribes as belonging to the rank of nations, capable of making treaties, it is evident that an act of Congress, which would assume to treat the members of tribes as subject to the municipal jurisdiction of the United States, would be unconstitutional and void." Here is a strange doctrine for the United States Government to proclaim! The Government claims the sovereignty of the soil of all her Territories; she makes treaties with these tribes, reserving to herself the control of all minerals in the Reservations, and of all lumber interests also. She removes the Indians from time to time and from place to place, and yet, because with some of these tribes she has made treaties and allowed them, as a matter of convenience, to manage their own tribal relations under certain conditions, therefore she has abrogated all sovereignty over these people. It is true we make treaties with foreign nations, over which we have no power to legislate; but it does not follow from this that because for temporary purpose, and as a matter of convenience, we make treaties with these Indians, therefore we have no right to legislate for them within the limits of these treaties, or so far as we are not limited by them. We have the same sovereignty over these Indians that we have over the Mexicans, Spaniards, or

Indians that populated the soil that was ceded to us by the Government of Mexico, or over those Indians and other races living in Alaska when it was purchased from Russia. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate did not express the mind of the Supreme Court of the United States, as is shown by a decision it made in 1870, the year of the report. The case is known as "The Cherokee Tobacco Case," and the court, after quoting a sentence from Chief-Justice Taney, and another of similar import from Chief-Justice Marshall, remarks: "Both these propositions are so well settled in our jurisprudence that it would be a waste of time to discuss them or to refer to further authorities in their support." The sentence from Chief-Justice Taney is as follows: "We think it too firmly and clearly established to admit of dispute that the Indian tribes residing within the territorial limits of the United States are subject to their authority, and where the country occupied by them is not within the limits of one of the States, Congress may by law punish any offence committed there, whether the offender be a white man or an Indian." The following propositions would seem to cover the constitutional questions involved:

1st. "Indians not taxed" are excluded from the basis of Congressional representation.

This is a proposition in the interest of those States that had no Indians as compared with other States where Indians were numerous.

2d. The self-government enjoyed by Indian tribes has always been a government by sufferance, by toleration, by permission; but this toleration of Indian self-government worked no prejudice to the sovereignty of the United States.

3d. Congress is constitutionally competent to extend the sovereignty of United States law over tribes and individuals belonging to those tribes, whether they reside in States or Territories.

This is as far as we need go into this subject. Now how stands the faith of the nation as pledged to these Indians?

1. It appears that there are about 120,000 Indians in the country, with whom the United States holds no treaties. These certainly can claim no exemption from the direct legislative control of Congress.

2. There are about the same number, or about 125,000 Indians, with whom the United States have unexpired treaties. About the only thing in these treaties which would limit seriously the legislative control of Congress is that the faith of the nation, in many cases, if not in all, is pledged to keep inviolate the Reservations to which these tribes are assigned. Aside from this, Congress can legislate so as to regulate the internal affairs of these tribes by United States law. A more serious question would arise in regard to legislative control of the tribes in the Indian Territory and some others who were the subjects of the colonization policy of Secretary Calhoun and President Monroe. The faith of the nation is pledged to them that they shall have perpetual exemption from the control of any foreign authority and the authority of the United States, without their consent. But this statement of facts, furnished by Gen. Francis A. Walker, late Commissioner of Indian Affairs, would seem to leave a clear field for legislative control of Congress over at least 240,000 of the 290,000 Indians within our borders.

Now the next question that arises is, "What is the policy that the Christian people of this country ought to urge upon Congress in regard to these 240,000 people?"

It seems like a small number of people to give so much trouble to a great nation like ours. And yet the history of the last forty years shows that our Indian wars alone have cost us on the average for each year the sum of \$12,500,000, besides the appropriations to carry out the provisions of treaties, and feed and clothe Indians have been no small matter, and have constituted a vast corruption fund out of which Congressmen and agents have helped themselves sometimes to the lion's share.

Over the grave of Dr. Livingstone in Westminster Abbey the following words are inscribed: "All that I can add in my solitude is, may heaven's rich blessing come down upon every one, American, Englishman, or Turk, who will help to heal this open sore of the world." If Africa is the open sore of the world, then only less so than the Africa we have imported, as slaves, have the Indians been the "open sore" on our body politic. We have poured our wealth into this sore, but it has been the money of war and it has had no healing power. The

American Church alone, by its political and religious influence, can pour in the true balm by which it shall be healed.

Two policies are open to the Government, one or other, and, under certain circumstances, both of which may be followed.

1st. We may confer citizenship upon the Indians and give them homesteads as we do our frontier settlers, and let them settle down as colonies or among the white people that are filling up our new States and Territories. This policy is constitutional and has been followed successfully in a few cases. In Kansas a few over 2,000 have been admitted to citizenship. In Minnesota and Wisconsin several hundred are citizens, and in Michigan about 6,000. Dr. Williamson gives the following account of the Flandreau Indians in Minnesota: "They are citizens, and are, without doubt, the most advanced in civilization of any portion of the Sioux nation. They pay taxes and very cheerfully, considering how high, we might say exorbitant, some of them are. Their total taxation last year (1878) amounted to \$800. They go to the ballot-box with their white neighbors and appreciate the privilege very highly. It has an elevating effect upon the Indians themselves, and, on the other hand, gives them the respect which they need in the eyes of their white neighbors. They nearly all read their own language. They own their lands, live in houses like their white neighbors, and dress like them. No painted Indian with long hair, feathers, or breech-cloth, can be found among them. They are a Christian community. There are two churches among them, one a Presbyterian and the other an Episcopal organization. In the two are 184 communicants who compose the most of the adult population. On the Sabbath nearly the whole community may be found at church. Here is a little community of less than 100 families who have struck out, each man for himself, and taking the pioneer settlers for their pattern, have scattered themselves out over a county and have attained unto a fair degree of civilization. Many wonder why the Flandreau Indians ever left the old agency—free rations and gray suits. If we would go into their hearts we would find it was that same longing for freedom, to be one's own, and take care of themselves, which led the Pilgrim Fathers to Plymouth Rock." And no doubt every

Indian that has developed sufficient independence and strength of character to strike out for himself, should be encouraged to do so. Perhaps we shall reach the point very soon with many in their Reservations when it will be best to cast them out of the old Reservation-nest and tell them to spread their wings and fly with the rest of the Eagle nation or fall and die. But meanwhile another policy must be adopted in regard to the great mass of these people. This policy I would outline in the following propositions :

1. Let the Indians be guaranteed a settled permanent home. To this end it is best that the Reservation system should be continued and be extended over all the tribes. These Reservations should contain so much tillable land, that each head of a family should be guaranteed a homestead. This is essential. The title to this Reservation should be in the tribe, and yet each head of a family should have a property which he could call his own, and over which, and over whose products he would exercise complete control. This has never been the case yet on any Reservation. There has been no law to protect personal property or rights. Such protection has depended entirely on the good-will or power of the agents.

2. The agents appointed by the Government and representing its executive authority ought to be able and honest men, and paid accordingly.

3. The laws of the United States ought to be extended over these Reservations to protect individuals and punish offenders, whether they be white or red. This has never been the case. Indians could be punished for robbing and killing white men, but no Indian could be punished for robbing or killing another Indian. The jurisdiction of the United States Circuit Courts ought to be extended over these Reservations.

4. The Bureau of Indian Affairs ought, as rapidly as possible, to be made independent of the War Department. And those who are familiar with Indian affairs think it ought to be erected to a separate place independent of the Interior Department also. It certainly ought to have one responsible head. As it is managed now, nobody is responsible. For instance, take the last case of the Utes. Agent Meeker gets into trouble and wants soldiers. He sends his request to the Interior Department at Washington. Secretary Schurz sends it to the

Secretary of War. The latter sends it to General Sherman. General Sherman sends it to the commander of the department, General Sheridan. General Sheridan orders one of his officers to send a force against the Utes. Major Thornburg marches to the relief of Agent Meeker. Meanwhile Agent Meeker is killed and his family are in captivity. Well, now, who is responsible?

But suppose Major Thornburg had reached the Agency in time to protect Agent Meeker. Agent Meeker could employ the soldiers to oppress or destroy these Utes, and who would be responsible? Agent Meeker would blame the military and Major Thornburg would blame Agent Meeker. The Interior Department would sustain Agent Meeker and the War Department Major Thornburg, and between the two the interests of the country and of the Indians also would be sacrificed. But who is to blame? It is a case where there are too many irresponsible heads. And the Utes, in their blind fury, thought they would cut the gordian knot by cutting off two of these irresponsible heads. So they selected one from each department, first taking the life of Agent Meeker and then that of Major Thornburg. It seems like only an outburst of savage cruelty to those who read only of the massacre, but there is method in the madness of these savages, and in several cases of late years, notably in the massacre of General Custer and his regiment, there have been instances of romantic revenge and poetic justice in the blows which these red men have dealt to those who have wantonly violated the faith of the nation, and shot down the innocent when only the guilty should have been punished. We want, then, one responsible head to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and as soon as possible a police force among the Indians themselves, or of white men specially appointed for that purpose, who should take the place of United States soldiers in keeping order on these Reservations. There are not as many Indians, all told, as there are inhabitants in the city of Chicago, and it is nearly as absurd to employ the whole United States army to manage these few Indians as it would be to employ it to manage the city of Chicago. Nearly all the Indian tribes could manage their own affairs under the laws of the United States, and with a competent police force to arrest individual offenders. Then

the army need be called only in case of an actual outbreak. But now the army is attempting to do police duty that does not belong to it at all, and so it is scattered about and practically unavailable in case of an actual uprising of any single tribe.

5. The Indian must be sent to school, and he must be made to work. Most people suppose that the reason that the Indian will not work is because he is lazy. But, says Dr. Williamson, who spent a long life among them, this is a mistake, for no men labor harder than the Sioux were accustomed to do in chasing deer and buffalo, and carrying meat into camp; or the Algonquin in paddling and carrying their canoes, and their baggage when taking fish and furs. Yet these same men could not, *while heathen*, be hired to chop wood or hoe corn, much lighter work. He says it is the firm belief of those in the northern part of our country, that red men were made to hunt and fish and fight, and that for them to labor as white men do, is not only degrading, but wicked, dangerous, and, in fact, ruinous. "I have been told," he says, "by many of them when endeavoring to persuade them to cultivate corn and potatoes to save themselves and families from starvation, that it is all right for white men and black men so to labor, but if they should do so, they would die, the gods would destroy them." "There are some exceptions," he says. "For there are infidels among red men as well as white men. Nevertheless most of them sincerely believe that for them such labor was both wicked and dangerous." Mr. Williamson says he could give the names of fifty men who when heathen could not be hired to work, but who, having become Christians, work as industriously as the average of civilized white men.

6. This brings us to the sixth and last point in this Indian policy. It is the duty of the Church to extend at once her missionary work to all these tribes. There are tribes that in the aggregate number 60,000 to 70,000 souls, among whom there is not a single Christian missionary of any denomination. Besides, the force actually at work in other tribes is entirely inadequate. When the Government has settled the Indians on their Reservations, missionaries ought to be sent among them at once. One man like Elliott or Brainerd in

each of these tribes might, under God, be the means of their conversion in a single generation. The hindrances, of course, are great, but no more so than among the heathen of other races and countries.

We have reached a point in the history of the Indian question when we have our last opportunity to solve it. If a few years are lost, the opportunity will be past, and the result will be the dispersion of 200,000 Indians among the settlements beyond the Missouri, bringing to our frontier an almost intolerable burden of vagabondage, pauperism, and crime. Says Dr. Walker, late Indian Commissioner: "Unless this system of Reservations shall be recast soon, the next fifteen or twenty years will see the great majority of the Indians on the plains mixed up with white settlements, wandering in small camps from place to place, shifting sores upon the public body, the men resorting for a living to basket-making, beggary, and stealing; the women to fortune-telling, beggary, and harlotry, while a remnant will seek to maintain a little longer in the mountains their savage independence, fleeing before the advancing settlements when they can, fighting in sullen despair when they must."

The claim of the Indian upon us is of no common character. The advance of railroads and settlements is fast pushing him from his home, and in the steady extinction of game, is cutting him off from the only means of subsistence of which he knows how to avail himself, and which his superstition permits him to seek. We claim a sovereignty over him and over the soil. We have stripped him at once of his savage independence and of his savage subsistence. We have made ourselves responsible before God and the world for his rescue from destruction, and his elevation to social, industrial, and Christian manhood; and yet only now, at the eleventh hour, when the loss of a single year counts like the years of a man who has passed his threescore and ten, we are just laying the corner-stone of our Indian policy, by which we are to treat these people, not merely to endowments and lands, but with honor, justice, good faith, forbearance, patience, instruction, and Christian love.

The indictment that can be made against the nation for its wrong-doing in the past against these people, is a fearful one.

It includes broken faith with them. The Indian knows our Government by the name of Washington, and the Indian says, "Washington always lies." This indictment includes theft. We have stolen from the Indian. We are stealing from him all the time. We are guilty of the lordly robbery by which the strong overpowers the weak, and we are guilty of the petty thieving by which we steal the pony from the Reservation and the bread from the starving man's mouth. This indictment includes treachery, by which we have almost uniformly forced the Indian to choose between starvation and the war-path. This indictment includes murder. Gen. Custer murdered Indians, a whole village of friendly Indians, on the Wichita. Perhaps it was a mistake. He may have thought them hostile, but he paid dearly for his blunder on the Rosebud. Gen. Hancock murdered Indians by burning, says the report to Congress, without any known provocation, a whole Indian village, destroying property to the value of \$100,000, and bringing on a war that cost us \$40,000,000. Must it be said that even Gen. Sheridan has murdered Indians in the name of his Government? (See Manypenny's "Our Indian Wards.") Gens. Harney, Stanley, and Crook, the best fighting generals we have ever had on the plains, are the most positive and outspoken in their denunciation of the unjust wars which we have forced upon our savage enemies. Says the Rev. H. A. Stimson, of Minneapolis, Minn., in an article prepared for ministers: "The ministers should know that the treatment of the Indians by our Government has been, whether knowingly or not, of a kind to make both the christianizing and civilizing of the race next to impossible. He is the only man in the land to-day who is without law, without recognition as a person, without right to buy or sell, without redress for bodily wrong, without recognized title to his home, and almost without title to any property whatsoever. His horse can be stolen, his wife debauched, his son made a drunkard, his roof taken from over his head, and his cultivated field from beneath his feet, and, either from want of law, or from the manner of administering the law, he is helpless. He cannot engage in lumbering, for the fee to the timber, even on the Reservation, is held to be in the United States; he cannot undertake cattle-raising, for the law does not protect his stock, nor can he buy or sell

in the open market; he cannot even dig in the earth for ore, for he is excluded from the privilege of the Mineral Act. He is confined to a Reservation, and on most of the Reservations it is impossible for him to subsist. In many cases he is obliged to depend for food largely upon the chase, but the sale to him of ammunition or a gun is prohibited. He is liable to punishment for bigamy, but we have made no provision for his legal marriage to even one wife; if he kills a white man he may be hung for murder, but any white man may kill him with almost absolute impunity; and no crime committed against him by another Indian can be punished. If his property is stolen, his only redress is to steal it back, and when the officers of the Government take it, this is impossible; selling of liquor is forbidden; but a conviction under the law is next to impossible, and is now rarely attempted. He is not a citizen nor yet an alien, but within the law chiefly when he has anything to lose by the law; and without the law, when there is anything he might gain by the law.

“The ministers should know that the next and most important step in settling this bitter Indian question is to press it ceaselessly upon the attention of Congress until the utter injustice of the present status of the Indian is felt and our laws so modified in form and administration that the inalienable right of every man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness be secured to him. Then will come their christianization. But until civil justice is secured to them, until they are rescued from being the prey of every cormorant, and the stumbling-block of even honest officials, until we can approach them with something like honor and truth, we cannot avoid having the hatred and scorn they feel for the white man's government, pass over upon the white man's religion.

“The honor of Christ is at stake in this Indian question, and every minister in the land should know it.”

J. M. LINN.

V.

THE AFTER-WORLD.

WHAT does the Bible teach in reference to the world of the dead? What has been their past, what is their present condition? What information is imparted on these subjects from the Old Testament? What from the New? What changes have transpired in the case of any in the past? and on what occasion? and why? Into what state do the dying now depart? What light from our study upon the question of future and final destiny? These, and questions like these, are the inquiries which will seek an answer in this article.

The Old Testament reveals an After-World, into which all the dead departed, and which served as a common receptacle for both the good and evil. Thus Jacob: "I will go to my son, mourning, Sheol-ward" (Gen. xxxvii. 35); and again, in reference to Korah and his company: "They, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into Sheol, and the earth closed upon them" (Num. xvi. 33).

The New Testament, in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, as well as in other places, confirms this view (Luke xvi. 19-26). This common receptacle has for its name the Hebrew word "Sheol." This word occurs sixty-five times in the Old Testament, and, in every instance but two, the Septuagint has translated it into its nearest Greek equivalent, "Hades." An early object of our seeking should be the original meaning of these two words.

Now, suppose that we are Hebrews. We witness the phenomenon of death. We are conscious of a life within us other and nobler than that which animates our flesh. This fleshly life, we see, has departed; but what of that other life? Where is *he*?

We are accustomed to the use of a word, "Sha-al," which means to "inquire." *We inquire*, "Where is *he*?" and to the

deep silence which alone follows our inquiry, we frame the only possible response, and say he has gone to "Sheol"; and though we cry after him, we are ever unheard. So, Sheol was to the Hebrews the realm of the unheard;* no answer came back from it to the anxious inquiry, "Where is *he*?"

Our Greek word Hades, the LXX's translation of Sheol, is composed of Alpha privative and *ιδεῖν*, to see. Hades denotes, therefore, the invisible or unseen world. It represents the eye, peering hopelessly into the dark; Sheol, the ear, listening to the equally hopeless silence. Each gives rise to the question, Whither has he gone? The Hebrew made reply: "To the unheard"—Sheol; the Greek, "To the unseen world"—Hades.

What, now, is the Scripture teaching concerning this shadowy world?

In answer, the effort will be made to show:

1. *Sheol was not the grave.*
2. *Sheol was not the hell of our modern conception.*
3. *No part of Sheol embraced the heaven of our modern conception, and of the Bible.*
4. *Sheol included the whole after-world, except Heaven—embracing four distinct conditions, as follows:*
 - (1). The Paradise of Hades.
 - (2). The Hades of the Wicked.
 - (3). Abaddon; Abyss; Tartarus; "the Bottomless"; Satan's prison.
 - (4). The Lake of Fire; Perdition; Gehenna.

These latter conditions of being were separated from each other by vast distances, yawning chasms, so that passage from one to another was impossible (Luke xvi. 26).

1. *Sheol was not the Grave.*

The earliest instance of the occurrence of the word Sheol, in the Scripture, is in the passage in which our A. V. represents Jacob as saying: "I will go down into the grave, unto my son, mourning" (Gen. xxxvii. 35). No critical knowledge is required, nor any acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, to show that we have here a faulty translation. Two verses previously Jacob has said: "An evil beast hath devoured

* The intelligent reader will understand that the writer intends to represent this as the conceptual idea, to the Hebrew mind, merely.

him: Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces." Jacob believed, therefore, that Joseph had been denied the poor boon of a grave. What he did say, was: "I will go to my son, mourning, Sheol-ward." He pictured Joseph as torn in pieces, and not even his body in the grave; but *he* had gone to Sheol. Jacob was on his way toward Sheol, where he would find his son; and toward that goal he went "mourning." Remembering, now, that Jacob was on his way to Sheol, we turn to the closing scene of his life and receive further light upon the point now before us. The record is this: Jacob "gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost, and was *gathered unto his people*." The common thought is, that our italicized words refer to one's being laid in the grave, and point, therefore, to the destination of the body. The fact is that they have reference, rather, to the destination of the spirit; for the fair inference is that the yielding up the ghost, or the dying, and the being "gathered unto his people," stood in some close relation to each other, in time. He was "gathered unto his people" at once, upon his death. The further history, however, shows that Jacob's burial was an entirely distinct event, and must have occurred, at the nearest, some three or four months later. "The Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days." At the close of these seventy days Joseph asked permission of the king to take his father to the land of Canaan to bury him. When "they came to the threshing-floor of Atad," Joseph "made a mourning for his father seven days." Estimating the seventy days before the cavalcade started from Egypt, the seven days of this mourning, and the time consumed by the journey, we see that it must have been about three months, at the least, between the time when Jacob is said to have been "gathered to his people" and the date of his burial in the "cave of the field of Machpelah." Manifestly, then, the being "gathered to his people" is a distinct event from his burial. Dr. Jacobus says it "is constantly distinguished from departing this life, and being buried." It can have reference, therefore, only to the destination of his spirit into the unknown Sheol, as the burial to the destination of the body.

If we go back to the lives of the earlier patriarchs, it is distinctly asserted of Abraham (Gen. xxv. 8, 9) and of Isaac

(Gen. xxxv. 29) that they died, and were gathered unto their people, and afterward their sons buried them.

One remarkable passage sets the seal to this argument. God said to King Josiah: "Behold, therefore, I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered into thy grave in peace." These passages manifestly teach that the being gathered unto one's fathers, was an event distinct from both death and burial, and between the two. In each case men have nothing to do with the gathering unto the people. God gathered them unto their people—"I will gather thee unto thy fathers"—and afterward men buried them. When, therefore, Jacob said, "I *am to be* gathered unto my people: *bury* me with my fathers" (Gen. xlix. 29)—thus clearly distinguishing the two—he referred, in the first part, to the destination of his spirit, to Sheol—"mourning, Sheol-ward"—and in the last part, to the destination of his body, to the "field of Ephron the Hittite." The passage, Acts xiii. 36, teaches the same truth. The words here translated "was laid unto his fathers," Dean Alford renders, "was gathered unto his fathers."

Olshausen, in his commentary, *in loco*, says that the words "denote his reception into the happy portion of Hades." According to these distinguished scholars, therefore, the passage embraces these ideas: David "fell on sleep," or died; he "was gathered unto his fathers," or his spirit departed to Sheol; his body, being buried, "saw corruption."

Another line of argument will now confirm the truth of the broad and clear distinction between Sheol and the grave. The Hebrew language has a word—*Qeber*—which is defined by Gesenius: "a burial-place, a sepulchre, grave." No other definition is given. This word is in frequent use in the Old Testament, is constantly translated by the words "grave," "sepulchre," and "burial-place," and has connected with it the words and ideas which are utterly inapplicable to our word Sheol. The following are a few among many passages: "A possession of a *burying-place* of Ephron the Hittite" (Gen. l. 13). "Lo, I die: in my grave which I have digged for me . . . there shalt thou bury me" (Gen. l. 5). "And Jacob set a pillar upon her *grave*; that is the pillar of Rachel's

grave unto this day" (Gen. xxxv. 20, cf. l. 13). In the use of this word *Qeber*, we find that men bury their dead in *Qeber*; the bones of men are in it, it may be opened with human hands, and its contents removed. *Qeber* was digged by men; *Qeber* is the peculiar possession of the one who is buried in it, and various other facts. If now we search the long list of passages, sixty-five in number, in which *Sheol* occurs, we shall find no case of construction similar to the above. Men are not buried, their bones are not found in, monuments are not erected over *Sheol*. No human agency was concerned in forming, no price was ever paid for, no ownership was ever had in, *Sheol*. When such thoughts were present, the Hebrew used his term *Qeber*, but *Sheol*, never.

In Deut. xxxii. 22, and in Ps. lxxxvi. 13, we find "lowest *Sheol*"; in Prov. ix. 18, "depths of *Sheol*," and in Ezek. xxxii. 21, "the midst of *Sheol*." In Job xi. 18, and Ps. cxxxix. 8, there are contrasts between Heaven and *Sheol* as of the sublimest height with the profoundest depth which are clearly irreconcilable with the idea that the amazing height of heaven should be put in relation to the depth of any grave that was ever digged. All these considerations make it manifest that *Sheol* was not the grave.

Similar conclusion is reached, if we review the New Testament use of the corresponding term, *Hades*. Not to cite all the ten passages in which it occurs, there are three which prove, to an absolute certainty, that the New Testament *Hades* was as distinct from the grave, as we have seen the Old Testament *Sheol* to be. These are: "And in *Hades* he lifted up his eyes, being in torments" (Luke xvi. 23). "Thou wilt not leave my soul in *Hades*." "His soul was not left in *Hades*" (Acts ii. 27, 31). It certainly was not in the grave that Dives "lifted up his eyes," neither was it concerning the departure of Christ's "soul" to the grave, that David wrote in the Sixteenth Psalm. The teaching, however, is that Christ's soul did go to *Hades*, but did not remain there. But the place of departed souls is not in the grave; and hence, we prove that *Sheol* or *Hades* was not the grave.

2. *Sheol was not the Hell of our modern conception.*

The truth of this proposition will appear from the fact that the uniform representation of the Old Testament is, that when the

righteous died, they departed into *Sheol*. Citing, again, a text before used in proof of another point: "I will go unto my son, mourning, *Sheol-ward*" (Gen. xxxvii. 35). Jacob believed that Joseph was in *Sheol*, and he was on his way thither. Similarly Job: "If I wait, *Sheol* is mine house" (xvii. 13). So David: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in *Sheol*" (Ps. xvi. 10). And Hezekiah, speaking of his own declining life, and with evident outlook to his future: "*Sheol* cannot praise thee" (Isa. xxxviii. 18). These passages intimate whither four of the Old Testament worthies believed they were tending—to *Sheol*. And if these, then we must believe that all had the same destination.

The question, however, will arise in thoughtful minds, whether this was not an Oriental fancy. Does inspiration teach that the righteous went, at death, to *Sheol*, or did these old patriarchs, merely think so? And such inquiry deserves serious consideration and answer. It is the question, whether the entire representation of the Old Testament saints, respecting the After-World, was imagery; if so, we are pressed with the inquiry, whence they drew their conceptions? It has escaped no one's observation, that the doctrine of the future life is more obscurely taught throughout the Scriptures, than many other doctrines. And, hence, it is not strange that a large measure of obscurity should hang over the teaching of the Old Testament upon this point. Is it consistent, however, with our ideas of inspiration, to suppose that, for 4,000 years, God should have allowed the purest Theists upon the face of the earth to entertain an utterly false conception of the After-World, and then should have transmitted these false notions down the ages, in the Book to which all are looking for guidance? Is it not rather to be presumed that their ideas were the true ones, and that "they are written for our admonition upon whom the ends of the world are come?" (1 Cor. x. 11).

The argument under the preceding topic, upon the phrase "gathered unto his people," stands in proof of the point, that the destination of the righteous was to *Sheol*. Add to this the teaching of Christ himself, in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, and the teaching respecting Christ's *descensus ad inferos*, and the question is placed beyond dispute. The rich man was in torments, Lazarus in Abraham's bosom. The rich man and Abraham held conversation across the impassable

gulf, by which they were separated. The rich man was in *Hades*. Where was Abraham? If we say in Heaven, we are confronted, at once, with such passages as Job xi. 8, and Amos ix. 2.

And the problem is, for the rich man and Abraham to hold communication across the amazing distance which the Bible everywhere represents as separating Heaven and Hades. All difficulties disappear, however, if we maintain, with Olshausen, that when Abraham was "gathered unto his fathers," he went, not to Heaven, but to the "happy portion of *Hades*," separated by a "great gulf fixed," from the *Hades* of the wicked, but both of which are included in the greater After-World.

And now we have the inspired language of Peter, quoting David, respecting Christ, and saying that His soul was not left in *Hades* (Acts ii. 31). There can be no meaning to this language, unless the soul of Christ *went* to *Hades*, and to that portion, or apartment of *Hades* which He Himself called Paradise, in His word to the penitent thief (Luke xxiii. 43), and which this article has called the Paradise of *Hades*. It is contended, therefore, that the Old Testament representation of *Sheol*, as distinct from the Hell of our modern conception, is perfectly borne out by the New; the facts being, that the *righteous* went to *Sheol*, and that Jesus himself went thither, after His crucifixion. This last idea will be argued, at a later period, in this article.

3. *No part of Sheol embraced the Heaven of our modern conception and of the Bible.*

Says David: "The Lord's throne is in Heaven" (Ps. xi. 4). "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne" (Isa. lxvi. 1).

And, at the dedication of his temple, Solomon: "Behold the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee" (1 Ki. viii. 27). By these passages, which might easily be multiplied, the location of the central throne of the Universe, the residence of God, is definitely fixed in the locality we call Heaven. But from the beginning to the end of the Divine record, there is no intimation that God is, in any manner, or at any time, so manifested, in *Sheol*, as He is upon His throne in Heaven. This fact could not be accounted for on the supposition that *Sheol* embraces the Heaven of the Bible.

Again, Jesus is represented as saying: "Thou wilt not leave

my soul in *Sheol*," and "his soul was not left in *Sheol*"; but if *Sheol* had included Heaven, then Christ could not have felt a desire to depart from it, and so to be separated from the throne of His Heavenly Father. Besides, the forms of expression which are used to designate the departure of any one, either to *Sheol* or Heaven, are such as absolutely to forbid their common location in space. Whether speaking of the righteous or the wicked, the entrance to *Sheol* is represented as a descent, and that to Heaven as an ascent. These are a few only of the passages setting forth each fact. "I will *go down* to my son." "They and all that appertained to them *went down* alive into *Sheol*" (Num. xvi. 30, 33). And, on the other hand: "When the Lord would *take up* Elijah into Heaven by a whirlwind" (2 Ki. ii. 9). "If I *ascend up* into Heaven, thou art there" (Ps. cxxxix. 8). The uniform representation, therefore, is that the two localities are in diverse regions, nay more, poles apart, and antipodal to each other, "high as Heaven," "deeper than *Sheol*." Heaven is located in the heights, *Sheol* in the depths (Amos ix. 2). When the sacred writers sought for the widest possible contrast, they found it in the Heaven above, and in the *Sheol* beneath. In precise accord with the representation here made, is the language of Jesus, respecting His demise, and the later language of Luke, respecting His final ascension (Mat. xii. 40), upon which Dr. Schaff remarks (Lange's Com. in loco): "There should be no more dispute now, as to Christ's actual descent into Hades" (Acts i. 10, 11). When Jesus was crucified, He "descended into the lower parts of the earth"; forty days afterward, "He ascended up on high" (Eph. iv. 9 and 8). In the former case, He went to Hades, in the latter, to Heaven.

If further proof were needed upon the topic now under discussion, we need but cite such Scriptures as the following: "In *Sheol* who shall give thee thanks?" (Ps. vi. 5). "I will ransom them from the power of *Sheol*. . . . O, *Sheol*, I will be thy destruction" (Hosea xiii. 14). If Heaven and *Sheol* were the same, then would David be confronted with the whole representation of the Apocalypse, in which language seems to fail the heavenly inhabitants to express their praise and thanks to God for the benefits of redemption; and the prophet would make God declare His people to be under the "power" of an enemy, which enemy He had purposed to destroy. Rather, in no part

of Sheol is Heaven embraced. Sheol was, at best, a "prison" (1 Pet. iii. 19), in which, while there was "comfort" (Luke xvi. 25), there was not the fullness of final happiness, and "from the power of Sheol," the dwellers therein might well desire a "ransom." Compare the sixteenth chapter of Luke with the closing chapters of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, and it must soon become apparent that Lazarus had not secured the full object of his desires. He had, indeed, attained to "Abraham's bosom," and was "comforted"; but how different that scene from the home of "the bride, the Lamb's wife," in the "great city, the holy Jerusalem," in which "the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple," in which "*God* shall wipe away all tears from their eyes," "and they shall see *His* face" (Rev. xxi. 22).

4. *Sheol included the whole After-World except Heaven*, embracing four distinct conditions, as follows:

- (1). The Paradise of Hades.
- (2). The Hades of the Wicked.
- (3). Abaddon; Abyss; Tartarus; "the Bottomless"; Satan's prison.
- (4). The Lake of Fire; Perdition; Gehenna.

In entering upon this branch of our discussion, attention must be called to certain facts, clearly revealed, in the Scriptures, but obscured in our version by certain infelicities of translation. There is clear revelation of sphere above sphere, deep below deep, in the After-World. The first intimation of this state of facts we have already discovered, in seeing the righteous dead all departing to Sheol, while it is also asserted: "The wicked shall be turned into Sheol, and all the nations that forget God" (Ps. ix. 17).

Twice, in the Old Testament, we have the qualifying word "lowest" joined to Sheol (Deut. xxxii. 22 and Ps. lxxxvi. 13), and once the same word is joined to "pit"; "lowest Sheol"—"lowest pit." Such words are not used carelessly, or meaninglessly, in an inspired volume. We now find another word of some awful import, which dimly, but no less truly, sets forth some lowest deep, and which is the same, without doubt, as the "lowest Sheol"; this is the word "Abaddon." It appears in our A. V. but once, but is found six times in the Hebrew. These are some of the instances: "Sheol is naked before him,

and Abaddon hath no covering" (Job xxvi. 6); "Sheol and Abaddon are before the Lord" (Prov. xv. 11). Some distinction, therefore, exists between Sheol and Abaddon; and there is conveyed in these quotations some intimation, however obscurely, of a deep, returnless sphere, from which there was no hope or conceived possibility of escape, but, to enter there, was to inherit "destruction."

Turning now to the New Testament, we find the word Abyss (A. V., "deep," "bottomless," "bottomless pit"). To the English ear it is a word of profound significance, but its Greek derivation adds features of awful impressiveness. The Abyss (Alpha privative and *βυθός*) is the place without depth, fathomless; a deep so deep, that peer down however profoundly any may, there is no bottom. The word occurs seven times in the Apocalypse, and the exact sense would be conveyed if, in every instance, it were translated "the abyss" or "the bottomless." It was into this that the "angels that sinned" were cast, for St. Peter records that "God spared not the angels that sinned, but having thrust them down to Tartarus, to pits of gloom, delivered them, to be kept for judgment" (2 Pet. ii. 4). The Revelator informs us that some of these are permitted to swarm forth, like destroying locusts, from these "pits of gloom," to perpetrate their hellish designs, with a "king over them . . . whose name, in the Hebrew tongue, is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon" (Rev. ix. 11). This similarity of names, if it does not prove, goes far to intimate the fact that the Abaddon of the Old Testament was the Tartarus of the New. This latter was to the lost angels a place of dread, for upon the shore of the Sea of Galilee, when Christ cast out the legion of devils, "they besought him, that he would not command them to go out into the Abyss" (Luke viii. 31). Alford says, "*i. e.*, of hell"; we should rather say, this Tartarus, from which they are temporarily escaped, by permission of Him who thrust them down there. This, too, is Satan's prison during the thousand years in which he shall be bound. An angel shall bind him and "cast him into the Abyss" (Rev. xx. 3). This entire description, the fearfully expressive words which are employed—"pits of gloom," "everlasting chains," "darkness"—indicate that we have, at least, reached a far more terrible fate than that which has befallen

those wicked men, who have found their first dwelling-place, after death, in the Hades of the wicked. Three conditions of being, the After-World has now disclosed; nor have we far to seek to find the fourth.

The Revelator tells of a "beast that . . . shall ascend out of the bottomless"—this Abyss, which has been already located—"and go into perdition" (Rev. xvii. 8). Evidently something else is meant than that he shall return to the Abyss. "Perdition" differs from "the bottomless." The closing history of the beast has this record—the beast and the false prophet—"both were cast alive into *the* (Greek) lake of fire, burning with brimstone" (Rev. xix. 20). That is evidently, then, the other sphere than the "bottomless," that is, "perdition." Here is, then, a lower deep than the Abyss. Hither, also, goes Satan, at the last. We have seen him bound in the Abyss during the thousand years, "and when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison" (Rev. xx. 7). Afterward, this Satan, "the devil that deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are," before him (Rev. xx. 10). Finally, "death and Hades delivered up the dead which were in them," "and death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death, *the lake of fire* (so, S. and A. MSS., and Alford). And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire" (Rev. xx. 13-15). There remains to be considered one more word, used twelve times, in the New Testament, by our Saviour, and only once else, by James (iii. 6), and descriptive of the lake of fire—the word *Gehenna*. In every instance it is translated, in our A. V., "hell." Thus, in the sermon on the mount, when Jesus says that the fool "shall be in danger of hell fire" (Matt. v. 22), His literal word is, "in danger of the Gehenna of the fire." And when He speaks of certain, as cast into hell (v. 29) the literal word is, again, "cast into Gehenna." Thrice we find "the Gehenna of the fire," and in all the other places simply Gehenna.

We identify this locality with "the lake of fire" from expressions like these: three times, in the ninth of Mark (vs. 43-48), Jesus speaks of those who "go into the Gehenna," and immediately He adds, in each instance, "into the fire that never

shall be quenched : where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched." Exactly similar, in intent, are the expressions, "the furnace of fire" (Matt. xiii. 42-50), and "the fire, the eternal, prepared for the devil and his angels" (Matt. xxv. 41).

Thus, we identify Gehenna, perdition, the lake of fire, as one and the same place, the lowest deep of all in the After-World ; above which we have found the Abyss, or the bottomless, the Abaddon of the Old Testament, the Tartarus of the New ; and then, above, the Hades, into which shall be turned "the wicked" and "all the nations that forget God" ; and, higher than all, the Hades of the righteous—one world, yet more than one, sphere above sphere, abyss below abyss, and impassable chasms between.

How profoundly impressive, in the light of this exegesis, become the words of the blind Milton :

" Which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath and infinite despair ?
Which way I fly, is hell ; myself am hell ;
And, in the *lowest deep*, a lower deep
Still threatening to devour me, opens wide."

We thus see the whole After-World, except Heaven, embracing four distinct conditions of being included in Sheol.

Among the questions propounded in the first paragraph of this article are these : What changes have transpired in the case of any of the dead in the past ? and on what occasion ? and why ? To the answering of these questions our attention will now be directed.

In St. Paul's Ephesian letter we find this language : " Wherefore he saith, when he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. Now that he ascended, what is it, but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth ? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things" (Eph. iv. 8-10). That this language refers to Christ there cannot be the least question. Of Him it is asserted that He *first* "descended into the lower parts of the earth," and *then*, that He "ascended up on high." It is evident, from the whole tenor of the narrative, that the descension and the ascension were near together in time. It is distinctly stated that "he led captivity captive" "*when* he ascended up on high." It is equally

manifest that this captivity did not accompany Him *when* He "descended into the lower parts of the earth." The inevitable and only conclusion, then, follows, that He *found them there*. Of whom could this captivity consist? He led this "captivity captive" when He "ascended up far above all heavens." The *terminus ad quem* of the ascent was, unquestionably, Heaven. Thither He led His followers, this "captivity." Jesus came to the earth and went through all, only to convey the righteous dead to Heaven. Evidently, then, this captivity consisted of the righteous dead whom He found "in the lower parts of the earth," in the Paradise of Hades, whither His soul went, but where it "was not left."

This conviction is strengthened when we consider the phrase "led captivity captive." What does it mean?

No one would think of resorting to a dictionary for an interpretation of Scripture; but we do go there for the meaning of words. Referring to Webster, under the word "captivity" we find: "To '*lead captivity captive*,' in *Scripture*, is to subdue those who have held others in slavery or captivity" (italics his). That is to say, judging from the meaning of the words, before Christ could lead up on high a captivity, He must first subdue those who held them in captivity, or the powers of Hades. The "captivity" led "captive" are thus *twice* captives; first, by enemies, and then by re-capture of friends.

This view receives the support of Scripture, in the only passage in which the connection furnishes a clue to the meaning. In the Song of Deborah and Barak, we read: "Arise, Barak, and lead thy captivity captive, thou son of Abinoam" (Judges v. 12). The circumstances were these: the children of Israel had done wickedly, and "the Lord sold them into the hand of Jabin, king of Canaan," "the captain of whose host was Sisera." "And twenty years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel" (Judges iv. 2, 3). What more natural than that, in this long period, many captives should have been taken from among the children of Israel? Deliverance at length came through Deborah and Barak. Of the issue of the battle between Sisera and Barak, we have the following statement: "The Lord discomfited Sisera. And all the host of Sisera fell upon the edge of the sword; and there was not a man left" (Judges iv. 15, 16). Evidently, therefore, Barak did not take any prisoners from his

enemies. When, therefore, we hear the word, "Arise, Barak and lead thy captivity captive," what else can be meant than that, having subdued those who have held them in captivity, he is now to recapture the children of his own people, hence called "*thy* captivity," and set them free?

This interpretation of the passage in Ephesians, corresponds to all that we have seen before. We have beheld, through the Old Testament times, all, the good as well as the evil, marching Sheol-ward. The former have gone to an apartment which was especially their own. In this Hades of the righteous there has been "comfort," but not the full fruition of hope. They were "captives"; they were, in a sense, in "prison." Christ, at His death, descended to the Hades of the righteous, to which Himself gave name, in the promise to the dying thief, "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise" (Luke xxiii. 43). When He afterward "ascended up on high," He took with Him all this captive multitude which had lingered in Hades during the 4,000 years of the Old Dispensation; as it were, He transferred bodily the Hades of the righteous to Heaven, so that since the ascension no more of the righteous have gone to Hades, but have gone directly to Heaven upon their decease. This is the change to which reference is made on the first page of this article, and this, the occasion of it; the change, viz, which took all the Old Testament saints out of Hades into Heaven upon the ascension of Christ. Was it not this to which the apostle referred, when, at the end of his long catalogue of the heroes of faith, he says, "the world was not worthy" of them, and adds: "And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, *received not the promise*, God having provided some better thing for us, that they, without us, should not be made perfect" (Heb. xi. 39, 40). The world was not worthy, their "mansions" were not prepared, Hades was their temporary waiting-place.

See now, how, in the light of this interpretation, certain difficulties disappear. Under the Old Dispensation we have seen all the saints going, like Jacob, Sheol-ward. But under the New, we encounter a new class of texts which seem to contradict the idea that the righteous should ever have a place elsewhere than in Heaven. We have Christ, saying to His disciples, "I go to prepare a place for you"—a plain intimation that at the time at which He spoke, the place was not yet prepared;

and He adds: "if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also" (John xiv. 2, 3). And ever since that time, this hope has animated the breast of the dying saint, viz, that he was henceforth to be with Christ. But Christ is in Heaven (Acts iii. 21). Hence, when Jesus, in His last prayer, says, "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory," He made manifest reference to their being with Him in the Heaven, where He now resides. To this representation, agrees that also of the apostle, "to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord" (2 Cor. v. 8). And again: "having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better" (Phil. i. 23). Admit the explanation of this passage which has been made, and there is perfect agreement between these two classes of texts. We see, indeed, a vast throng of the Old Testament saints marching Sheolward, and there they wait in "comfort," yet desiring more. At length the Lord of death and Hades comes thither also. It is not possible for Him to be holden by death. And He has come to set all these captives free. With Him they cross the barriers of Hades, with Him they go to Heaven; to Him in Heaven all the New Testament saints have been gathering, and shall continue to gather, until such time as He comes descending "from Heaven with a shout," to call to resurrection the bodies of those who "sleep in Jesus." So, too, the dying thief departed for Paradise to meet Jesus. But we are distinctly taught, in the second chapter of the Acts, that the destination of Christ's spirit was that day to Hades. Hence, they met in the Paradise of Hades. But Paul was caught up to the third Heaven "into Paradise" (2 Cor. xii. 4). The Revelator speaks of the "tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God" (Rev. ii. 7). That is to say, after the transference of the saints, of which we have spoken, their new abode took the name of the former, and was still called Paradise.

Two other, confessedly difficult, passages receive light from the preceding explanations. These are: "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in flesh, but quickened in spirit, in which also, having gone, he preached to the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-

suffering of God waited in the days of Noah" (1 Pet. iii. 18-20, with slight change from A. V., to conform more exactly to Greek); and, "For this cause was the Gospel preached also to them that are dead" (iv. 6). The first passage declares that Christ, "having gone"—evidently to the "prison"—preached to the spirits in "prison." The evangelical interpretation is about this: Christ went and preached to the spirits which are *now* in prison, *by* Noah and in the *days* of Noah. Is not such a view forced and unnatural, and evidently intended to avoid a difficulty? In the light of the passage from Ephesians let us now interpret this. Christ died upon the cross; while His body lay in the tomb, He went, in spirit, to the Paradise of Hades; in contrast to that for which they waited and longed, this, though a place of "comfort," was not all that they desired; they are fitly, therefore, described as "spirits in prison"; to these Christ makes proclamation—of what? That the work of atonement, on which their full and final salvation depended, was now complete; His blood, on which their hopes rested, was now shed; the day of their deliverance from Hades had now arrived; He had come to lead "captivity captive," and to set them free. "I will ransom them"—such was His triumphant language—"from the power of Sheol. . . . O, Sheol, I will be thy destruction" (Hosea xiii. 14). So, Christ did preach the Gospel to those in the prison of Hades, not as offering a new hope to any, but as the full fruition of the hope in which they had died. To this interpretation Fronmüller objects (Excursus on the *descensus ad inferos*, Com. on 1st Pet. *in loco*), that κηρύσσειν "uniformly signifies to preach the Gospel." But that it does not always have this signification is manifest from two or three passages, which will be merely cited without a word of comment, and with the simple italicizing of our word. Thus: "Moses, of old time, hath in every city them that *preach him*" (Acts xv. 21); "And I saw a strong angel, *proclaiming* with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book?" (Rev. v. 2). It is evident, that in these instances, κηρύσσειν has other signification than to "preach the Gospel." A careful examination of the sixty-one times in which the word occurs in the New Testament, will reveal the fact that about one time in six it means to *publish* or to *proclaim* something; and with such a state of facts, no one can unquestioningly hold that our word

must mean to "preach the Gospel," although it may usually signify that.

If, now, we suppose that the passage, "for this cause was the Gospel preached to them that are dead" (1st Pet. iv. 6), refers to the same facts set forth in the passage just under discussion, we find that the one explains the other; in reference to which fact we quite agree with Dr. Fronmüller, although we arrive at a very different conclusion. The word here employed is *ὑγγελισθη*, used impersonally, and translated with sufficient accuracy, "the Gospel was preached." Was this preaching of the Gospel, then, the offering of a new hope, as Fronmüller maintains? We hold far otherwise. The very first definition of this word, both in the Classical and in Dr. Robinson's New Testament Lexicon, is "to bring good news"; "to announce glad tidings." In his citation of this very passage, Dr. Robinson gives as the meaning of the word, in the Pass. aor., "to be announced as glad tidings; to be preached." The exact sense, then, of the passage would be given if we read, "Glad tidings were announced to the dead." And this is precisely that for which we contend. Those were glad tidings when Jesus came to them in the realms of Hades, and proclaimed or preached: "I will ransom them from the power of Sheol." We thus suffer these passages to mean what they seem to mean. When Christ is said to go and preach to spirits in prison, we suffer Him, and not Noah, to preach; and He preaches literally to spirits, in the time then present, and not to living men in some long past time; He preaches to those in prison, dead according to the flesh, but spiritually living, in the Paradise of Hades; He proclaims to these the glad tidings that the hour of their deliverance has struck.

It is not claimed that this interpretation removes all difficulties from these confessedly difficult passages, nor has any one that was ever presented. In reference to the apparent limitation of Christ's preaching to the Antediluvians, the suggestion is made that this was introduced—perhaps as an afterthought—in the interest of the comparison, between the saving of Noah, by the waters of the flood, and the saving of the believer, by baptism.

It remains, now, only to summarize some of the incidental lessons upon the future state, which the discussion suggests.

(1). *The Unconscious State of the Dead.*

The Bible clearly reveals that the belief of this doctrine is an error. When Jacob says, "I will go down to my son, mourning, Sheol-ward," what possible thought could be in his mind but that he, in a state of consciousness, was going to his son, in a state of consciousness? Evidently, in the old man's sorrow at the loss of his son, he found some poor comfort in the belief that he should again find him, in Sheol. But to find him, in unconsciousness, would be no better than for a corpse to find a corpse. So David: "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me" (2 Sam. xii. 23). If death were extinction, or if it were even unconsciousness, these expressions would be the height of absurdity. Look again at this passage from the prophet Isaiah (xiv. 9-10), with reference to the introduction of the King of Babylon into the After-World: "Sheol from beneath is moved for thee, to meet thee, at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth; it hath raised up from their thrones, all the kings of the nations. All they shall speak and say unto thee, Art thou also become weak as we? art thou become like unto us?" It cannot possibly be questioned that they were all conscious of what was passing, and of the entrance into the domain of the dead, of one who had "made the world as a wilderness." Add to all, that which God says: "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead, but of *the living*" (Matt. xxii. 32).

(2). *The Annihilation of the Wicked.*

No such doctrine is taught in the Word. Death is often called in the Scripture, "sleep"; but we have just seen that the sleep of death does not result even in unconsciousness, much less in extinction of being. No more have we reason to suppose the "second death" will result in annihilation. The argument which some would frame from the words "everlasting punishment," as if this were a "cutting off," and a cutting off equal to annihilation, cannot be sustained by scholarly criticism. This word punishment is from a word which, when applied to branches of a tree (*δένδρα*) means to "curtail, dock, prune"; "but *usually*" (Liddell and Scott), when applied to men, "like Latin, *castigare*, to keep within bounds, hold in check, bridle," "then to chastize, correct,

punish." It is vain, therefore, to seek to find another word which shall more strictly render the Greek, than the word in our A. V., "punishment." And punishment is not annihilation.

Note, here, that text of the Revelator: "and death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire" (Rev. xx. 14). The casting of Hades into the lake of fire can have no meaning, unless it be the casting therein of the dwellers in Hades. The casting of the locality into Gehenna, after its inhabitants were all annihilated, would be mere child's play. There is no annihilation of the wicked.

(3). *A Second Probation.*

Again, there is none. The Scripture upon which this doctrine is based, is that in 1st Peter, wherein Christ is said to have "preached to the spirits in prison." But we have seen that this has reference merely to Christ's descent to the Paradise of Hades, to declare that the work of Atonement was complete, and the "captivity" might now be set free. It has no reference to the preaching of the good news of salvation to those who, in this life, have rejected the offer of a crucified Saviour. The Bible represents the Hades of the wicked, as merely the vestibule of Gehenna, and it teaches that in Hades there is no repentance, no Second Probation.

(4). *The Endlessness of Punishment.*

This, the Word, unhesitatingly and everywhere declares. Satan, the beast and the false prophet with death ("the last enemy"), and Hades are finally cast into Gehenna, where, according to the express and emphatic testimony of our Lord himself, "their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." In the terse and emphatic language of our Confession, which is an exact transcript of that of Scripture, the wicked "shall be punished with *everlasting destruction*, from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power" (2 Thes. i. 9).

JNO. F. KENDALL.

VI.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENTS AND THE MORALITIES OF LIFE.

A REPLY TO SUNDRY TORY AND REPUBLICAN WRITERS.

IN the December number of *The International Review* for 1878, appeared an article entitled "Pending Ordeals of Democracy," written in very vigorous and trenchant language and style by Hon. George W. Julian, formerly a distinguished Whig member of Congress from Indiana, and still widely and honorably known and respected as a gentleman of culture, of learned tastes, and leisure, and a statesman of unquestioned patriotism and conscientious convictions. By forcibly and skilfully summarizing the prominent, existing evils in this country, such as the ever-growing contest between labor and capital; official peculation by means of combinations or "rings" among those holding political offices involving the expenditure of moneys; embezzlements of funds by officers in trust, banking, insurance, and other companies; aggregation of landed and moneyed capital by railroad corporations—evils incident to every community, under every phase of civilization, in every advanced stage of society, and under every form of government where men are free to act, to invest their labor or capital, or are stimulated by great opportunities for personal aggrandizement or personal advancement—this writer has adroitly yet unfairly associated these various evils and immoral practices with our Republican form of government, so as to leave the impression that they are the natural and legitimate outcome and products of that form of government. *Post hoc propter hoc.* Nor does Mr. Julian stand alone, even among Republican writers, in this forcible, but specious, treatment of common and current evils. Even the high-minded, patriotic, and excep-

tionally great statesmen who wrote the "Federalist," while defending the then new Constitution from unjust assaults, and buttressing the proposed novel form of Republican government, by unanswerable argument and logic, conjured up in advance, and grouped together eloquently, many evils likely to arise, and then gave themselves the intellectual pleasure of showing how they could be met; and some of the finest specimens of logic and sarcasm, found in that admirable series of papers, were levelled at purely supposititious evils and purely imaginary objections to our constitutional Republican system, liable to sprout out from that fruitful trunk, the corrupt nature of man.

Of course other writers, of less ability and originality, have followed them in an almost unbroken succession, who have gathered into our daily, weekly, and monthly garnerers of thought, the ever-springing crop of peccadilloes, social offences against the moral code, and crimes against the peace and order of society, and have thoughtlessly associated this baneful harvest of weeds with the legitimate growth of good government. Others there are in every period of time, under every condition of social advancement, and beneath every form of government, of atrabilious temperaments and physically predisposed to take despondent and discouraging views, who, looking around them and finding—as men can always find—many unlovely qualities, traits, and characteristics, both in individuals and communities, aggravated it may be at times by exceptional evils or concurring circumstances, conjure up with almost Dantean imaginations political Infernos more dramatic, ghastly, and agonizing than that of the Florentine poet. Still others there are who seem to have been born in "the cold shades of opposition," natural pessimists, who follow around every successive administration—as the man followed around Van Amburg to every exhibition when he entered the lions' cage—sure that at the next turn, it must disappear behind the ravenous jaws of lion-like environments, although it had by good fortune escaped hitherto. To such men the country is always just on the eve of ruin, sometimes by mal-administration, sometimes by bad crops; now by an expansion, then by a contraction; at one time by a convulsive disturbance, at another by the delusive and fatal

serenity of peace. To such minds we are always in a pure decline; the times are always "out of joint"; our public men degenerated from our early statesmen, and all public and private virtue in a sad eclipse. And all these dismal forebodings and forecasts are followed by the ready and ominous shake of the head, with the significant doubt whether after all Republican governments are the right kinds, and whether we should not be better off under a monarchical one. Of course a cat two feet away looks larger than a tiger two miles off—and at these relative distances the purr of the former seems as formidable as the growl of the latter.

At the top of one of the columns among the magnificent ruins of Melrose Abbey, there is sculptured in the spring stone of the arch the figure of an aged monk. As his shoulders had to support the roof, they are bent, and his head is bowed down, while his stony eyes are fixed upon the pavement below. The roof has long since disappeared, and with it the weight on the shoulders; still the shoulders are bent forward, the head is bowed down, and the eyes stare downwards as if crushed out by the superincumbent weight. So is it with the gloomy-minded detractor of Republicanism. Standing amid the ruins of monarchical systems, he stoops beneath the imaginary weight of Republican errors and immoralities, his shoulders have grown into a dismally crushed bend, and his stony eyes are fixed in moveless horror upon a fancied wreck and ruin below him.

These stony figures, however, can become animate and open their horror-stricken lips, when any suggestions are made imputing any human imperfections to monarchical institutions. Then they become like the Irish emigrant who, freshly arrived upon our shores, and strolling out with his fellow-emigrant one evening near a pond, heard with horror the sound, all new to him, of a chorus of bullfrogs. Overcome with terror, he clutched his shillalah and cautiously explored the margin of the pond from which the sounds came. Seeing no enemy in sight, and amazed at a sound which he had never heard at home, he jumped at once to the side of his friend and to a conclusion, exclaiming: "And sure, Jamie, in my opinion it's *nothing but a noise!*"

This satisfactory solution is perfectly convincing in both

cases, especially to the monarchical detractor of Republican institutions, as he listens to the sounds of industry, of benevolent action and assured prosperity from our shores. In his opinion it is nothing but a noise.

As might be very materially expected, however, the most determined, persistent, and able arraignment of Republican governments on these partial, unfair, and unjust indictments have been made by the conservative and imperial writers of Germany and France, and by the Tory journalists and magazine writers of Great Britain. And among the latter every one will readily recall, especially the truly able, but unscrupulous writers for *Blackwood's Magazine* from the first number, issued April 1, 1817, down through every succeeding one, almost without a single exception, to the very latest. With an intellectual ability which its friends and enemies must alike admire, but with a malignancy, bitterness, and vindictiveness which both also must alike deplore, the *Blackwood* writers have with a species of *rabies*, a partisan fury and polished violence sought with especial animosity and persistent iteration to establish to the satisfaction of all British subjects two propositions: First, that the French Revolution with all its ghastly terrors was the legitimate fruit of the attempt of man to govern himself; and secondly, that all the moral evils under the sun came, not from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, planted in the garden of Eden, but from that more baleful and deadly upas, planted at Philadelphia July 4, 1776, and ever since carefully and abundantly watered and cultivated by the Devil. So thoroughly has this effort been followed up and industriously pursued, and so universally have the *Blackwood* writers been vaccinated with this virus, that the contagious poison distills from the pens even of that gentle soul, "the Ettrick shepherd," from the generous and pure-minded Sir Walter, from his scholarly and kind-hearted son-in-law, Lockhart, from De Quincey, Walter Savage Landor, the tender-hearted John Wilson, and the accomplished William E. Aytoun. Widely as these writers have differed from each other and from other writers in the same magazine, in regard to the philosophy of history, finance, political economies, and the philosophy of life, in one thing they have all agreed—that governments of the people

by the people were unmixed terrors. And in instilling this idea into their countrymen they have marvellously succeeded. The continued dripping has worn away the rock of truth. The busy shuttle, incessantly plying, has woven a yellow thread of prejudice through all the intellectual and literary tissues of thought and feeling of England and her dependencies.

With chronic grumblers, found in every community, under every style of government, and in every age, we have no words of controversy, but only thoughts and feelings of deep compassion and pity—compassion for their myopian blindness and consequent moral discomfort ; but we have some words of expostulation and of emphatic protest—of argument, derived from history, reason, and human nature, with those who, abusing their fair, often great powers of logic or rhetoric, by culling from history a few exceptional incidents, which may by a little pressure be crowded into the support of almost any theory of government, or by gathering up from communities of bad men under a Republic, examples of national evil or products resulting from too great a strain by temptation upon weak natures, seek to consolidate the conviction that wherever men are politically free, there they are especially, and because thus free, evil morally.

It may be pertinent to remark at the very outset of this investigation, that under repressive governments—whatever the name, whether an Empire, Kingdom, Duchy, Landgravate, Principality, or even a small Territory or City—the army, the police, all the sentinelling forces of the State, scattered in cantonments, in larger or smaller bodies through the cities, villages, or rural districts, are constantly employed and instructed to keep under forcibly, and by persistent, rigorous, and ever-watchful agencies and efforts, not only the first gathering of immoral practices, but any *appearance* of its existence. Despotism, monarchical, or self-asserting political power, instinctively dreading any disturbance which may in itself jar its authority, or, by leading to concert of action, question its legitimacy, is first and last and always most solicitous to maintain order, that is, seemly and decorous appearances. Dearly as these repressive efforts may cost in the expenditure of money, time, and civil administration, and

still more dearly in extirpating the manhood of the entire population with the few moral symptoms of disorder, in cutting up the wheat with the few tares, they do undoubtedly succeed in producing order. So will a pestilence leave order in its wake, the stillness of death. So a stern reaper which cuts down the young thistles also levels with the ground the abundant wheat crop.

These so-called paternal governments, in their supreme anxiety to repress two or three disorderly or mischievous boys, flog the whole school into the painful silence of fear. At Dotheby Hall, Squeers administered the rod and treacle to all; and the brutal and sensitive, the slow and the quick, were all brought under the repressive system, which secured order and seeming silence.

It is also pertinent and just to suggest *in limine*, that in Republican governments, where men are free to employ their talents, enterprise, labor, and capital in any direction that may please them, and where varied and abundant opportunities offer great temptations to the acquisition of wealth, it is natural, and no doubt it does happen more frequently than under repressive governments, whose permission must first be gained for the establishment of business enterprises, that the risk and hazard of industries will sometimes be undertaken and pursued by methods of questionable morality. A strong man, hunting freely a variety of game in an open field, will be very likely to step without a scrupulous prudence upon clover-tops as well as upon weeds or thistles.

And then the *publicity* which is given to any examples of misconduct or wrong-doing in a Republic, where the press is wholly unrestricted, and under a repressive government, where a censorship by the government selects the items of news and authorizes no publication which shall reflect upon itself or its administrators or agents, is very different. In the former, publicity of the minutest details not only takes place, but is given in a startling, sensational way, and is multiplied, like an echo at the Lurlei, a thousand times and in myriad varieties of form; in the latter it is either wholly forbidden, or only allowed with such decorous statement and form as almost to seem virtuous.

Bearing in mind these preliminary and general suggestions, let us proceed to inquire into the foundations of the argument or theory of the writers referred to, and of the timid assumptions of many good, but melancholy people, around us, that somehow Republican Governments conduce and tend to immoral practices, especially in the abuse of fiduciary relations and official, pecuniary trusts.

First. Is there anything in the *nature, character, or quality of Republican governments to lead necessarily to such results?* We sincerely believe and affirm that there is not. Human nature is essentially the same whatever be the form of government under which it exists. It is selfish in its aims and purposes; it studies to secure its own interests; it dreads punishment, and in its efforts at self-aggrandizement at the expense or in wrong of its fellow, it seeks to escape the penalties which the self-interest and best intelligence of the rest of the community strive to harden into its legislation and to affix to wrong-doing.

Without intending to enter now upon the vexed questions of the origin and authority of civil government, we submit as a just philosophical proposition, easily defended by reason and history, that the instincts and intelligent self-interest of an entire community, constantly thinking and acting in and through its diversified industries and in its local legislations in regard to schools, taxes, roads, and in its religious organizations, are more likely to bring to general legislation just, high, and watchful considerations, to prudently weigh the evils which threaten, and to contrive means to secure and safely guard the morals which these evils are seeking to undermine or assail, than is any single individual—called King, Czar, Emperor, or Sultan—acting from his selfish stand-point and from partial and necessarily imperfect information, or than is any civil coterie of individuals or oligarchy, acting from its selfish stand-point and interested mainly to secure its own welfare and perpetuity. Thackeray once declared that he had tried a passage in one of Lord Lytton's despatches backwards and forwards and in several other ways, and that in every way it meant the same. So in reading the legislation of absolute or oligarchical governments, either backwards or forwards or in any other way, it always means the same—simply

and always to strengthen, guard, and consolidate its own power.

Nor—we confidently submit as a further philosophical principle—are *the results of Republican laws*, thus representing the general good sense and diversified interests and practical experience of its many constituents, *upon its citizens*, likely to encourage vice or immorality. An intelligent and wise selfishness is apt to lead to justice and benevolence, if not to the golden rule. The citizen juror, called to sit upon the rights of his neighbor, and to administer a general law to his individual case, cannot but feel that at the next term of the court his neighbor may be juror—and so, through self-interest he learns justice and right. And the electoral juror, administering equity by his ballot, is constantly confronted by the *argumentum ad suum*.

Sir Godfrey Kneller was accustomed to paint his portraits by first sketching and painting the face of the original individual sitter, and then finishing the figure from drapery which he kept on hand for all his sitters. In painting the portraiture of Republicanism, the monarchical painter has generally limned the outline head of some particular Republic, and then finished the figure, not from the general drapery of human nature, but from the crimson and soiled garments of the French Revolution or the French Commune. These were specimens, not of Republics, governed by men of average intelligence and of average political education and political habits, but of French mobs, with exceptional French ideas and passions, and stimulated by exceptional circumstances to exceptional acts of barbarism and atrocity. As well hold up these bloody pictures or images as scare-crows, not to scare away the monarchical crows from plundering the hills of corn, but to frighten the honest and plundered farmer from planting any more corn!

The advocates of absolute or repressive governments are especially fond of dwelling with exaggerating force upon the turbulence and alleged corruptions attending all popular elections. We do not claim that there are not just imputations to be made against some of our very heated elections, on both these grounds; but while we are disposed to make every reasonable concession in these respects, we may still fairly

challenge a comparison, especially in a moral point of view, both as to methods and results, with the imperial model of elections set up by Napoleon III., in Nov., 1851, when to avoid a popular disturbance and to secure a peaceable and orderly election, he allowed no negative ballots to be printed, distributed, or cast, and so the imperial urns emptied out an unanimous vote, and the imperial prefects reported universal order at the polls. We will also challenge a comparison between our methods with their speech-making, vociferations, and electoral excitements, with the most approved elections of Kings, Roman, Spanish, or French, or even those of the Lancastrian or York claimants in England, where the voters on the other side are usually silenced by the pike and sword, and the canvass by cutlass and rifle is followed by the funerals of the suppressed and orderly voters. This monarchical method of securing a result is very similar to that of the anxious cooper in endeavoring to get all his barrel staves to stand up and form a perfect barrel. Finding that the individual staves were disposed, when stood up by their unaided selves, to fall down and make an unseemly clatter, he put a boy inside to hold them up, while he put the head on and secured the cask in its shapely form by hoops well driven down and nailed. He congratulated himself upon his grand success, when some neighbor pointed out that it might look very well, but that there was a live boy inside. Now the friends of Republican governments propose to head up their electoral barrels without any live boys inside or any dead soldiers outside.

Nor should we omit here reference to the *effects of government upon its own administrators* while in possession of power. And here we may well challenge every comparison. The same inspired Word which assures us that "God was displeased because the Israelites desired a king," and mercifully informed them in advance what the result would be upon them; his taking their sons for his chariots and horsemen, their daughters to be his confectioners and cooks, the tenth of their flocks and herds for his own use, this same Word, which is careful to inform us that the Lord, at last weary of their importunities, "gave them a king in his anger," has also left on record the terrible pictures of the re-action of that kingly

power upon its possessors in the persons of David and Saul, and even upon the wise and virtuous Solomon. And without recounting the abundant examples from all history, we may cite from the more familiar annals of modern England, thus generously giving to the advocates of monarchy the most favorable illustrations which they can possibly claim. Sir Horace Walpole, himself a Cabinet minister, after associating for twenty-one years with the best culture, among the highest aristocracy, and in the inner court circles of the times of George II. and George III., has left on record, as the result of it all, "that it was a *dangerous thing* to be a minister, and that there were few minds that would not be injured by *the constant spectacle of meanness and depravity around them.*" Certain it is that no biographer of either of our sixteen Presidents, no Secretary or Cabinet officer in the twenty-five different Cabinets or administrations under these Presidents, could truthfully leave such a blackening record as that.

In times of great political excitement with us, we sometimes hear wild and unproved charges of political bribery; and partisan committees, moved by partisans for political profit and gain, and filled by extreme partisans, have, in a few extreme cases, brought to light a very few examples of bribery; but no unprejudiced American historian, writing with judicial calmness and fairness, has ever asserted or implied anything half so inculcating as Macaulay, the most eloquent and conscientious of all the advocates of constitutional monarchy, has recorded of the practice of bribery at English elections.*

"To buy the votes of constituents," says he, "is as immoral as to buy the votes of the representatives. The candidate who gives five guineas to the freeman is as culpable as the man who gives 300 to the member. Yet we know that *in our own time* no man is thought wicked or dishonorable, no man is cut, no man is black-balled because under the old system of election he was returned *in the only way in which he could be returned*, for East Retford, for Liverpool, or for Stafford."

"Walpole," he continues in the same article, "governed by corruption because in his time *it was impossible to govern*

* See *Edinburgh Review* for Oct., 1833.

otherwise! In the reign of Charles II. the practice of *buying votes in the House of Commons* was commenced by the daring Clifford, and carried to a great extent by the crafty and shameless Danby." Thank God, no American Macaulay can justly make such a charge against any American Cabinet officer, nor against any American Congress, nor will the archives of our, or of any, Republic reveal the disgraceful bribery of ministers and ambassadors from other powers, as have the archives of England during the time of the virtuous and much-lauded Elizabeth of Spain, during the reigns of her best sovereigns, Charles V. and Philip II., and of France during the brilliant reigns of Francis I. and of his son, Henry II.

Patent as are the evils connected with our system of elections by the people, such as the great excitements of political temper and passion, the temptation to unjust accusation of character and the strain upon the time of the large electoral mass, we may not also overlook the counterbalancing, favorable moral results. By their frequency and the possession of universal suffrage by the entire adult male population, an alert and vigilant supervision is kept up by all classes over every citizen; for every one is liable at some time to be selected by his friends for some office, general or local, when his merits or demerits will be mercilessly sifted and inspected. What the post-mortem examinations of the ancient Egyptians into the characters of those who died, before they were allowed the rites of burial; what the inquest of the kitchen over the morals and conduct of the parlor which Thackeray has so masterfully described—such are these electoral inquests among us over the character and moral conduct of candidates—that is, of the whole population. Many a fair-looking tree, waving in beautiful foliage and abundant fruitage, has shown, after the electoral frosts, the carious trunk or worm-eaten branches. Our constantly maintained political parties are vigilant and watchful inspectors of the morals and characters, not only of their opponents, but of their own competing and aspiring candidates. Our partisan press, too, political, religious, social, benevolent, local, and even the so-called independent, with all its indefensible practices, its espionage of individual and family life, and its inquisitorial interviewing, has also a wholesome terror for the audacious and the unprincipled who act from

the low motives of popular favor. All our public business, our Congressional and State legislation, our municipal proceedings, the judicial trials in all our courts of every grade, the transactions of our benevolent and charitable associations, are all in public, in the presence of witnesses and spectators, and often of hostile parties or critics, and their proceedings are afterwards usually printed and widely distributed. The genius of our government and institutions, and the traditions and habits of our people, nursed as they have been by our Republican form of government, are all opposed to star chamber proceedings, to closed doors, or to private sessions on the part of those who have to do with our business, legislative, judicial, municipal, or religious. This publicity is a guaranty against wrong-doing on the part of those who thus meet in open session. We could wish that the same vigilant jealousy would, and we trust it soon will, force open the doors of legislative committees and the board rooms of railroad directors.

Secondly. Is it fairly true—as is so persistently charged by monarchical writers, and is quite widely assumed even by ourselves—that *we have in our Republic, as products of its form of government, an unusual amount of speculation on the part of officials having public moneys to disburse, and of officers in corporations having charge of trust funds?*

We believe, and careful statistics will confirm the assertion, that robberies, frauds, peculations, and embezzlements, as shown by *court records*, are equally common in Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Spain, or Austria with the same crimes in the United States; while social offences against the code of morality, family and domestic scandals are far more prevalent in the monarchical countries named—where great wealth in a few families, especially as it is disposed of by marriage contracts, high living, pampering passions and irritating resentments, and idleness, the fecund mother of all vice, naturally encourage and promote these scandals and offences—than in a Republic, where labor and industrial pursuits by all give more honest occupation and means of livelihood. The histories of the leading and most virtuous European countries with monarchical forms of government, are mainly filled with the intrigues at court of the leading families to secure, at the ex-

pense even of the virtue of the female or of the honor of the male nobility, public moneys, grants of land in the New World, or odious monopolies, which wrung from the people at large money to feed the dissipations and profligate habits of unworthy favorites. The mistresses of the French and Spanish kings obtained for their noble paramours empires of territory carved out of this continent. Yearly pensions, in sums larger than the salary of our President, were conferred on royal pimps who pandered to the sensual desires of their royal or imperial masters. Fines imposed by the judges upon noble offenders were remitted by royal decree or at the royal command. Even the great Queen Elizabeth granted, simply from caprice, or in return for a compliment to her personal appearance, to Raleigh the monopoly of collecting taxes on playing-cards, to Essex that on sweet wines, and to Sir Giles Mompesson the right to the exclusive manufacture of gold and silver lace; thus virtually authorizing these personal favorites, without any consideration rendered to the public, to embezzle the internal duties belonging to the nation, to an amount exceeding annually the salary of any of our Supreme Court Justices or of any Cabinet officer.

We are not unaware of, nor would we wish or attempt to gloss over or hide away from view, the disagreeable and disgraceful fact of the formation of political combinations, or "rings," among us for the past few years, to partition out among a few officials of differing political opinions, public moneys in their custody which they were elected to guard and to administer honestly in the public interest. We have had, alas! our Tweed; we cannot, nor would we, forget it; but we may also remind ourselves, too, that as soon as his peculations were suspected, public sentiment and an outraged public virtue, following him and his confederates through all their tortuous courses, chasing them in swift ships around the globe, and arming the courts with extraordinary powers, gibbeted the offenders at the cross-roads, and left their wretched carcasses dangling there as public examples and warnings. But even these "ring" thefts and peculations are neither the result of, nor peculiar to, Republican governments. Numerous precedents have been set under monarchies, of peculations equally atrocious as Tweed's and far more stupendous.

We have yet to furnish an example to match the unspeakably mean, dishonorable, and gigantic thefts of the great Marlborough in the vaunted and virtuous reign of "the good Queen Anne," who confederated and formed a ring with his own captains, colonels, and paymasters, to return on the pay-rolls the names of, and to draw and pocket pay for, soldiers in his own army who had been dead for months and even years, and that, too, month after month; the military "ring" dividing the plunder among themselves, like Tweed and his confederates, according to an agreed proportion; and thus, too, still more impoverishing the public treasury when it was staggering under the heavy load of a gigantic war, and was, with difficulty, getting money at ruinous rates for legitimate expenses. In moral atrocity as well as in its extent and demoralizing effect, the crime of the monarchical General was greater than that of the vulgar Democratic municipal Superintendent of Public Works; but while Tweed was punished to the extent of the full penalties of the law, and his ill-gotten estate, so far as it could be reached, seized and sequestered, and himself swept into a felon's cell, Churchill, screened by royal favor and court influences, instead of being dismissed, prosecuted, and his property confiscated, and his person incarcerated in prison, was rewarded with a splendid dukedom, the princely estate of Blenheim, a pension of \$25,000 per annum, and the thanks of Parliament, and at his death, with a public funeral and a superb monument in Westminster Abbey. Nor is it unseasonable to note in this connection the unwarranted seizure by King Louis Philippe, and later by the Emperor Napoleon III., in France, of State property, real and personal, and its shameless appropriation to their individual uses, and that the royal and imperial embezzlers, instead of being compelled to disgorge their unlawful spoil, openly used and enjoyed it in their lifetime, and at their deaths transmitted it, as part of their undoubted private property, to their respective families. No words of condemnation from monarchical writers have branded these royal robberies; although red-hot invective would have fell hissing with wrath and indignation had like acts been attempted or suspected on the part of any Republican officials.

If we come down from these gigantic and conspicuous ex-

amples of peculation connected with the administration and abuse of governmental powers and authorities, to *private* embezzlements committed by presidents, directors, and trustees, and other officials connected with insurance, bank, trust, and other corporations—while it is difficult to see any reason why the form of government under which they chance to occur had anything to do either with their growth or discouragement—those who are familiar with the foreign journals and the foreign press, restricted as it is by a censorship, well know that these same crimes and offences are occurring constantly in the leading European monarchies to an equal, if not to a greater, extent even than among ourselves. Our European critics are, however, so busy in looking across the water to see what naughty things are happening in the great Republic, that they have not time—as they have no inclination—to observe or comment upon similar crimes at home. When such things happen there, “it is only a noise.” We will, however, undertake to cite against any American catalogue, however minute, of offences of the kinds enumerated, one of equal length and covering a like space of time and among a population of equal numbers in England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Austria, Turkey, Russia, or Belgium. Let us take a single example, which occurred about a year since in Nov., 1878, in Belgium, to show how parallel are the features of kindred crimes under a monarchy and in our own Republic. A young Belgian, Eugene T’Kindt Roodebecke, robbed the Bank of Belgium, in which he was a clerk, of nearly \$5,000,000. He was a clerk on a salary of \$800 per annum, but lived before the eyes of the staid and highly respectable directors at the rate of \$20,000—had a town and country house, a picture gallery, a pack of hounds, a private race-course, a mistress, and other luxuries of fast men. Like the rest of the *jeunesse doree* of Brussels, he moved among highly respectable people in society, was a constant attendant at a fashionable church, and responded generously to the appeals of charity. When arrested, he was, of course, on his way to this country; and had he reached our shores, he would, doubtless, soon have furnished to the monarchical journals of Belgium, as so many self-exiled Englishmen, gifted with the genius for appreciating coined as well as crowned sovereigns, have, after they reached us, furnished to the London

Times and *The Standard* brilliant examples for comment and homily upon the corrupting influences of Republican institutions upon private morality.

While writing this article we have received, in regular course, the last number of *The Scotsman*, published at Edinburgh, in severely virtuous Scotland, under date of Oct. 18th last; and glancing over it we find no less than three cases of embezzlement, by secretaries of insurance companies, of the moneys of their respective corporations. These are not blazoned out to public view, as they would have been in our daily press, by startling head-lines and made more conspicuous by editorial comment. They are put, as if nothing unusual, in small type, and almost hidden from the reader's attention by being put, as mortar between the bricks, between notices of the chronic Scotch crimes of wife-beating and child-murder. On inspecting all the daily journals of New York—which have a vigorously asserted jurisdiction over the entire United States—for the whole week ending on the date named, we fail to note a single case of embezzlement or misappropriation of moneys throughout a territory twelve times the size, and among a population eight times the number of the people of Scotland. We do not mean to be understood as stating this as a uniform rule, but only as a significant incident, bearing upon the point under discussion.

Lastly. We as confidently APPEAL TO HISTORY to show that *morality either in high places or among the great body of the people has in the past been maintained at as high if not at a higher stand-point, and been as widely if not more widely diffused among Republican as under monarchical or repressive governments.* We should be glad, had we space or time, to trace down the parallels through every age, and through like stages of civilization, from the earliest records of man to the present time. A few references in addition to those already cited can only be permitted here. Against the example of Marlborough; against the examples of the Russian officers in the Crimean war, and the kindred examples of the imperial French and the monarchical English officers in the same war, many of them noblemen and gentlemen of family, appropriating to themselves funds destined for the clothing or good of the common soldiers in the service, who were often in great

destitution and suffering for the lack of these articles, we will triumphantly place the history of our great conflict from 1861 to 1865, when hundreds of millions of money and millions of tons of clothing passed through the hands of disbursing officers, plain and common men, often themselves poor and in want, without diversion or misappropriation.

In judicial history we will lay bare the entire record of the numerous judges in our Federal and State Courts, from the formation of the government, most of them men from the people, of little or no fortune, and poorly paid for their labors ; and we challenge a comparison with the judicial annals of England, Germany, Russia, Italy, or monarchical France. Bad as were Barnard and McCunn, as measured by a lofty morality which forbids that the ermine should fall or rest upon shoulders less white or stainless than itself, they were immaculate and pure compared with the judges of imperial Rome, or with those of imperial Russia or Germany, or even with many of those of England. We have yet to furnish an example to match that of the great Lord Chancellor Bacon, of whom Ben Jonson sang :

" Whose even thread the Fates spun round and full
Out of their choicest and their whitest wool ;"

yet who, although in the receipt of a large salary, and surrounded by every barrier against temptation, meanly and disgracefully received bribes from suitors in his own court to influence his judicial judgment in cases pending before him.

The world has had but few Republican governments ; but we will confidently appeal to the history of those few, and will gladly measure by any fair standard the morals prevailing among their officials and their populations, with those of any monarchically governed people at or near the same epoch. We will match Rome, the Republic, with its glorious civil annals, reaching through 480 years, under the Catos, the Scipios, and the Ciceros, against Rome the Empire, through its dismal and dark records of corruption, venality, and cruelty for 505 years, under its Caligulas, Neros, and Julians ; in later times the Dutch Republic, under William the Stadtholder, Maurice, and John of Barnevald, with a like period of monarchy preceding or succeeding ; Switzerland with any of its monarchical neigh-

bors, Austria, Italy, Bavaria, or Wurtemberg; or the little mountain Republic of San Marino with ducal Florence, dogal Venice, or monarchical Sardinia, or Italy.

Not in any spirit of boasting, but in deep sorrow, and because challenged to it by the invidious and unjust statements and sarcasms of the advocates of monarchy, and in a just self-defence, do we make these comparisons. It is, we think, high time that we rise up to vindicate ourselves against the unfair denunciations and cavillings of foes and the hypochondriacal wails and moans of weak-backed friends. We have been twitted quite long enough with the undeserved reproach of being unduly addicted to the love and worship of the dollar, to the greed of money, and to its improper, if not criminal acquisition. Faults we have, many and grievous, which are open and justly subject to criticism, come whence it may, from without or from within—faults which no one more earnestly, or more conscientiously than ourselves point out, condemn, and strive to correct; but a just vindication of our chosen system of government and a proper self-respect and self-appreciation demand that we as candidly, and in a spirit of moderation and fairness, insist that we should not overlook or forget our virtues, public and private; our open-handed generosity in private life; our liberal uses of money to an exceptional extent in promoting every form of benevolence and charity; our swift and prompt application of the money we are accused of hoarding and worshipping to the relief of suffering or destitution, famine or pestilence, not only to our fellow-countrymen, but as promptly to the countrymen and fellow-subjects of our very detractors and calumniators; our noble system of public schools, laid in the midst of our poverty as infant States, diffusing intelligence among all classes; our chain of benevolence and charity with its freely-forged golden links, encompassing and drawing up from the depths of ignorance, misery, and sin into the blessed sunshine of Christian solicitude and tender love, every form of human wretchedness, suffering, and sorrow.

JOHN D. SHERWOOD.

VII.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

THE HEBREW TENSES IN THE IMPRECATIONS IN THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINTH PSALM.

ALL the imprecations are included between verses 6 and 19. In the 20th verse, there is no reason for supplying the copula in the imperative. The remaining verbs which are sometimes imperatively translated are indeterminate in form, and with no sufficient reason for making them other than declarative in meaning.

This imprecatory passage naturally divides itself into three sections, corresponding to the character of the verbs used. In verses 6-11 the verbs are imperfects, or perfects, with *vav* conversive, following an imperative. In 12-15 they are unambiguous jussives. In 16-19 they are perfects, or imperfects with *vav* conversive, preceding the jussive *יִרְדּוּ* with which verse 19 begins. The imperfects of the first section are none of them distinctively jussive. One of them, *יִתְּרֶךָ*, in verse 7, is distinctively declarative.

Presumptively, this peculiar and symmetrical arrangement of the verbs is designed and not accidental. Presumptively, the sixth verse, with its imperative, bears a relation to the five following verses similar to that which the 19th verse, with its imperative, bears to the verses which directly precede it; while these two groups of verses are also alike in their relation to the four jussive verses which lie between them. This presumption we evidently violate, if we give a jussive meaning to these verbs which have carefully avoided the jussive form, and, disregarding the symmetry indicated by the verbs, make of the whole simply fourteen pairs or triplets of imprecations, barely placed in juxtaposition one with the other.

This difficulty vanishes, if we suppose the imperative in verse 6 to be employed, as the imperative is frequently employed in both Hebrew and English, to introduce a conditional sentence. In Prov. ix. 8-9, "Rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee; give to a wise man, and he will be yet wiser; teach a just man, and he will increase in learning;" the meaning evidently is: "If you rebuke a wise man, he will love you; if you give to a wise man, he will be yet wiser; if you teach a just man, he will increase in learning." Or, in other words, the effect of rebuking a wise man is to make him love thee; the effect of giving to a wise man is that he will, etc. If the passage in hand be similarly constructed, we may have the meaning: "Put a wicked man in office over any one, . . . that one will come out wicked when he is judged."

In other words, "If thou put a wicked man in office over one, . . . he will come out wicked, etc.!" That is, the effect of putting a wicked man in office over a person, is that he will fail to find protection in courts of justice.

One adopting this construction might, at first thought, be disposed to make the apodosis of the conditional sentence begin with the second member of verse 6: "If thou set a wicked man over one, a satan will stand at his right hand, etc." The structure of the Hebrew, however, seems rather to require that we make this second member a phrase of specification, calling attention to that which, in the first member, is most important for the speaker's purpose.

Translate the whole passage as follows :

"If thou put a wicked man in office over any one,
 A satan thus coming to stand upon his right hand;
 That one will come out wicked, when he is brought into judgment,
 Even his prayer becoming sin;
 Few will his days be,
 His office another will take;
 Orphans his sons will be,
 And his wife a widow;
 And his sons will wander, wander, and be beggars,
 And will inquire, away from their ruins;
 A creditor will set a trap for all which belongs to him,
 And strangers will plunder his earnings.

"Let there be no one extending mercy,
 And let there be no one having pity for his orphans;
 Let his posterity be for cutting off,
 In another generation let their name be wiped out;
 Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered with Jehovah,
 And his mother's sin—let it not be wiped out;
 Let them be before Jehovah continually,
 And let him cut off their remembrance from earth

"Because he was not mindful to do mercy,
 And pursued a man poor and needy,
 And humiliated of heart, to put to death;
 And loved cursing, and it entered him,
 And delighted not in blessing, and it was far from him;
 And put on cursing as his garment,
 And it entered as the water within him,
 And as the oil into his bones;
 Let it be to him as clothing which he will wear,
 And for a belt which he will continually gird."

According to this translation, the order of thought in the Psalm is as follows: In the first five verses, the author complains of personal injuries, particularly specifying, in the fourth verse, that those who ought to sustain to him the relation of loving friends have, instead, put themselves in the attitude of "satans" to him. Then, in verses 6-11, he continues his complaint, in the form of a graphic generalization of the evil consequences of misrule, that is, as he explains, of giving one a satan for a protector. That this is indicated by the phrase, "Stand upon his right hand," will appear, if we compare the verse with verse 31, and with Ps. cx. 1, 5. The effect of setting a wicked man over one, of giving one a satan for a protector, is to corrupt judicial

processes, so that a good man will go out of court condemned, irrespective of the merits of his cause, and the prayer of a praying man will be counted an aggravation of whatever offences are charged against him. It is that men will be cut off prematurely, and their positions filled by others. It is the multiplication of widows and orphans, and of respectably bred citizens reduced to beggary. It is the flourishing of extortioners, with peculiar facilities for ruining men to satisfy their own greed. Next, in verses 12-15, come four pairs of imprecations upon some one, apparently one who has been guilty of the injurious misrule just mentioned, with its attendant crimes. Upon him is invoked, mainly, the same sort of evils which he has been in the habit of inflicting upon others. Verses 16-19 are an expression of the fact that the evils thus imprecated are the fruit of his own deliberate, persistent, malignant choice; followed by an expression of acquiescence in them. Since he has thus, with such determination and obstinacy, saturated himself with evil, let him be saturated with it. Let him have his own way. In the 20th verse, the author recognizes the fact that his own private satans come under the dreadful law of retribution which he has been stating. The rest of the Psalm is made up of the same sort of material with the first five verses.

The presumption with which we started becomes pretty decided proof, when we thus find the logical divisions of the meaning coinciding with the transitions in the style of the verbs. The translations which make the passage simply a string of imprecations certainly show no such logical distinctness or progress in the thought.

So far as this translation is concerned, it is of little consequence whether we regard the indeterminate verbs in verses 6-11 as declarative or as jussive. The jussive is most frequently, though by no means exclusively, used in the apodosis of conditional sentences beginning with an imperative. But it is worth noticing that in verse 14, in an unequivocal imprecation, we have **יְהִי כִפְּתוֹתָי** **אֶל־הַמָּוֶה** :

a clause of specification with the verb in the jussive. Why, in the precisely similar clause in verse 7, should the author so carefully use the unapocopated form **יְהִי כִפְּתוֹתָי**, unless he designed to indicate thereby a difference in the mood of the verbs? Or, indeed, if he intended these verbs to be understood as imperatives, why did he not put them in the imperative, or use unambiguous jussives, or perfects connected by vav conversive with the initial imperative? When he wished to utter imprecations, he evidently knew very well how to make them intelligible and unequivocal.

Apologetically, our translation does not at all touch the difficulty which seems chiefly to trouble many, in the passage. It diminishes the number of the imprecations, indeed, to less than a third, as compared with most of the current translations. But it makes those which it retains more startling and terrible than they were before. And it retains the imprecations in which the fatherless children of the evil-doer, his posterity, his ancestors, his mother, are associated with him in the evil invoked. But, on the other hand, it removes all ground for the charge that the author *gloats* over the evils he imprecates, and loves to dwell upon them, and repeat them again and again. And in other similar respects it materially changes the character of the imprecatory element in the Psalm.

If the translation just given be correct, the fact that Peter, in Acts i, 20, cites the eighth verse in the imperative, presents no difficulty different from those which attend many of the New Testament citations from the Old.

W. J. B.

The General Synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America met in Brooklyn, N. Y., on the 2d of June, and continued in session eight days. The Rev. J. A. De Baun, D.D., was elected President, and Rev. J. W. Beardslee, Adessor. The membership numbered one hundred and thirty, and although among the ministers not a few were missed of those who usually take an active part in debate, the elders included an unusual number of able and clear-headed men. The spirit of the assembly was very good, and while there was considerable earnest and sometimes heated discussion, conclusions were reached with a great deal of unanimity.

The most exciting subject before the body was Freemasonry. This was brought forward by a memorial from a Classis composed mainly of Hollanders, who insisted that this and all similar oath-bound secret societies were inimical to the Gospel, and should be discountenanced by the Church. The matter had been in agitation in the Western portions of the denomination for more than twenty years. In some cases, things had gone so far that Freemasonry was made a bar to communion. It was necessary, therefore, that some deliverance should be made. A wise and able committee, Dr. W. J. R. Taylor, of Newark, N. J., chairman, made a report expressing sympathy with the brethren perplexed by the matter, refusing on the *ex parte* evidence submitted to pronounce for or against the society, vindicating the right of ministers and members to obey their own convictions of duty in this matter, cautioning Consistories and Classes against setting up new terms of communion, and yet declaring that no one should unite with or remain in any society, secret or open, whose principles and practices are anti-Christian. This report was finally adopted with a single dissenting vote. It did not satisfy all parties, yet will, it is thought, go far to put an end to the existing difficulties. Manifestly, discipline cannot be effectively maintained against an institution which has among its members many ministers and elders whose high Christian character in all other respects is universally acknowledged. The most determined opponent of Freemasonry, if candid, must admit that process under such circumstances could have no good result. It might split a denomination, but could not harm the object it opposes. If Masonry be an evil, it belongs to that class of evils which the Church must remove indirectly, by moral means, and not by formal process and censure.

Another matter of interest was a plan of systematic beneficence, reported by a committee appointed the previous year. Its essential feature was, that when the different Boards estimated the amounts needed for their work, these estimates, when approved by the Synod, should be made the basis of an apportionment among the several Classes, according to their ability, and that then the Classes should apportion the quota assigned to them among their churches, and require each consistory and minister to meet its apportionment, or else give the reasons for its failure. Considerable objection was made to the mandatory character of the plan, but it was finally adopted. If carried

out, it can hardly fail to be of great service. The pecuniary difficulties which embarrass the benevolent operations of all churches, are owing mainly to the fact, that so large a portion of the people do little or nothing, leaving the rest to bear the burden. If only the proper pressure of reason and Scripture can be applied to the consciences of the delinquents, and the whole body be induced to equal the fidelity of a part, the problem is solved. But it will be very necessary to avoid anything that would look like compulsion or the application of Church power. Charity cannot be forced.

A proposition to institute a sort of lay ministers or evangelists, requiring less careful preparation and gifts than the regular ministry, laid over from the previous year, when there was not time to discuss it, was taken up and unanimously rejected. It was felt that this is no time to lower the standard of ministerial qualifications, and that quality is much more needed than quantity. The tone of the Synod on this point was conservative and healthy. The constitution of the Church requires for its ministers a full college course or its equivalent, and a three years' course in its Theological Seminary. Exemption from these requirements can be obtained in any case only by dispensation given by the Synod. This year three applications were made for such dispensation (sometimes there are six or eight), and were granted, but only after a rigid investigation of the circumstances. The Synod called the attention of all ministers and parents to the startling fact, that of the two hundred and eighty-four students graduated in the last twenty years, only about a third were educated at their own expense. They urged, therefore, that renewed efforts be made to have children of parents in good circumstances consecrated to the ministry; and also to have stricter examinations as to character and qualifications of those who expect to be aided in their support. They also adopted vigorous measures to secure the endowment needed for Hope College in Michigan, an institution considered vital to the denominational interests in the West, and yet suffering greatly by reason of the failure of certain of its funds. In consequence of the embarrassments of the Board of Education, the Synod confirmed the action of the Board, in dispensing with the services of a salaried Secretary. It remains to be seen whether such an act is not a piece of misplaced economy. There are few machines that run themselves.

In Foreign Missions the reports were favorable—the converts in all the fields having increased by one-half in the last two years. Fresh openings are to be seen in all directions, nor is there any lack of men ready to consecrate themselves to this work. The only drawback is the lack of means. Although the contributions last year showed an increase of twelve per cent. over those of the year before, yet the debt of nearly \$30,000 has not been removed nor sensibly diminished. The Woman's Auxiliary has grown perceptibly in means and activity.

The Board of Domestic Missions reported a decrease of missions owing to the fact that some had become self-supporting. But this should have led to the establishment of new stations. The Board had an increase of funds, notwithstanding that the churches gave less than during the preceding year. The anomaly is due to the legacies received. The Board's field lies in the thinly settled portions of the East, but mainly among the emigrant Hollanders at the West who long for the Gospel, and yet of themselves are literally unable to support a settled minister.

The Synod passed unanimously a hearty commendation of this REVIEW, recognizing its relation to the Dutch, as well as the Presbyterian Church.

T. W. C.

The Teyler Theological Society of Haarlem, at its autumnal meeting in 1879, awarded but one prize. The subject was: The mutual relations of the State and Society judged by the principles of Christian Ethics, with reference to present controversies among political economists. The successful essayist was Dr. W. Hollenberg, of Saarbrücken. Two other essays received a conditional award, both written on "The application of conjectural criticism to the text of the Scriptures of the New Testament, with a sketch of its history, a judgment upon its necessity, and a full exhibition of its most important results." The names of the essayists will be announced when the conditions are accepted. The new theme proposed is: Pessimism and Ethics, with reference to E. von Hartmann's "Phenomenology of the moral consciousness."

The Hague Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion awarded a prize to Rudolf Rüetschi, of Reutigen, in Switzerland, for an essay on the theme proposed for 1879, to wit: A history and criticism of the doctrine of the Church in respect to the state of original perfection and the Fall.

The themes proposed for essays to be submitted before December 15, 1880, are the following: A discussion of the question, how far the comparative history of religions as at present studied contributes to the knowledge and correct estimation of Christianity; an essay on Alexander Vinet, describing and estimating him as a Christian moralist and apologist; and a grammatical and historical examination of the interpretation of Biblical texts, which is followed by the Reformed Church of Holland in its symbolical books, including all texts that are used, whether directly or indirectly, as basis and proof for doctrinal propositions.

Revue de l'histoire des Religions.—To meet the wants of an important department of historical and scientific research, this new bi-monthly has been established. The editor-in-chief is M. Maurice Vernes, with whom are associated in the editorial staff, distinguished scholars like MM. Barth, Bouché-Leclercq, Decharme, Guyard, Maspero, and others. Some of these have assumed the responsibility for periodical surveys of particular fields of historical research and literature. Thus M. Barth reports on Aryan mythology and the religions of India; Maspero on Egypt (both these in the opening number); Guyard on Assyria; Decharme on Greece; Bouché-Leclercq on Italy; Gaidoz on the mythology of ancient Gaul; M. Vernes himself on Judaism and Christianity. Aside from these and other similar systematized reports, there are to be original articles on special topics; the reproduction of original documents of special value; reports of Societies; summaries from the periodicals; with annals of current events important to the department, and bibliographical lists. The field is well covered and the work well organized.

M. Vernes in the opening number (Jan. — Feb., 1880: E. Leroux, Paris, pp. 160, 8vo), justifies his undertaking by the amount and importance of material accumulating in this department of inquiry, the interest awakened in it, and the want of a suitable organ. The attitude of the Review is to be that of absolutely impartial and colorless historical recital. He rejects and condemns with equal emphasis a distinctively evangelical or Protestant and

a rationalistic criticism. He and his co-laborers are to be intent upon pure and substantial facts, avoiding all controversy. "The Review excludes every work exhibiting a polemic or dogmatic character." It is for others to seek and supply the interpretation of whatever may be substantiated as fact. It will soon appear to what extent this scientific impartiality and exactness are attainable. The first number offers as its contribution to the history of the religion of Israel, Part I. of a series on "The history of worship among the Hebrews, after J. Wellhausen." It contains also articles on Italian divination, and the religious monuments of Cambodia.

The new Review has its field to itself, and cannot fail to supply very valuable material to those interested in its department of research. The subscription price for foreign lands is 30 fr.

Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben. — For some time the great Lutheran body of Germany has had for its organ no religious periodical of higher rank than a weekly journal. The old *Quartalsblätter* of Erlangen and Leipsic had died out, one after the other. Dr. Luthardt, whose qualifications are eminent, has assumed the editorship of a new monthly (à 56 pp., large 8vo, Dörffling & Franke, Leipsic. Subscription price 8 marks), for which he has the pledged co-operation and support of large numbers of Lutheran scholars from all parts of Europe, and of all positions.

The first two numbers, which lie before us, contain contributions (two) from Delitzsch, "Critical Studies on the Pentateuch"; from Kahnis, "The Apologetic Argument"; from V. Schultz, of Leipsic (two), "A day in Rome, in the year 200," and "Artisanship and Artisans in the ancient Church"; from Luthardt, "Modern Views of the World"; from A. Stählin, part of a sketch of G. C. A. von Harless; with others of interest. There are surely learning and power and zeal enough within the Lutheranism of Europe to make the new periodical influential and widely welcome. We extend to it our hearty salutations.

Prof. Luthardt is also the editor of two weeklies published by the same enterprising house; the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, and the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*.

A novelty comes to us from another quarter in the "*Minerva*: A monthly Review edited by Pericles Tzikos." It is published in Rome, and bears also the imprint of houses in Milan and Naples, and of Williams & Norgate, in London. Its aim is very cosmopolitan, as is its first list of subjects and contributors. It proposes, so far as we can infer without aid from any editorial announcement, to interest itself in whatever belongs characteristically to the civilization of our times.

C. A. A.

The Robertson Smith Case.—For upwards of four years, the Free Church of Scotland has been agitated by the controversy with reference to the views of W. Robertson Smith, Prof. of Hebrew in the Free College of Aberdeen; and the whole Presbyterian Church, and other Churches as well, have been looking on with intense interest and anxiety as to the result. Prof. Smith is a young man, some 33 years of age, of unusual talent, extensive learning, originality of mind, and independence of character. He was born in the Free Church, educated for the ministry in the Free College of Edinburgh, and subsequently studied in the universities of Germany. He was called in 1870 to

the Professorship of Hebrew at Aberdeen, where he at once became distinguished as a teacher and a preacher of the Gospel. He made himself familiar with the various topics of his professorship, and as a thorough student, gave considerable attention to the theories of the various critical schools of Germany and Holland, which, with all their errors, have done so much for the scientific study of the sacred Scriptures. He felt constrained to abandon many of the traditional views with reference to the authorship, time of composition, structure, and design of the various Biblical writings; and would construct a theory that would remove critical objections, and accord with the divine character of the Bible. He was providentially called to prepare various articles for the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," on Angels, the Bible, Canticles, Chronicles, and other topics. These articles, especially the one on the Bible, gave great offence: (1) By their bold and fearless rejection of views long established in the Church, and regarded by most people as inseparable from orthodox views of the inspiration and authority of the Bible as the Word of God; (2) by the confident and assured statement of opinions that were strange to the British and American public as if they were unquestionable and accepted by all competent scholars; (3) by the bald statement of theories that were ordinarily associated with Foreign Rationalists in their attacks on the Christian religion, without those qualifications and explanations that would be expected from an evangelical Presbyterian, in separating himself from them.

The attention of the College Committee of the Free Church of Scotland was called to these articles on the 17th of May, 1876. This Committee, composed of eleven ministers and ten elders (including the three principals, Profs. Candlish and Smeaton, Sir Henry Moncreiff, Dr. Wilson, Alex. Whyte, and others), is a Standing Committee of the Assembly,

"With authority to undertake the general administration of College property and finances, to give advice in cases of difficulty, to originate and prosecute before the Church courts processes against any of the Professors for heresy or immorality, and to make necessary inquiries for that purpose; to originate also and prepare for the decisions of the General Assembly proposals for the retirement of Professors disabled by age or infirmity, and for fixing the retiring allowance they are to receive."

This Committee gave careful attention to the subject, and fully discussed it after conference with Prof. Smith.

At this conference Prof. Smith stated:

"It is right that an Encyclopædia should contain a fair and impartial account of the present state of critical questions, and the account was more likely to be fair and impartial if written by a person whose criticism was not enlisted in the service of a destructive theology. I would not have undertaken the article if I had thought that a critical statement, within the limits of the plan of the Encyclopædia, would tend to cast any doubt on the Divine authority of Scripture. But I am convinced that there is nothing in what I have written to touch a faith which moves in the lines of sound Protestant doctrine, and rests on the bases indicated in the first chapter of our CONFESSION; and I cannot be answerable for the effect of my teaching on men whose belief in the Bible moves in other lines, and rests on other foundations."

The chief question was then, as in all the subsequent discussions, with

regard to his view of Deuteronomy. The Committee presented Prof. Smith's views in five propositions adopting the report of their Sub-Committee:

"(1). That various portions of the Levitical institutions, to which a Mosaic authorship is assigned in the Pentateuch, are of later date, having come into the form in which they are exhibited only by degrees, and in days long subsequent to the age of Moses. This is held to be established by discrepancies between different parts of Scripture, which are held to arise when the Mosaic origin is assumed. (2). In particular, the book of Deuteronomy, in portions of it which, *ex facie*, bear to be the record of utterances by Moses, makes references to institutions and arrangements much later than his time. (3). This is to be accounted for by assuming that some prophetic person in later times threw into this form a series of oracles, embracing, at once, Mosaic revelations and modifications or adaptations, which were of later development—all together being thrown into the form of a declaration and testimony by Moses. (4). That, viewed especially with reference to the literary conceptions and habits of that time and people, the method thus adopted was legitimate, and was such as the Divine Spirit might sanction and employ. It was designed to teach that the whole body of laws delivered were the fruit of the same seed, had received the same sanction, and were inspired by the Spirit who spake by Moses. (5). The Sub-Committee do not understand the Professor to mean that this involved any fraud upon those to whom the book was delivered. It was given and taken for what it was,—however it may subsequently have been misunderstood in the Professor's view, in so far as it came to be believed to be an ordinary historical record of actual Mosaic utterances."

These propositions were accepted by Prof. Smith

"As on the whole a very fair representation of my position, both in my divergence from tradition and in my refusal to associate any idea of fraud with the Deuteronomic Legislation, or to admit that my account of the date and authorship of the Book detracts from its value and authority as Canonical Scripture. When my position is thus discriminated from the theories of those who, like Kuenen, ascribe the origin of Deuteronomy to a pious fraud, I do not think that it will be found to involve any more serious innovation in our conception of the method of revelation than this—that the written record of the Revelation of God's will which is necessary unto salvation makes use of certain forms of literary presentation which have always been thought legitimate in ordinary composition, but which were not always understood to be used in the Bible."

The College Committee accordingly reported to the General Assembly of 1877, that

"On a survey of the whole case, the Committee do not find sufficient ground to support a process for heresy; . . . they cannot profess to be surprised that the article, from what it contained and what it omitted, awakened anxiety or created suspicion with reference to Prof. Smith's views on the inspiration of Scripture. But, in addition to his character and public engagements, the Committee are bound to draw attention to his declarations, submitted with this Report. These declarations of his adherence to the doctrine regarding the Word of God laid down in the *Confession of Faith*, and in the Reformed Confessions generally, appear to the Committee to be clear, decided, and hearty. . . . The Committee gladly recognize Prof. Smith's high character, and express their cordial sense of his great learning. All the more they lament that an article written by him should have given rise to anxiety and suspicion. They cannot withhold the expression of their opinion, that the article, in opposition to Prof. Smith's avowed intention, is of a dangerous and unsettling tendency."

The College Committee had also transmitted their report to the Presbytery of Aberdeen, in accordance with the instructions of the Free Church Commis-

sion, on the 7th of March, 1877, which directed the Presbytery to see the whole Articles and Documents, take such judicial steps as they might deem competent or necessary, and to report to next Assembly. The Presbytery addressed several questions to Prof. Smith, and transmitted others as suggested by individuals. To these the Professor briefly replied; and these, together with several dissents and complaints, were reported to the General Assembly of 1877. After thorough consideration of the whole case, the General Assembly, by a vote of 491 against 113, adopted the motion of Dr. Wilson, that—

“The General Assembly, considering how necessary it is, especially at the present time, that this Church should maintain a clear testimony to the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures as the Word of God, and the only rule of faith and manners; and considering that the College Committee though not finding, according to their judgment, sufficient ground to support a libel for heresy, give it as their opinion that the article ‘Bible,’ contrary to Prof. Smith’s avowed conviction, contains statements of a dangerous and unsettling tendency; and considering that the teaching and training of students for the holy ministry should be conducted by men whose views are above all suspicion, deem it expedient and necessary in the interests of the Church, that until the proceedings of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, which are now in progress, and are so far reported to this Assembly, have been terminated, and final judgment has been given in the question at issue, Prof. Smith should cease from discharging his duties as Professor, and instruct him accordingly. . . . The Assembly instruct the Presbytery of Aberdeen to proceed with the case according to the laws of the Church.”

Prof. Smith having demanded a libel, proceedings against him took that form in the Presbytery of Aberdeen, in the spring of 1878. The following extract from the libel, containing what is called the major premise, sets forth the false doctrines he is charged with holding :

“That whereas the publishing and promulgating of opinions which contradict, or are opposed to the doctrine of the immediate inspiration, infallible truth, and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, or any part or parts thereof, as set forth in the Scriptures themselves, and in the Confession of Faith, and to the doctrines of prophecy and angels therein set forth; as also (II.) the publishing and promulgating of opinions which are in themselves of a dangerous and unsettling tendency in their bearing on the doctrine of the immediate inspiration, infallible truth, and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, or any part or parts thereof as set forth in the Scriptures themselves, and in the Confession of Faith, and in their bearing on the doctrines of prophecy and angels therein set forth; as also (III.) the publishing and promulgating of writings concerning the Books of Holy Scripture, which writings, by their neutrality of attitude in relation to the said doctrines, and by their rashness of statement in regard to the critical construction of the Scriptures, tend to disparage the Divine authority and inspired character of these Books, as set forth in the Scriptures themselves, and in the Confession of Faith, are severally offences, especially in a Professor of Divinity, which call for such censure or other judicial sentence as may be found adequate;” and more particularly :

“*Primo*: Albeit the opinion that the Aaronic priesthood, or at least a great part of the laws and ordinances of the Levitical system, were not divinely instituted in the time of Moses, and that those large parts of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, which represent them as having been then instituted by God, were inserted in the inspired records long after the death of Moses.

“*Secundo*: Albeit the opinion that the Book of inspired Scripture called Deuteronomy, which is professedly an historical record, does not possess that character, but was made to assume it by a writer of a much later age, who therein, in the name of God, presented, in dramatic form, instructions and laws as proceeding from the mouth of Moses, though these never were and never could have been uttered by him.”

Then follow six other less important particulars, and the body of the libel on their basis. The Presbytery of Aberdeen found the first alternative charge (I.) of the general major irrelevant as to the eight particulars in detail, the II. alternative charge relevant, and the III. alternative charge irrelevant. Both sides dissented and complained to the Synod of Aberdeen, which with reference to I. and III. referred the whole matter to the General Assembly, but with reference to II. found it irrelevant and reversed the action of the Presbytery. The minority dissented and complained to the General Assembly of 1878, which took up I. in detail and unanimously reaffirmed the judgment of Presbytery with reference to all the particulars except *secundo*. Principal Rainy moved to confirm the judgment of Presbytery with reference to *Secundo*; Sir Henry Moncreiff that

"The statements of Prof. Smith, regarding the Book of Deuteronomy, are opposed in their legitimate results to the supposition of the Book being a thoroughly inspired historical record according to the teaching of the Westminster Confession, while his declarations on the subject of inspiration are the reverse of satisfactory, and do not indicate his acceptance of the Book in that character."

The latter motion prevailed by a vote of 301 to 278. The Assembly sustained the Synod's action with reference to the second (II.) general charge, and found it irrelevant in its present form, but amended it as follows :

"As also the publishing and promulgating of writings concerning the Books of Scripture, which, by their ill-considered and unguarded setting forth of speculations of a critical kind, tend to awaken doubt, especially in the case of students, of the Divine truth, inspiration, and authority of any of the Books of Scripture, and on the doctrines of angels and prophecy as the said truth, inspiration, and authority and doctrine of angels and prophecy are set forth in the Scriptures themselves, and in the Confession of Faith. . . ."

The libel was also so amended that the eight particulars might be used with reference to either of the general charges. As thus amended the libel was taken up by the Presbytery of Aberdeen in the autumn of 1878, and found irrelevant in all particulars, except *secundo*, with regard to which the Presbytery resolved :

"That in respect of the Assembly having already found this part of the libel relevant to the effect recorded in its acts under the first general charge, the Presbytery pass from the consideration of it under a different branch of an alternate libel."

The minority complained and dissented, holding that the Presbytery ought to have considered *secundo* under the second general charge, as well as the first, and also with reference to the other particulars under the second general charge. The Synod of Aberdeen in October, 1878, took up the case and unanimously agreed

"That the Synod, with the acquiescence of parties refer *simpliciter* to the General Assembly the dissents and complaints now laid before the court."

Thus the case came before the General Assembly of 1879. By a withdrawal of dissents and complaints, and through the neglect of the minority to plead at the bar, the action of Presbytery stood confirmed, and the whole case was reduced to *secundo* under the first general charge.

Dr. Bonar moved,

"That the General Assembly instruct the Presbytery of Aberdeen to meet on the first Tuesday of July, and then to take immediate steps for having the libel as regards the Second Particular of the First Alternative Charge served in due form upon Prof. Smith. They also instruct the Presbytery, in the event of their finding the libel sustained, either by the admission of Prof. Smith, or by adequate proof, to suspend him judicially from his functions—professorial, ministerial, and judicial—till the next meeting of Assembly, reserving final judgment in the case till that meeting of Assembly; and the Assembly now appoint a Committee to adjust the libel in this view, excluding from it all the parts that are not now applicable, to report at a future diet of this Assembly."

It was also moved by Principal Rainy,

"That, having respect to the novelty and perplexity of this case in certain of its aspects, the serious difference of opinion which prevails throughout the Church regarding it, the gravity of the consequences which the disposal of it may involve,—the General Assembly resolve, before proceeding further with the libel, to appoint a Committee, fairly representative of the Church, with power, if they see cause, to confer with Prof. Smith, directing them to consider the case in all its bearings, with a view to ascertain the best means for arriving at a result honoring to the truth of God, and fitted to secure, as far as may be, all the weighty interests which are at stake, and to report to next General Assembly."

Dr. Bonar's motion prevailed by 321 votes over 320 for Principal Rainy's motion—thus a majority of *one* in the largest vote ever cast in the Free Church Assembly. The libel was then amended and reduced in the technical forms of Scotch process to the following :

"Mr. William Robertson Smith, Professor of Oriental Languages and Exegesis of the Old Testament at Aberdeen, you are indicted and accused, at the instance of the Free Presbytery of Aberdeen :

"That whereas the publishing and promulgating of opinions which contradict or are opposed to the doctrine of the immediate inspiration, infallible truth, and Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, or any part or parts thereof, as set forth in the Scriptures themselves, and in the Confession of Faith, is an offence, especially in a Professor of Divinity, which calls for such censure or other judicial sentence as may be found adequate ; and more particularly :

"Albeit the opinion that the book of inspired Scripture called Deuteronomy, which is professedly an historical record, does not possess that character, but was made to assume it by a writer of a much later age, who therein, in the name of God, presented, in dramatic form, instructions and laws as proceeding from the mouth of Moses, though these never were, and never could have been, uttered by him :

"And albeit this opinion contradicts or is opposed to the doctrine of the immediate inspiration, infallible truth, and Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, as set forth in the Scriptures themselves, and in the Confession of Faith as aforesaid.

"All which, or part thereof, being found proven against you, the said Mr. William Robertson Smith, by the said Free Presbytery of Aberdeen, before which you are to be tried, or being admitted by your own judicial confession, you, the said Mr. William Robertson Smith, ought to be subjected to such sentence as the gravity of the case, the rules and discipline of the Church, and the usage observed in such cases, may require for the glory of God, the edification of the Church, and the deterring of others holding the same sacred office, from committing the like offences in all time coming."

The Presbytery of Aberdeen, on July 1st, as directed by the General Assembly, assembled to serve the libel. Prof. Smith entered a plea in law, that the Assembly had amended the libel subsequent to the finding of it relevant

and subsequent to his answer thereto, and that simple justice required that its relevancy should be determined in its present form, and his answer thereto received. His plea in law was recorded, and it was decided that his answer to the amended libel should be received as a paper in the case. The libel was subsequently served, without prejudice to the plea in law, and Prof. Smith's answer was received; and it was resolved

"That the Presbytery, considering the new matter that has emerged, and the new questions in law raised by Prof. Smith; and finding that these are questions that must be adjudicated on prior to judgment, while it is not clearly within the province of the Presbytery under their instructions to deal with these—resolve now to sist procedure, and report the case to the superior court."

The Synod of Aberdeen on appeal resolved to affirm the judgment of the Presbytery, receive the report and transmit it to the Assembly. Thus the case came before the General Assembly of 1880. Prof. Smith, in his answer to the amended libel, satisfied many minds by his statements.

I. "I ask it to be observed at the outset, that I uphold the canonicity and inspiration of the Book of Deuteronomy as strenuously as my most determined opponent can do. Those who press the Libel against me have never attempted to prove that I disbelieve in the inspiration of Deuteronomy or any part of that book. What they attempt to show is, that in consistency with my opinions as to the origin of the book, I *ought to reject* its inspiration. II. It has often been insinuated, that while I profess to receive the book as inspired, I mean by inspiration something different from what the Confession means. I ask my judges to reject this insinuation as injurious. I am willing to have my views of Deuteronomy tested even by the strictest doctrine of plenary inspiration, and I am confident that they are able to stand the test." . . . "I am sensible that the extreme condensation of the article 'Bible,' left some room for misconception of the scope of my theory, especially on the part of those who are unfamiliar with recent aspects of Pentateuch criticism. I humbly accept my own share of responsibility for such misconception, which once entertained by the public mind could not easily be removed. Throughout the progress of the case I have done my best to clear it away by fuller and simpler statements, and I hope that after the explanations in this paper no one will again misunderstand me so completely as to find a charge of fraud against the sacred writer, in sentences from my writings, which contain an explicit repudiation of the very idea of such a fraud. I hope it will now be clearly understood how entirely foreign to my position is this whole notion that Deuteronomy pretends to be something which it is not, or that I deny the book to be historical, in the sense and to the extent to which it claimed that character in the eyes of its first audience. The historical part of the book is history, the legal part is law, the speeches are historical speeches in the natural sense in which these terms were understood by ancient readers. This is the fair way of testing whether a book is honest and truthful in purpose. . . . It is not, therefore, in the interest of rationalism, but in the interests of faith, that I have sought a view of the book, which does justice to the facts on which rationalists build, but reconciles them with a full recognition of the supernatural in the Old Testament dispensation and the inspiration of the Old Testament records."

There were four motions brought before the Assembly representing the various views entertained. The first motion was a compromise advocated chiefly by Sir Henry Moncreiff and Principal Rainy, which it was supposed would be supported by moderate men on both sides:

"That the General Assembly, considering the position in existing circumstances of the libel which has been served on Prof. Smith; considering, also, the evils that may

arise from further protraction of the case, and the possibility at the present stage of disposing of it so as adequately to guard the great interests involved in it; considering, finally, the importance of the disposal of it being such as may tend to unite as largely as possible the members of Assembly, and those whom they represent throughout the Church, resolve, that, without disturbing any of the judgments pronounced by former General Assemblies in the case, they will not give any renewed instruction to the Presbytery for the probation of the libel nor take any other steps in that direction. But looking to the whole course of the proceedings in relation to the Professor's writings, . . . the General Assembly feel constrained to come to the conclusion that Prof. Smith no longer retains that measure of confidence on the part of the Church which is necessary to the edifying and useful performance of his professorial work; therefore, with great regret at finding themselves placed in this relation to a man of Prof. Smith's gifts and promise, the General Assembly, under a deep sense of their responsibility for the theological training of aspirants to the office of the ministry, find and declare that he must now cease to hold the chair of Hebrew and Old Test. Literature at Aberdeen. And with this finding the Assembly declare that the case takes end."

The second motion was also a compromise, prepared by some of the previous supporters of Prof. Smith in the hope of winning a large number of his opponents to their views. It was proposed by Dr. Laidlaw, to the effect that the views of Prof. Smith regarding the Pentateuch are not the views of the Free Church; yet as they do not contradict the Confession, the Assembly abandon the charge and admonish Prof. Smith to be extremely careful in the future.

The third motion was made by Dr. Begg:

"That this Assembly shall proceed with the probation of the libel."

The fourth motion was made by Dr. Beith:

"The General Assembly—considering that the course of the case has confirmed the report of the College Committee, that they had not found any ground sufficient to justify a process for heresy against Prof. Robertson Smith, inasmuch as seven of the eight counts in the original libel have been found irrelevant; while with regard to the remaining count, the explanations offered by Prof. Smith at various stages, and in particular his answer to the amended libel, afford satisfactory evidence that, in this aspect of the case also, there is no sufficient ground to support a process for heresy, do resolve to withdraw the libel against him. Further, the Assembly, finding that Prof. Smith is blameworthy for the unguarded and incomplete statements of his articles, which have occasioned much anxiety in the Church, and given offence to many brethren zealous for the honor of the Word of God, instruct the Moderator to admonish Prof. Smith with due solemnity as to the past, in the confident expectation that the defects referred to will be guarded against and avoided in time to come. And, finally, the Assembly declares that, in declining to decide on these critical views by way of discipline, the Church expresses no opinion in favor of their truth or probability, but leaves the ultimate decision to future inquiry in the spirit of patience, humility, and brotherly charity, admonishing professors to remember that they are not set for the propagating of their own opinions, but for the maintenance of the doctrine and truth committed to the Church."

The motion of Dr. Beith prevailed over that of Dr. Begg by 287 votes to 256; over that of Dr. Laidlaw by 244 to 51; over that of Sir Henry Moncreiff by 299 to 292. After the decision, Prof. Smith was called to the bar of the Assembly and admonished by the Moderator in accordance with the action of the Assembly; and Prof. Smith said that "while I thank God for the issue, . . . I have never been more sensible than on the present occasion of the blame that

rests upon me for statements which have proved so incomplete that, at the end of three years, the opinion of this House has been so divided upon them." Two very important points have been made in the history of this discussion: (1). That critical views of the sacred Scriptures, which do not conflict with the Westminster Confession, should be decided by discussion, among competent scholars; and (2). That evangelical men should be extremely careful not to make loose and unguarded statements and give offence and anxiety to their brethren in the Church. Prof. Smith, in his various answers to the various forms of the libel, has removed many of the objections to his views that were at first entertained. He has distinctly separated himself from Rationalistic schools, and has emphatically declared his adherence to the Westminster doctrine of the inspiration and authority of the Bible, and made ample apology for his unguarded and incomplete statements. Nevertheless it is not to be denied that his views are still regarded by large numbers of his own Church as well as other churches, as logically inconsistent with Westminster doctrine. Whether this is or is not the case, will still be disputed. In the meanwhile, it is better for all interests concerned that the discussion should take place without heat, and free from the complications and technicalities of ecclesiastical proceedings, by competent scholars on both sides, seeking earnestly and prayerfully the truth.

It seems to us that both parties desire to vindicate the divine authority and inspiration of the Word of God, which are assured by the testimony of the Holy Spirit, and are infinitely more important than any or all critical theories. If therefore the discussion should be conducted still further, in the proper spirit, with Christian charity and mutual toleration of legitimate differences, without the sacrifice of truth or principle, the result will be that many troublesome difficulties will be removed from the study of the Scriptures, and the majesty and glory of the Bible as the holy eternal Word of God, will be greatly enhanced in the minds of men.

C. A. B.

The New Jersey Case before the late General Assembly.—In the July Number of this REVIEW (p. 570), the proceedings of the last Assembly in "the New Jersey case" are represented as making a "Judicial Committee a *quasi* Judicial Commission," and belonging to the class of "virtual trials without reminders of judicial responsibility, without consent of parties, without observance of carefully prescribed methods and safeguards." Having been in a position to know the facts in the case, I ask leave to state them so far as they concern the foregoing representation, and let them speak for themselves. Perhaps if they had been clearly brought out in the published reports, there would have been no occasion for this note.

As to a trial, "virtual" or formal, of this case before the Assembly or any committee or commission thereof, none was had, if for no other reason, because this was not the kind of relief prayed for by the complainants. They petitioned the Assembly to order the Presbytery of Monmouth to re-try the case, after its original verdict had been sustained by Synod, adjudicating it upon their complaint. The alleged defects in the previous proceedings of the lower courts did not seem to the Judicial Committee, even if true, sufficient to justify an order from the Assembly compelling the Presbytery to undergo this labor a second time, with all its direct and indirect consequences. They stated

to the Assembly these alleged defects, and no question of the accuracy and fairness of the statement was made by the complainants or their representatives. The committee also stated their opinion that these alleged defects, however true, were not sufficient to justify granting the prayer of the petitioners ; and they accordingly recommended that it be not granted—*i.e.*, that the Presbytery of Monmouth be not ordered to re-try the case.

This report was resisted by complainants and their friends, less on the ground of its intrinsic merits than on the side issue, that the Judicial Committee had transcended its powers and “usurped” the exclusive prerogatives of the Assembly. Much time and ingenuity were spent in the effort to convince the Assembly of this. But after a thorough discussion the recommendation of the committee was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The argument in refutation summarized in the closing speech of the debate, but, so far as I am aware, only partially reported, insisted :

1. That the course of the Judicial Committee was in conformity with a long line of precedents, in which, even when papers of appellants or complainants were not excepted to as irregular in form, yet, because the reasons alleged for further trial appeared inadequate, however true, the Judicial Committee reported such to be their opinion, with the recommendation that the matter be dismissed ; the Assembly accordingly adopting such report without intimation from any quarter that their prerogatives had been invaded. (See Moore's Digest, pp. 551-62, 600-1-2, etc.)

2. It is the express province of the Judicial Committee to “prescribe, under the direction of the Assembly, the whole order of proceedings” which, as interpreted by accepted usage, includes “proposing to the Assembly the best mode of proceeding in each case.” (Moore's Digest, pp. 208-14, 564).

3. It would, indeed, be singular if the Judicial Committee, as such, were divested of the right which any one of them or any member of the Assembly has individually. But beyond doubt any member had the right to make the precise statement and motion presented in this case by the Judicial Committee. It is difficult to see how far it could be of much service to the Assembly, much more how it could fulfil what Cushing's Manual declares the true province of a committee—to be “the eyes and ears” the body employs in finding its way to a proper result.

4. Commission and committee, derived from the same root, and sometimes used interchangeably, are distinguished in our ecclesiastical usage, the former denoting some members of a body commissioned to act in its behalf in investigating and trying litigated cases ; the latter to digest the papers, and recommend the best mode of proceeding, whether by trial before the body or otherwise ; if by trial before the body, to digest and arrange the papers, and to prescribe, subject to the direction of the judicatory, the order and method of procedure. Of necessity, as so often happens, there is a borderland not easily definable where these two functions may unavoidably, in some degree, overlap.

5. An opportunity or temptation arises in this region for some play, conscious or unconscious, upon the word “judicial,” which has a very broad import, ranging from that in the phrase “judicial mind” to the authoritative interpretation and application of law by an authorized tribunal. Of course, all the

auxiliary processes and agencies by which a court comes to its decision are in some sense "judicial." A judicial committee reporting on a judicial case is doing judicial work, but not therefore, as is often covertly or openly implied, authoritative judicial work. A committee of the U. S. Supreme Court, or a single judge employed by the court to specially investigate a case and formulate an opinion, is doing judicial work, but not that which is of authority till adopted by the court itself, or which is in any manner invading or usurping the proper functions of that court. The Committee on Bills and Overtures, in recommending measures, does not make itself a legislature.

Here, omitting much that might be said, I close, with a single additional remark, that, on looking at the Revised Book of Discipline reported to the last Assembly, in the chapter on complaints, paragraph 87, it is directed that "if it shall appear to the judicatory that the complaint is in order, *and the reasons therefor sufficient*, the first step shall be to read the action complained of," etc. Here two things are required to give complainants a standing in court: 1, that the complaint be in order; and 2, that "the reasons thereof be sufficient." This is only recognizing and formulating what has been developed in the precedents referred to as right and needful. And is it not as important for the Assembly to know what light the Judicial Committee can shed on the one point as the other, viz., the regularity of the complaint and the sufficiency of the reasons offered for its being entertained and issued? Reason and established practice give but one answer.

L. H. A.

The fear has found frequent, wide, and anxious expression that our Presbyteries, Synods and Assemblies have too often of late, and with growing frequency, been disposing of judicial questions in non-judicial ways. The spirit of our discipline, however, as we apprehend it, would in this whole sphere of action multiply safeguards and reminders of responsibility, and exclude as far as possible all comparatively irresponsible modes of action both in the Assembly and in its committees. The principles of our system seem to us at variance with the modern drift, in that the latter makes nothing "judicial" which can be construed otherwise; while the former would throw the protection of a judicial spirit and method broadly and strongly over Christian character and rights and ecclesiastical relations. Nor do we think that the modern tendency would enhance the significance of judicial proceedings even after it has reduced the number of examples to a minimum. Technicalities aside, when the merits of a case are involved the one tendency acts by preference in committee and open Assembly, as in the transaction of ordinary business; the other under the reminder and protection of special and appropriate forms.

If the information which was unavoidably lacking to us at the early day when our notice was prepared, had shown us that the New Jersey case was treated as judicially as was possible, it would have been impertinent to attach to our mention of it irrelevant strictures; it seemed otherwise to us, and to others whose lack of information could not be suspected.—C. A. A.

VIII.
REVIEWS OF
RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

I.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. By HENRY M. HARMAN, D.D. N. Y.: Nelson & Phillips. 1879.

This volume forms the first of the Library of Theological and Biblical Literature, edited by Dr. Crooks and Dr. Hurst. The names of the editors are guarantees of a wise selection for the series, and this first volume will only confirm this assurance.

In such a work as an Introduction to the study of the Holy Scriptures, there is not much new to be said, but there may be a scholarly selection of material. Increasing light on matters ethnographic, geographic, and historic, makes much that used to be said in Introductions of very small account, and much of no account at all. Dr. Harman has exercised a wise judgment in this matter. He has, moreover, taken up the live questions concerning the books of the Bible, and given his own opinion in his own way. He refutes the idea of the late origin of the Pentateuch, or of the book of Deuteronomy, with arguments that are unanswerable. He, however, would place Job in the age of David, making the book of the same date with the Proverbs, the two having strong resemblances. His treatment of the unity of the Pentateuch, and his explanation of Jehovah and Elohim and Jehovah Elohim, on which so much wild hypothesis has been built, are lucid and satisfactory. Chap. xiv. on the New Testament is, perhaps, if we can make any distinction, the best chapter in the work. It does not, of course, propose to be such an exhaustive treatise on John's gospel as Canon Westcott has just given us, but it is, nevertheless, a compact and convincing argument for the genuineness, authenticity, and truthfulness of the fourth gospel. This work of Dr. Harman's is admirable in its condensation, and forms a most valuable handbook for not only the student, but also the ordinary reader.

A second edition, revised, has already appeared (1880). A few modifications are introduced, and an important Appendix added, on the oldest MSS. and Versions, and the chief editions of the New Testament. A third edition, which is soon to follow, will incorporate this and other valuable matter in the body of the work under appropriate rubrics.
H. C.

THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES. By JAMES G. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew, Belfast. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark. 16mo, pp. 154. Imported by Scribner & Welford, New York. Price 60 cents.

This is brief, compact, and admirably suited to its purpose, as one of a series of handbooks for Bible classes. The comments, which are throughout conceived in a reverent and devout spirit, are just of the sort to meet the needs of intelligent students of the Scriptures, both in the direct interpretation of these books and in solving the questions that arise from a comparison of the parallel accounts of Samuel and Kings.
W. H. G.

DER PROPHET HOSEA, erklärt von Dr. W. NOWACK, Lic. und Privatdocent der Theologie. Berlin, 1880. 8vo, pp. 255. [B. Westermann & Co., N. Y.]

This volume belongs to the school of Old Testament Criticism represented by Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen; but notwithstanding this, and in some respects for this very reason, it is an interesting and important publication. Fortunately the

critics have not found it to their interest to dispute the genuineness of the book of Hosea, in whole or in part. Nowack, accordingly, affirms its integrity throughout, with the exception of the title, i. 1, and defends the correctness of the Masoretic text, save in a few instances of small consequence. It has long been the fashion to deny the truth of the title to this book, though with a singular lack of unanimity as to the reasons for setting it aside, or what is to be accepted in its stead. Inasmuch as no allusion is made to the Syro-Ephraimitic invasion in the reign of Ahaz, Nowack concludes that Hosea's ministry must have terminated prior to that event, while he attributes no weight to Ewald's conclusion from a like argument, *a silentio*, that Pul's prior invasion in the time of Menahem was its limit, nor to the counter arguments of Knobel and others, who would extend it to a much later period on account of allusions which they find to events under Ahaz, or even under Hoshea, the last king of Israel. He consequently denies that Shalman, x. 14, can have been Shalmaneser, preferring instead the very improbable conjecture of Schrader, that it was Shalmanu of Moab, whose name occurs in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser. And he throws out from the text the clause containing the names of the kings of Judah, though "the days of Jeroboam," which he suffers to remain, cover but a fraction of Hosea's ministry, even as he regards it. On the ground of certain combinations with Assyrian chronology, in which, however, he differs from the Assyriologists, he infers that 2 Kings xviii. 9, 10, is in error, and that the kingdom of Israel, and, by a necessary consequence, the ministry of Hosea came to an end before Hezekiah ascended the throne. For this reason again he argues the spuriousness of the name "Hezekiah," in i. 1, whereas, this very verse is an independent witness to the truth of the statement in Kings, and to the falsity of his chronological hypothesis.

It is something, however, to have the admission that even a portion of the title came from the hand of the prophet himself, and that the book in its present form was arranged and issued by him instead of being a posthumous collection by some nameless editor of unknown date. If this is allowed to be the case with one of the earliest of the books of written prophecy, it supplies an argument which is more than a mere favorable presumption that the like was true in other cases. The hypothesis once so fashionable, and which so employed the ingenuity of the critics, that this book consists of distinct discourses or fragments of discourses referable to different periods of the prophet's ministry, is now decisively abandoned. All its seeming plausibility Nowack correctly traces to the frequent and abrupt transitions which characterize Hosea, and in regard to which he adopts the explanation long ago given by Eichhorn: "The prophet pursues his subject to a certain point till his heart is too much affected or his enthusiasm reaches a given height, when he breaks off for a little, and after a short pause, proceeds again. Must not sections and parts of the same discourse thus assume the form of brief, distinct discourses?"

The old division into ch. i.-iii., based on the figure of the marriage, and ch. iv.-xiv., in which this figure sinks into the background, is preferred to Ewald's ingenious suggestion, subsequently abandoned by himself, of two allegories with added comments or explanations, ch. i. ii., and ch. iii.-xiv. The first part, in which the marriage is conceived to be a literal transaction, contains the substance of Hosea's earlier ministry in the reign of Jeroboam. The second part contains the substance of his ministry after the time of Jeroboam, and though not susceptible of strict logical division, follows a general course of thought, which is slightly modified from that proposed by Ewald, viz. 1. ch. iv.-viii., the criminality of the people and their leaders; 2. ch. ix.-xi. the necessity of punishment; 3. ch. xii.-xiv., a retrospect, setting forth what Israel should be according to his destination, and what he now is, with Messianic hopes for the future.

But the most significant and hopefully instructive fact revealed in this commentary, is the reaction which it indicates from some of the extreme conclusions of the

Kuenen school. In regard to the date and authorship of the Pentateuch and its imaginary constituents, it apparently goes all lengths with this wildest of critics. The numerous references to the books of Moses in Hosea, and contemporary prophets, have always heretofore been regarded as a serious obstruction in the way of unlimited theorizing respecting the date of the Pentateuch. Tuch, though a strenuous advocate of the supplementary hypothesis, frankly confesses (Genesis, 2d edition, 1871, p. lxx), Hosea's acquaintance both with the so-called Elohist and Jehovist paragraphs, and that there are about "800 traces of the existence of the present form of the Pentateuch in the prophets of that time." All this the present race of critics bravely ignore. Nowack does not shrink from affirming that "there is not a single passage of Hosea that can be clearly shown to be dependent on the sources united in our Hexateuch." Every allusion to patriarchal history is declared to be traceable not to any written narrative, but to oral tradition; and if occasional passages may possibly show some acquaintance with the Jehovist, which, however, is not admitted, any reference to the priestly or legal narrator is utterly out of the question. The "*thorah*" of which Hosea speaks, iv. 6; viii. 1, 12, is not "the law of Moses," but priestly or prophetic instruction. The passages so cogently quoted by Prof. Curtiss in his "Levitical Priests," are set aside, p. 153, by a magisterial stroke of the pen. And while he admits that viii. 12 is not hypothetical, but declaratory, he insists that the tense employed shows that the code spoken of was not one already fully committed to writing in the past, but one which was in the course of gradual production, a conclusion which he could scarcely apply to Ps. ciii. 7. The writings of the prophets, he tells us, are the oldest undisputed record of the religion of Israel.

All this makes it a matter of moment that Nowack does not blindly follow his leaders in all their conclusions. Kuenen maintains that the spiritual religion which we find in the prophets originated with them. The Commentary before us shows that this cannot possibly have been the case; it is utterly inconsistent with any unbiassed interpretation of Hosea's language. The prophets were not lifting the religion of Israel from the nature-worship, in which the mass of their contemporaries and all previous ages had been sunk, to a new and higher plane. They were simply recalling them to known but neglected obligations and duties, and setting forth truths long before understood, but practically disregarded. This obvious deduction from the whole tenor and scope of the prophet, sweeps away from Kuenen's theory the only semblance of foundation that it ever had, and hopelessly demolishes the entire edifice which he has been at so much pains in erecting.

Other instances of a gratifying return to older and sounder views are worthy of mention, as when in the explanation of the name "Jehovah," pp. 3, 4, he rejects on purely linguistic grounds Kuenen's interpretation of it as a *Hiphil*, meaning the Creator, and comes back to the derivation suggested in Ex. iii. 14, as the immutable and all-sufficient. And the indications that he finds in the early prophets of a centralization of worship, p. 151, only need to be more carefully studied, and others of like character traced out, to satisfy him that it was neither Hezekiah nor Josiah, who first ordained that all Israel should have one common sanctuary.

W. H. G.

DIE HEILIGE SCHRIFT A. UND N. TESTAMENTS NACH DR. LUTHER'S UEBERSETZUNG mit der Auslegung der vorzüglichsten Schriftforscher der älteren evangelischen Kirche. Neues Testament. Erster Band. [B. Westermann & Co., N. Y.]

This is the initial part of a commentary prepared by four pastors, Braun, Meyer, Möller, and Schmalenbach, on a new plan. They say in their preface that the Bible is too little read, books of psalmody and devotion taking its place. And when people do read it, it is out of a sense of duty. Many would be glad to shake every branch, like Luther, and make gain from every part of it, but they honestly confess they know not how to begin. Current expositions are of no use to plain Christians,

because they are hard to understand. *Our old writers best knew how to speak to the people.* They spoke simply and at the same time profoundly, and they, especially Luther, filled heart and mind with the power of God's word. Herein they are unexcelled to this day. The compilers, therefore, think that they are doing an excellent service in bringing forward these writers again, so that the Churches seeing their explanations of the Divine Word, may learn to prize it higher and study it more, and make it truly their own.

Their work, accordingly, is constructed on this fashion. Without any introduction or critical apparatus of any kind, they give the text, and subjoin to each verse remarks and explanations in the very words of Luther, or Bengel, or Roos, or Starke, or Rieger, or Hedinger, distinguishing, by initials in each case, the writer to whom the citation belongs.

Their aim is certainly a good one, but we cannot think the means of reaching it well devised. After all, the whole thing is a piece of patchwork, and as such, necessarily mechanical and slavish. There cannot be glow, energy, progress, or depth in such a mosaic. It will furnish an excellent book of excerpts for devotional reading, but it will not stimulate to the study of the Word. And besides, what is rousing in one generation does not always have that effect in a succeeding age. Manners and tastes change, and usually each generation must furnish its own literature. The Bible alone is the devotional book for all time. T. W. C.

CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL HANDBOOK TO THE GOSPELS OF MARK AND LUKE. By H. A. W. MEYER, Th.D. Translated from the fifth edition of the German by Rev. ROBERT ERNEST WALLIS, Ph.D. The translation revised and edited, Vol. I., by WILLIAM P. DIXON, D.D.; Vol. II., by W. P. DIXON and WM. STEWART, D.D. Two vols. Vol. I., pp. xvi. 348; Vol. II., pp. 371. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1880. New York: Scribner & Welford. Price, \$3 per vol.

These two volumes, with the twelve previously issued, carry the series through the Colossians, with the exception of the Ephesians, which is not yet issued. These include, with Philemon, all that were written by Meyer himself. The editor has preferred to publish the work from the latest editions published during the author's life, and not from that edited by Dr. Weiss, which is "worked up anew." Meyer's work grew largely in value and extent in successive editions, but in some parts the expansion exceeds the value. Whole pages together are added in some of the commentaries on the Epistles, containing a statement and refutation of Hofmann's exegesis, which is often of little interest. Prof. Godet says of Hofmann's Romans that his interpretations are often so strange that the reader cannot think that he believes them himself, and that the obscurity is such that the sense only asserts itself often after a third or fourth perusal.

Meyer holds that Mark was the first of the three Gospels, and while he holds to a *Logia*-Collection of Matthew, decidedly rejects, as Weiss does, the hypothesis of an Ur-Markus. He accepts the testimony of Papias to the influence of Peter in the Gospel, and denies all dogmatic coloring in its composition.

Luke, among other sources, written and unwritten, was based chiefly on Mark, and also Matthew, not, as Weiss holds, only on the *Logia* incorporated in Matthew. The influence of Paul on Luke, even in the historical portion, is conceded. Luke xxi. 24 compared with Matt. xxiv. 29, Meyer thinks, proves the Gospel to date after the destruction of Jerusalem. Amid the multitude of new commentaries which are now appearing, it will be long before these of Meyer's cease to be indispensable.

C. W. H.

DIE PASTORALBRIEFE, Kritisch und exegetisch behandelt von DR. HEINRICH JULIUS HOLTZMANN, Ord. Professor der Theologie in Strassburg. Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann. 1880. [B. Westermann & Co., N. Y.]

Schleiermacher's attack in 1807 upon the genuineness of 1st Timothy, opened a path which Eichhorn and DeWette both entered and widened, by challenging the authenticity of all three of the Pastoral Epistles. Baur followed, claiming that these

epistles were written after the middle of the second century, by an opponent of the Marcionite heresy, who put his denunciations into the mouth of Paul.

Without adopting Baur's theory entire, this latest commentary on the Pastoral Epistles is, nevertheless, of the advanced Tübingen School. It is marked by learning and minute research, is written in an inelegant and involved, though sometimes graphic style, toned occasionally with sarcastic bitterness. It is a valuable thesaurus of materials for the critical study of these documents. Of 504 closely printed octavo pages, more than half are occupied with the introduction, which, in twelve chapters, discusses all the main questions affecting the genuineness and essential character of the three epistles.

In these chapters, the principal conclusions reached by the author are the following: The three epistles cannot be brought within any known period of Paul's life as recorded by Luke. Nowhere can "a *windstilles Plätzchen*" be found for them. If Pauline at all, they cannot be dispersed over different periods of Paul's life. They must belong to one and the same period—after the imprisonment with which the book of Acts closes. The question of the second imprisonment he gives up as a "labyrinth of untenable hypotheses into which it is both uncomfortable and unnecessary to penetrate farther." It being shown that the Epistles cannot be identified with the known life of the Apostle, it follows "*with mathematical certainty*" that they are not Pauline, but of later origin. Holtzmann differs from Baur, in placing them in the former, instead of in the latter half of the second century; but agrees with him in believing them to be forgeries. They were written in Paul's name, in order to give them weight against current heresies, and, therefore, the author affected, though with only partial success, the peculiarities of Paul's style. The pretended Paul is betrayed "by the striking and unwonted mode of designating himself," by the lower level of the whole style of thought, as contrasted with that of Romans, Galatians, or Corinthians, and by the absence of a single breath of the Pauline spirit; while, as respects the intrinsic weight, majesty and conclusiveness of the course of thought, even the doubtful Pauline Epistles stand high above them. This is, indeed, placing them low down, since Holtzmann, with Baur, recognizes only four of the Pauline Epistles as, beyond doubt, genuine. Timothy and Titus go with Paul. The old objection is revived, that, on the assumption of a second imprisonment, Timothy must have been for thirteen years, at least, a companion of Paul; a fact, which does not consist with the exhortation to let no man despise his youth, and with the appeals to the instructions and the faith of his ancestors; while the injunction to "flee youthful lusts" is an ungracious reflection upon the tried helper and familiar friend of the Apostle. The Timothy of these Epistles is, in short, a schoolboy, under Paul's tutelage, a creation of the composer, based upon his own ideal of the historical Timothy and colored accordingly.

A long chapter is devoted to the peculiarities of diction which differentiate these Epistles from the genuine productions of Paul. As to the doctrinal contents, they present the Pauline teaching in an inferior form, the Pauline ideal being lowered to the measure of the understanding of a later age, and the original close connection of thought appearing in a state of dissolution so far advanced, that it matters nothing in what order the details may be treated.

On the vexed question of the nature of the heresy assailed in these Epistles, Holtzmann maintains that they do not deal throughout with any single form of error, Gnostic, Judaistic, or Essenic. He holds, against the "practical" theory of Reuss, and the "tendency" theory of Wiesinger, that the errors contemplated are distinctively doctrinal. He finds distinct traces of Gnosticism, and signs of the same heresies which are attacked in the Epistle to the Colossians, though in a more highly developed form; but he claims that none of these are distinctly individualized, but rather are treated broadly under the general conception of apostasy from the church. "To our author, the Gnostics were what they were to the writer of 1

John ii. 19—those who *ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξηλθον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐξ ἡμῶν.*" But under no circumstances can these heresies be brought within the life of Paul. We look in vain in the genuine Epistles for a conception of the spiritual world so purely mythological, for so definite a dualism as we encounter in these heretics. It is not the personal authority or the Apostolic dignity of Paul on which they are trenching, but the already formulated faith of the Church. The question is no more concerning the value of the Mosaic law to a Christian believer, but concerning strange views of the origin and design of the law which, as in 1 Tim. i. 8, is treated only as "the positive, formulated norm of morality." The address to the Ephesian Elders, which, even Baur admits, may furnish a point of defence for the Apostolic date of these Epistles, according to Holtzmann, stands to them in the relation of programme to performance. The composer of the Epistles has shaped them according to the hints of Luke's narrative. For example, the allusion to Timothy's "tears" (2 Tim. i. 4,) shows that he imagines Timothy among those who were left behind at Ephesus. Paul declares that bonds await him; therefore, in 2 Tim. i. 8, he appears as the prisoner of the Lord. He bids them guard the flock against the "grievous wolves" which shall enter in; these Epistles profess to furnish the instructions for dealing with such heretics. Moreover, so far as these Epistles deal with Gnosticism, they declare, by that fact, their post-apostolic origin, since as a historic phenomenon, the gnosis appears first after the days of Trajan and Hadrian.

Little more needs to be said. The wonder remains how such a method of criticism can consistently spare even the four Epistles which this commentator admits to be genuine, or, indeed, any other portion of Holy Scripture. His cool assertion, that the value of these documents is in no sense affected by his conclusions as to their origin, hardly suffices to explain the pains bestowed upon the exegesis of these second century forgeries. Granting that their value is, as he claims, practical rather than doctrinal, one must needs confess that there is little to choose between the practical and the doctrinal value of documents concocted in such wise.

The exegesis, therefore, may be very summarily dismissed, colored, as it is, throughout by these views. It adds nothing of substantial value to what we already possess. It is generally concise, not always clear, occasionally striking, especially valuable for its abundance of parallel passages. The commentary is a good specimen of the scholarly, aggressive, but microscopic and hypercritical method of the "destructive criticism." It furnishes a good illustration of the words of a recent writer: "A specialist may sink his shaft so deeply into a particular mine of investigation, as to be able at last to look up and see above him hardly a bit of the broad sky."

M. R. V.

DR. FERDINAND HITZIG'S VORLESUNGEN ÜBER BIBLISCHE THEOLOGIE UND MESSIANISCHE WEISSAGUNG DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. Herausgegeben von Lic. Theol. J. J. KNEUCKER. 8vo. pp. xiv. 224. Karlsruhe: H. Reuther. 1880. [B. Westermann & Co., New York.]

This posthumous work of the late Dr. Hitzig is a welcome addition to the literature of Biblical Theology, notwithstanding its fragmentary character, and the fact that his views on these subjects were, for the most part, known through his commentaries and other writings. Dr. Hitzig will always be remembered by Hebrew scholars for his bright and ingenious theories, his clear insight into difficult points of grammar, and his firm adherence to his convictions of truth; notwithstanding the defects in his theological conceptions and the rationalistic spirit of his expositions. The portrait that accompanies the volume presents a strong, but kindly face. We can well accept the testimony of his enthusiastic pupil and admirer—in his recollections of Dr. Hitzig, which take up sixty-four pages of the book—that he was firm in character, true to his convictions, sure in his faith, entirely sincere, and zealous above all to do honor to truth. His serious style of joking is well illustrated in his words to his class: "Observe, gentlemen, Hebrew can be properly learned only in

two places in Germany, with Ewald in Göttingen, and here with me ; since, however, Ewald no longer lectures, it can only be learned with me." We note another characteristic remark: "Gentlemen, have you a Septuagint? If not, then sell all that you have, and buy yourselves a Septuagint."

Dr. Hitzig defines Biblical Theology as the science of the religion taught in the Old Testament, limiting the sources to the Canonical writings and the Hebrew portion of the Apocryphal books, and laying stress upon the *genetic* method. In his fundamental principles he claims, what seems to us, the arbitrary principle of admitting, not only what is expressly taught by the authors, but also what legitimately flows from their teachings; and thus crosses the bounds that distinguish this discipline from Dogmatics. The first chapter treats of the principle of the religion of the Old Testament, which was the idea of a God who was a holy spirit. This developed itself in two directions: the first, recognizing their particular God as the universal God, and then, in that they alone recognized Him, He was their particular God and they His particular people. Hence the *Universalism* and the *Particularism* of the Hebrew religion. The first division treats of the *universal* doctrines of faith: of God, according to His absolute independence, His relation to the world, and His relation to men. The second division treats of *Particularism*, and so of the nature of the Theocracy, its members and development, and finally the ideal Theocracy, or the Messiah.

Messianic Prophecy is treated in a separate course of lectures, which, however, depends upon the previous course. The origin of the Messianic hope, he finds in the hope of a better future, springing up from the feeling of dissatisfaction with the present. He distinguishes the spurious Messianic material from the genuine, including in the former, the Protevangelium, the blessing of Abraham, the Shilo passage, the star out of Jacob, the prophet like Moses, the Redeemer of Job xix., the Messianic idea of Pss. ii., xvi., xlv., cx., and the suffering Messiah of Isa. liii. The genuine Messianic prophecy embraces the ideas of the day of judgment, Joel iii. and Zech. xiv., the conversion of the heathen, Micah iv., Isa. xlii. xlix. etc.; the restoration of the ancient Theocracy, Hosea iii.; the removal of sin, Amos ix., etc.; the head of the ideal Theocracy, Isa. ix., xi., vii., etc.; the resurrection of the dead, Ezek. xxxvii., Dan. xii.; and the new Covenant. This outline of the course, exhibiting characteristic arbitrariness and entire subjection to *a priori*, rationalistic principles, is yet of interest and value for its suggestiveness. It may be remarked, however, that in the detailed exposition of the various passages there is much that is fresh, valuable, and sound.

C. A. B.

II.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

A DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY, LITERATURE, SECTS AND DOCTRINES, BEING A CONTINUATION OF "THE DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE." Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D., and HENRY WACE, M.A., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in King's College, London; Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. Vol. II. Eaba-Hermocrates. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1880.

The "Dictionary of Christian Biography," and the "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," edited by William Smith and colleagues, and published by John Murray in London, are the legitimate and worthy successors of Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," (in three vols., Am. ed. by Hackett & Abbot in four vols.,) and represent the latest stage of archæological and historical theology, as the "Dictionary of the Bible" represents the latest stage of Biblical learning in England down to the year of its completion. The two new works together are by far the most important contribution to ancient Church history which has been made by English scholars since the valuable labors of Cave and Bingham. The "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," edited by Smith & Cheetham, is now finished in two stately volumes (1875 and

1880). Of the "Dictionary of Christian Biography," edited by Smith & Wace, the second volume has just appeared, which reaches the letter H inclusive. It was originally intended to embrace only two volumes, but the preface to volume second informs us that the work will be extended to four volumes, and a well-informed friend from England just tells me that a fifth volume will be necessary. This extension of the work will, of course, double the price and limit the circulation, but will make this *opus magnum* all the more valuable for scholars as an indispensable book of reference.

Both works extend only to the age of Charlemagne, *i. e.*, the eighth century of the Christian era; while the great Protestant *Real-Encyclopædie* of Herzog and Plitt, the Roman Catholic *Kirchenlexikon* of Wetzer & Welte, and the American *Cyclopædia* of McClintock & Strong (which has just reached the ninth volume), embrace the whole field of ecclesiastical learning and literature down to the present time. If Messrs. Smith & Murray, or their successors, intend to go on in the same style, they will have to issue a separate work on Mediæval Church history, and another on Modern Church history, each of at least equal, if not larger, size than that on Ancient Church history.

But while the work before us is behind the continental works just mentioned as regards comprehensiveness of plan, it is, we do not hesitate to say, superior to them in thoroughness of treatment as far as ancient, and especially British Christianity is concerned. The list of contributors embraces many of the very best theological scholars of the Church of England, such as Bishop Lightfoot, Canon Westcott, Drs. Plumptre, Hort, Wace, Swainson, Salmon, Scrivener, Haddan, Stubbs, Barry, Ffoulkes, Forbes, and Bright, and also a few distinguished non-Episcopalians, as Prof. Milligan, of Aberdeen University, Principal Reynolds, of Cheshunt College, Dr. Dickson, of Glasgow, William Aldis Wright, and Dr. Ginsburg. Germany furnishes but one contributor, Dr. Lipsius, of Jena, (who belongs to the critical school of Tübingen), France one, Rev. E. de Pressensé of Paris, and America one. The work is, therefore, predominantly Anglican and Episcopalian, though by no means in a narrow, sectarian sense of the term.

The second volume embraces 928 pages, and articles from *Eaba* to *Hermocrates*. Almost every name in early Church history finds a place here. There is, of course, a great inequality in length and treatment, and great difference in the merit of the contributions, as in every composite work. Many contribute little or nothing to our stock of knowledge, but not a few are unusually able and complete. Among the very best we would notice EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA, by Bishop Lightfoot, a model of fair and exhaustive biography; ROMAN EMPERORS, AND ESCHATOLOGY, by Dr. Plumptre; EPHRAIM, THE SYRIAN, by Dean Smith of Canterbury, (one of the best Syriac scholars); HEBREW LEARNING AMONG THE FATHERS, by Rev. C. S. Elliott. The Anglo-Saxon Names are prepared by Canon Stubbs and Canon Raine; the articles on British, Irish, and Scotch Saints by Rev. C. W. Boase and Rev. J. Gammark. The article on the ESSENEs is done by Dr. Ginsburg; EUCHARIST, AND FATHERS, by Dr. Ffoulkes; the book of ENOCH, Apocryphal GOSPELS, and EPIPHANIUS, by Prof. Lipsius; GNOSTICISM, and HERMAS, by Dr. Salmon.

The labor bestowed upon this volume is immense, and if its successors shall be equal to it, as we have every reason to expect, the editors will, indeed, leave behind them a *monumentum ære perennius*. P. S.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ST. JOHN. By JAMES M. MACDONALD, D.D. Edited with an introduction by the Very Reverend J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. Pp. xxxvi. and 436. Royal 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880. \$3.00.

We are glad to see so soon a re-issue of this interesting and valuable work, at a reduced price, that will give it an entrance into many families that otherwise would be unable to purchase it. It has already been made known to the public and received the wide circulation that it deserves. Whilst adding little to the scientific

knowledge of the life and writings of the Apostle John, by scholarly research and original critical investigation of the sources; it is yet a careful, judicious, and tasteful presentation of the theme in the light of the best results of modern scholarship, for the edification of the Christian public in general. It should take its place with Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, in the libraries of all our Christian families. The introduction by Dean Howson is kindly, and we cannot but respond to the sentiment that the co-operation between England and America in Biblical subjects may be "full of blessing to mankind."

C. A. B.

GIESELER'S CHURCH HISTORY. Vol. 5—A. D. 1517-1854. Completed by MARY A. ROBINSON. Harper & Brothers. 1880.

There are few periods of history about which men are more likely to be ignorant than about the century preceding their own time. Many persons have a better understanding of Greek and Roman life than they have of life in the eighteenth Christian century. The great achievements of the older time have been completed and can be ascertained without difficulty; the movements of the time have been subjected to long continued scrutiny from very different points of view, and the results of scrutiny are summed up in treatises easily obtainable. It is not so easy to get at the facts of a modern time; the really great facts are not always distinguishable from a host of others that will ultimately have no separate or considerable significance. Nevertheless, no knowledge is more needful than the knowledge of one's own time, and of the times immediately preceding, which have made the present what it is. In Christian history the first century, the period of Christ and His Apostles, is, doubtless, the period of primary importance. But next to that there is no period which the men of to-day so urgently need to understand, in its working forces, as the period from the Reformation to our own times. All modern life is the product of those forces. No man can do his work well without understanding them; no young man can be fitted for his life work until he is put in possession of a knowledge of them. Therefore, the closing volume of Gieseier deserves peculiar welcome. The translation was begun by Prof. Smith: in his debility he assigned a part of the volume to Prof. Stearns, of Michigan, but the last half of the volume has been translated by Miss Robinson, who has also prepared the index. Prof. Schaff contributes a preface, which includes a short biographical sketch of Prof. Smith, by Prof. Hitchcock.

As a condensed and systematic account of the time, it is, probably, the best single treatise in English. Hagenbach's is far less scientific in form and gives the history only of the Protestant Church during the last two centuries. Prof. Smith's tables are both more comprehensive and more abundant in details, but, with the exception of the first column of "General Characteristics," they constitute a syllabus, which is more useful to one who already has some understanding of the history. Most compends are by men far inferior to Gieseier in ability and scholarship. The history of his fifth volume is in three divisions, the first of which gives account of the Roman Catholic Church from the Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia. This division alone had been published by Gieseier himself; only in this are found the citations from original authorities which have given great value to previous volumes. It concludes the history of the Reformation period, upon which Gieseier labored with peculiar affection, and in respect to which his labors are considered most valuable. The second division, in 220 pages, covers the period from the Peace of Westphalia to the Treaty of Paris. It includes a sketch of the history of philosophy in its relations to Christianity (Descartes, Deism and the Freethinkers, Leibnitz, and Kant), an account of the Roman and Lutheran Churches, and a very meagre outline of the history of the Reformed Churches in England and on the Continent. The third division fills nearly 300 pages with a history of the Modern Church from 1814 to 1854. It is chiefly, however, the religious history of Western Europe: the original contained one brief chapter on America, which, Prof. Schaff

says, was too superficial and too full of errors to merit translation, or to have a place in a work of such solid value.

The second and third divisions were published after Gieseler's death from his MSS. They give a continuous narrative, with few notes and very few references to the abundant literature. But the story is in Dr. Gieseler's characteristic style—systematic, condensed, precise, discerning, impartial, almost cold. His treatment of Roman Catholic history is that of a discriminating Protestant; his warning against superficial polemics (p. 628) needs to be regarded by Americans; his statement of Jesuit practices in France during the early part of this century (pp. 409–24) may be profitably considered in connection with the recent expulsion of the Jesuits. His sagacity respecting the course of future events, is shown in predicting the loss of the temporal power and a coming schism (p. 385), but is greatly at fault in reference to the acceptance of papal infallibility (p. 628). The general view of the condition of the Church in the modern times is broad, wise, and hopeful. Dr. Gieseler anticipated a freer relation of Church and State, if not a practical separation (p. 384), a theology not so fettered to the past that it cannot improve (pp. 316, 385), and an increasing disappearance of practical irreligion. His judgment respecting the prospects of Republicanism in Europe (p. 368) would probably be somewhat modified were it to be made now. Some bias toward Rationalism was alleged against him, but he has evident sympathy with the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany (p. 522) for which he labored; his discussion of the Pietistic controversy shows appreciation of Scriptural theology and a piety of the heart (p. 294); his condemnation of Strauss (pp. 550, 573) and of Hegelians of the left wing is unqualified. His treatment of the history of Rationalism (p. 514 *seq.*) is so guarded that his own position is not very clearly indicated. The formal definition is carefully made, a distinct difference from Naturalism is very properly insisted on, but there is no statement or criticism of the essential contents of Rationalism. In the description of Supernaturalism the statement (p. 515): "If a religious doctrine is proclaimed as a divine revelation by some pious individual whose truthfulness is undoubted, and who cannot be convicted of fanaticism, and if, moreover, this doctrine is not directly opposed to reason, Supernaturalism feels itself compelled to accept it as a supernatural revelation, and no longer permit reason to examine it conclusively," would certainly not be accepted as correct by any intelligent Supernaturalist on this side of the water. Injustice seems also to be done to Schleiermacher. In a case requiring exactness of expression one cannot be sure of a translation, and a copy of the German is not at hand; but it is not just to say that Schleiermacher's theology is based on the effort to represent in the form of doctrine the *emotions* of the pious Christian heart. In Schleiermacher's use of it, *Gefühl* is never synonymous with mere emotion; he expressly makes it synonymous with a term of much wider significance, the "Christian consciousness."

There is some lack of comprehensiveness in treatment. Very slight notice is taken of the Greek Church, and no notice of the other Eastern Churches. There is scarcely more than a mention of the great practical work of the century in foreign missions. In common with all German scholars of his generation, Dr. Gieseler had little appreciation of the Anglo-Saxon world, and missions among the non-Christian peoples have been most extensively carried on by Anglo-Saxons. Apart from the relations of Church and State, the outworking of the Christian spirit in secular life is little noticed. There is no mention of the rise of the physical sciences under Christian influence; the so-called conflict of religion and science had scarcely begun at the time of Dr. Gieseler's death.

There are a few evident slips in the translation. From childhood Miss Robinson has been so familiar with German, and so accustomed to think in German, that she is not always sensitive to the difference between German and English idioms. Thus of membership of the Catholic Church we read (p. 503), "others were led to the same end"; (p. 552), "such doctrines could not be indifferent to the governments";

(p. 575), "the Lutheran party grew up or augmented" (increased in numbers?); and the worst of all, (p. 517), "Hengstenberg and his school have permitted themselves the most arbitrary suppositions for the removal of the historical grounds"—which is merely unintelligible. A few sentences are obscure because the structure is involved after the German style, while on p. 402 there is the doubly careful statement that the "cardinals mostly owed their main support to secular offices." W. W. A.

DUFF MISSIONARY LECTURES—FIRST SERIES: MEDIÆVAL MISSIONS. By THOMAS SMITH, D.D. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix, 279. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. [Scribner & Welford, New York; American edition, \$2.50].

This volume brings us the first-fruits of a lectureship instituted under the provisions of the will of the great missionary and evangelistic teacher whose name it bears. The courses of lectures are to recur at intervals of four years, are each to be delivered in at least two of the great university centres or in equivalent places selected by the trustees, and are to be published with other special provisions for their circulation. All Evangelical churches may be drawn upon, clergy or laity, for the successive lecturers. Rich fruit should be gathered under such auspices.

It was eminently fitting that the inauguration of this lectureship should be committed to one who had been a co-laborer with Dr. Duff both in India and in Scotland. Very wisely the terms of institution open for presentation any subject cognate to foreign missions. Dr. Smith has chosen the missionary work of the Church at some of its most important points with in the period A.D. 500–1500. His first two lectures, skirting the earlier boundary of his chosen period, deal with the conversion of Clovis and the evangelization of Britain; in the third and fourth he passes to central, northern, and eastern Europe; in the fifth he discusses missions to the Mohammedans in Spain and Africa, while the two remaining lectures sketch some of the more important attempts to plant the Gospel in different parts of Asia. These lectures exhibit wide and careful study of the sources of information, with sober judgment in regard to their solid contents. They afford opportunity for the graphic exhibition of the personality and work of not a few of the great workers of the mediæval Church, as well as for the detection and presentation of different types and tendencies in doctrine and method. And incidentally the author draws profitably upon his own observation and experience as a foreign missionary; as *e. g.* when he speaks of the comparative resistance encountered by the Church in its work among heathen and among Mohammedans, and of the different aims of Protestant and Catholic evangelization. In his last lecture he throws out important suggestions in regard to the great difference between the mediæval and the modern Church in their relation severally to the civilization of their age, and their sphere of action, and utters timely caution in regard to perils that are incidental to the great superiority of the modern missionary, in this respect, over those among and upon whom he works. He does not forget the grand apologetic argument for Christianity which its missionary work supplies. C. A. A.

CONVERSION OF THE WEST: THE ENGLISH. By the Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D., Head Master of King's College School, author of "The Missions of the Middle Ages," etc., with two maps. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: Pott, Young & Co. Also, "The Northmen, The Celts, The Slavs," by the same author, and issued by the same publishers.

These little books aim to give a popular view of one of the most momentous events in history—the conversion of the western nations to Christianity. The narrative is, of necessity, very brief; but it is clear, graphic, presents the main facts with care and skill, and breathes an excellent spirit. The work does much credit to Dr. Maclear, and also to the Committee of General Literature and Education, appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, under whose direction it is published. In its preparation, the most recent and trustworthy authorities have been consulted, explanatory notes have been subjoined, and references given to larger

works. It is a most useful epitome, and we could wish that the whole series—all the volumes have not yet reached us—might speedily find its way into our Christian homes and our Sunday-schools. The history of the conversion of the West, which is far too little known, even among our educated people, is full of missionary incidents of thrilling interest, and abounds in impressive and beautiful illustrations of the power of the Gospel. Our young Christians cannot become too familiar with it. The roots of our own noblest life strike back into those memorable times.

We give the contents of a single volume, *The English*. It begins with a sketch of the Teutonic settlements in England and of Teutonic heathendom. Then follows an account of Augustine's missions near the close of the sixth century, and the conversion of Kent through his labors. The next four chapters tell the story of the Roman and Celtic missions in Northumbria, the missions in Mercia, and the mission work of St. Chad. Then follow two chapters on St. Cuthbert, the apostle of the Lowlands, and the conversion of Sussex and the Isle of Wight. The school of Malmesbury and the Herdsman of Whitby, Bede and the school of Yarrow, Alcuin and the school of York, close the narrative, and the whole concludes with an instructive chapter on the salient points suggested by a retrospect of the conversion of England.

G. L. P.

THE MONKS OF THE WEST, FROM ST. BENEDICT TO ST. BERNARD. By the COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT. Authorized translation. Volumes vi. and vii. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1879.

Montalembert is an eloquent writer of the Celtic type. He deals largely in sweeping generalities, strong in truth, and startling with falsehood. To discriminate is a task he likes to shun, while the history he recounts needs it in an eminent degree. When he does give the two sides of a case, they are generally so far apart that the effect of well-balanced judgment is lost. He represents the monks as requesting "no apology, no panegyric," but "a simple and exact tale—the truth, and nothing but the truth—justice, nothing but justice—as their sole revenge" for the evil which in later times has been said of them. But he is the last man, in the ranks of respectable literature, to confine himself to those limits. He tells the truth, but also, in many a sentence, something less, or something more, and so incorporates the whole that the sum is not the truth. Perhaps, twenty or thirty pages further on, he will make a statement showing that he is not ignorant of the differences, but not the less, his defence of a point has enjoyed the advantage of the concrete. The history of the "Monks of the West" is a high-wrought eulogy of Monachism, at the expense of every other form of Christian society. The Church herself would never have accomplished what she was designed for, without the monks. Montalembert admits that the monastic orders are an appendage to the Church, not an integral part of it; and yet he makes them out to be the best part of it; and, if the English translation is correct, quotes Pius IX. unfairly as taking the same ground, namely, that the ecclesiastical orders are the "chosen phalanxes of the army of Christ." The pope had called them "select auxiliary troops." He sustains all that has ever been said of monks to their praise, even their miracles; and asserts, with all the apparent zeal of belief, that the first monastic system of rules "written out complete and minute," as introduced by Pacomius, was not only inspired, but "the very words of it had been brought to him from heaven by an angel." He makes the important distinction between the monks of the East and those of the West, but the lives of both superhuman. In their single purpose of seeking their own salvation, they made sure by aiming at doing more good than enough. Most of them achieved that end, and by a large surplus of good works put God in their debt.

This lack of discrimination appears in the whole subject. The monastery is a family of blessed saints, and every man who confers his estates upon a monastery, no matter how many he impoverishes thereby, becomes a saint. No doubt many of them were excellent institutions for their times, and many of their inmates holy men,

and useful to the cause of righteousness; but this boundless laudation is not sustained by history.

Montalembert claims truly for the Monks of the West, in their best days, industry in cultivating the soil, clearing waste lands, building their own houses, and in aiding the poor, that in ages of ignorance, learning and science found an asylum among them, and "moral freedom was asserted against the bondage of the flesh, the constant effort of a consecrated will, in the pursuit and conquest of Christian virtue." So much, but for the prevailing dissoluteness of their later history, might never have been questioned. And when he belittles, in comparison, the work of the secular clergy, he is not far from the truth, as touching the depths of the middle ages. But when he goes the length of asserting that "the first known monks were no other than the first disciples of Jesus Christ;" that the monastic life was founded by Jesus Christ himself; that it was born with the Church, and has never ceased to co-exist with her, and that it inherits its own divine right, as truly as the Church, we are not surprised to find him add that "the grandeur, the liberty, and the prosperity of the Church have always been exactly proportioned to the power, the regularity, and the sanctity of the religious orders," and has flourished most when they "have been most numerous, most fervent, and most free." The Church, in Montalembert's meaning, is the Roman Catholic Church, and that alone; but even there his extravagant estimate of the monastic orders has never been shared by all the highest and best authorities. Even in their most flourishing days, the wisest and greatest of popes, Innocent III., perceived that the Church was harassed and encumbered by their multitude, and in the midst of his pontificate, resolved to sanction no more of them. Many of the best and most sagacious have been of the opinion of Cardinal Giudiccioni, when he opposed the institution of the Jesuits, on the ground that "all Orders become relaxed, and then do more harm to the Church than they did good at the beginning." The first two hundred years of Cluny were indisputably the period of greatest prosperity in the cloisters, during which they rose to the very acme of their power. Will any man definitely assert the same of the Church in those same two hundred years?

Montalembert does not fail to mention that evils occurred in the course of monastic history; but his plan did not include the long series of ages when those evils constituted the main theme of complaint. It was designed to embrace only their best days, extending from Benedict, in the sixth century, to Bernard, in the twelfth, but was left incomplete at the author's death.

The work is one of extensive learning, deals with many important facts and doctrines, and, from the great influence of monks in the middle ages, especially in the tenth and eleventh centuries, could not fail, in the hands of a glowing narrator, to be possessed of many attractions. The twelfth century would have furnished more; but upon that the author was permitted only to enter. The first five volumes were published under his own eye, from 1860 to 1867. The last two, of which we have now the English translation, are posthumous, and appeared in Paris in 1877. They bring the series of events down only to the eve of the great epoch, which the author most fondly contemplated, and as introductory to which all the rest was executed, namely, that of Bernard.

Although its way of putting things is not always reliable, nor its principles always defensible, the work cannot be denied the merit of eloquent declamation and interesting narrative, and it certainly throws the warmth of animation over some sections of history, recounted by themselves with the coldest degree of aridity. J. C. M.

DER ALTKATHOLICISMUS. Eine geschichtliche Studie von Lic. TH. FÖRSTER. 8vo, pp. viii. 149. Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1879. [B. Westermann & Co., N. Y.]

The author regards the recent Old Catholic movement as one phenomenon among many that have appeared from time to time in connection with the development of Romanism. He accordingly indicates rapidly the successive points reached by the

Church of Rome in maturing, formulating, and pressing its claim, and shows in each instance the source, form, and measure of the opposition that was made to the new assumption and demand. The positions taken by the Oriental and African, the British and Gallican Churches, by Agobard and Hincmar, Abelard and Arnold of Brescia, Bernard of Clairvaux, D'Ailly, Gerson, Jansen, Wessenberg, and others in their time and order, are so exhibited as to set forth the successive stages reached in the establishment of Papal Absolutism, and the nature and grounds of resistance, whether in behalf of bishops, general councils, national rights, or any other assailed interest.

The history of the present century is, of course, much less fully given than in Prof. Friedrich's masterly "History of the Vatican Council" (Vol. I., Bonn, 1877). Our author's concern is first to put the Old Catholic movement of our own day into the line of its historical succession; and then to sketch its immediate occasion, its formal organization, and the steps taken by its adherents between the famous 18th of July, 1870, and the fifth meeting of the Old Catholic Synod at Bonn in 1878. His attitude toward the entire recent movement is (we think, with good reason) more sympathetic and hopeful than that of Prof. Geffcken and some other recent Protestant critics. At the same time he clearly recognizes its defects and the great difficulties which it has to surmount in justifying, maintaining, and extending itself. The very steps in its progress which have separated from it most of the eminent scholars whose names gave the chief prestige to its beginning, he regards as proofs of its genuineness, and signs of promise that it will prove something more than a learned and powerful literary remonstrance against the logical audacities of Vaticanism. Of the four possible issues that have been predicted for it, his persuasion and hope are, that it will neither vanish away, nor formally return into Romanism, nor become at an early day thoroughly Protestant; but rather continue to lift up its protest against Rome and exert influence for a Catholicism that is not Romish. The movements of 1879, while at some points encouraging, were elsewhere so chequered as, on the whole, neither decidedly to confirm nor to discredit the author's anticipation.

C. A. A.

ALFONSO ET JUAN DE VALDES; leur vie et leurs écrits religieux : étude historique par MANUEL CARRASCO. 8vo, pp. 136. Genève, chez les principaux libraires, 1880.

When Charles V. was holding the Pope a prisoner of war, and the Catholic world was agitated by that indignity to the head of the Church, he was defended by a Spanish gentleman of his court as the arm of Providence. Alfonso de Valdès, in his dialogue between Lactantius and an archdeacon, exposed with great freedom the evils then prevailing in the Church, and especially at the Papal Court, and argued that the humiliation of Rome was a divine chastisement of iniquity. In the end of the dialogue the archdeacon, the advocate of the Pope, declares himself convinced that reform of the Church was needed, and hopes that the Emperor will effect it. In so doing he will acquire a reputation to place him so far above all other princes that it shall be said to the end of time, "Jesus founded the Church, and Charles V. restored it."

Juan de Valdès, a younger brother of Alfonso, took up the same theme, and in a dialogue between Mercury and Charon, pursued to greater length the religious interest of the controversy. Both wrote, as Catholics, in the cause of the Catholic Church, and as opponents of Luther. The work of Alfonso was circulated in manuscript, and read by many. Some charged it with heresy, and a prosecution was instituted against the author, but the highest authority refused to condemn him. While his enemies were still deliberating renewed prosecution, Alfonso died of the plague at Vienna, in October, 1532.

Juan de Valdès, in his further study of Scripture, was led to the conviction of evangelical doctrines, exposing him to be suspected by the Inquisition. He removed from Spain, and took up his residence in the neighborhood of Naples. There his

society was eagerly sought by persons of piety and intelligence, many of whom, adopting his views of doctrine, became conspicuous by their ability and sufferings in the early suppressed attempt at Reformation in Italy. He died in 1541.

Neither of the brothers had any connection with the Reformers of Saxony or Switzerland. In the beginning of their religious inquiries they were indebted chiefly to Erasmus; nor does it appear that the older ever proceeded beyond the point to which the great critic led. Juan, however, although opposed to separation from the Papacy, had, in his later years, been led to define for himself the principal doctrines of the Reformed Church. The writings of both were subsequently sought out to be destroyed by their enemies; and, for more than two hundred years, little was known about them by the public. Their views were misrepresented by both Catholic and Protestant. More recently the attention of historical research has been turned to them, and portions of their writings have been printed. This work of their countryman, Carrasco (brother of the lamented Antonio Carrasco), which contains some newly discovered material, was undertaken at the instance of the late Professor Binder, of Geneva, and is published in that city. It gives, first, a brief and compact narrative of the life and literary work of Alfonso; secondly, a similar account of Juan, whose writings were more numerous and whose influence was greater; while a third part treats of his principal religious ideas.

The volume presents an interesting episode, and one not very commonly known, in the Church History of the Reformation. J. C. M.

DIE THEOLOGIE MELANCHTHON'S in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und im Zusammenhang mit der Lehrgeschichte und Culturbewegung der Reformation dargestellt von Lic. th. HERRLINGER, p. 468. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1879. [B. Westermann & Co., New York].

The author has evidently given great pains to the study of the literature of Melancthon, and has been conscientious in his investigation; but has not succeeded in making a very clear or satisfactory presentation of his theme. His style is dry and uninteresting; his method and arrangement of material are awkward and confused, so that we rise from the reading of the book with the conviction that a grand theme has been inadequately discussed. This is all the more apparent when we compare this book with the kindred one, "Luther's Theologie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung," von J. Köstlin, 1863. We were in hopes that this might be a suitable mate to that, but must confess to a sad disappointment. Such a work is evidently needed. This will, doubtless, be helpful until another and better one may be prepared. We cannot but express the wish that the same author may work over his abundant material in a new edition, with more satisfactory results. C. A. B.

THE CONGREGATIONALISM OF THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS AS SEEN IN ITS LITERATURE: With special reference to certain recondite, neglected, and disputed passages. In twelve lectures, delivered on the Southworth Foundation, in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., 1876-1879. With a Bibliographical Appendix. By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER. Pp. xxxviii. 716 and 326. Royal 8vo. New York: Harper & Bros., 1880.

In this massive volume of nearly 1,100 pages—a considerable portion of which is composed of valuable historical and bibliographical notes and extracts from rare tracts and MSS.—we have, doubtless, the most painstaking, accurate, and thorough exhibition of Congregationalism that has thus far been composed. The author has been engaged for many years in careful research into the original sources of his history, and exhibits—so far as Congregationalism is concerned—such a familiarity with his material, such excellent judgment and wise discrimination, that he wins your confidence and carries you along with him in sympathy with his conclusions, even when at times one is forced to differ from him. It is to be regretted, therefore, that as regards other churches, and especially Presbyterianism, he should exhibit at times an unfairness of statement and a bitterness of spirit, that will greatly prejudice the

usefulness of the book. We rise from the reading of the work with profound thankfulness to the author for what he has given us, and not the least for the bibliography of more than 300 pages. At the same time we feel that he has been hampered by the form of the lecture, and has not been free to construct his material in the proper proportions and divisions of historic composition.

The first lecture bears the title, "The Darkness and the Dawn," in which the author gives us a sombre picture of the religious condition of England before the Reformation, which, unrelieved by the brighter views that might be taken here and there, seems to leave little historic basis for the Reformation itself. Although he admits that "dawn-streaks had already begun to flush the sky," in Reformers before the Reformation, whom he naively regards as "Congregationalists before Congregationalism," he reduces these virtually to a minimum in the extraordinary statement:

"But no Protestant Episcopalian can deny that there is much in his system due to the traditions of the elders; . . . and every intelligent Presbyterian must be aware that his church eldership was a contrivance of John Calvin as the best he could do to meet the exigencies in which he found himself in Geneva, and that the proof texts which 'the Book' assigns as its authority for the Synods and the General Assembly, and many other things, fully to justify such use, require an imagination more vivid and creative than that by aid of which the ancients fastened the *Ursa Major* upon the concave sky by the golden nails of seven and eight glittering stars. But if we throw out thus the monarchic and autocratic and aristocratic politics, as having some other foundation than that which is laid in Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, what have we left but the democratic to be the simply Scriptural system?"

Such language, in view of the long, historic struggle for the divine right of Episcopacy and Presbytery, still unended, is inconsistent with historic truth, and a misrepresentation of the present state of opinion in the churches; for, doubtless, there are more in America who believe in the divine right either of Presbytery or Episcopacy to-day, than those who believe in the divine right of Congregationalism. It was not Congregationalism, but Presbyterianism, which, under the leadership of John Knox and Thomas Cartwright, sustained the hard conflict for Puritanism during the Elizabethan period and under the Stuarts, until it prevailed in the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly; and though, doubtless, these were intolerant through their righteous dread of the excesses of the Anabaptists and the infinite divisions of Separatism, they were no more intolerant than those who regarded Episcopacy and Presbytery as anti-Christian, and refused the validity of their baptism and communion with them in their ordinances. Religious intolerance, even when it insists upon civic toleration, especially when it is urged by a poor and feeble sect, is as great a sin as civic intolerance itself. The Presbyterians were struggling for the control of the Church of England with reasonable prospects of ultimate success, and it would have been the highest folly for them to have adopted the principles of Separatism. That they did not succeed is due to the Independents probably as much as any other cause.

The second lecture is devoted to "Robert Browne and his Co-workers." The author has given careful attention to the original documents on this subject and has shed fresh light upon it. It seems to be well established that Browne "was the first writer clearly to state and defend in the English tongue the true, and now accepted doctrine of the relation of the magistrate to the Church." Browne was a rigid Separatist, and so gave great offence to the Presbyterian party. His views of Church government are well stated by the author:

"His conception of Church government, it is clear, was of the absolute monarchy of Christ over His Church. But then he conceived of Christ the king, as reigning through as many regents as there are individual subjects of His kingdom, who fulfil the conditions of their high office and live near to Him and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost."

Dr. Dexter is right, we are sure, in regarding Browne as the founder of Congregationalism, and rejecting the claims of Richard Fitz, who was hastily adopted by the English Independents under the influence of recent discoveries of Dr. Waddington, and whilst we cannot but sympathize with him in his efforts to remove the sad blots

upon Browne's meimory, and so far as the scandals are concerned, think that he has succeeded; we yet cannot regard him as successful in proving that for the larger portion of his career he "was clouded by dark shadows of mental disorder, sometimes almost—and quite likely for one period of years together—deepening into the midnight of actual insanity." It seems far more probable that, disappointed with the practical results of Separatism and the continual quarrels of his flock, and under the influence of powerful friends, he conformed to the Establishment without giving up his principles, and so became a fretful, discontented, and ill-tempered man.

Lecture third is devoted to the "Martin Marprelate Controversy," and is excellent throughout, and, indeed, the very best presentation of the subject. We cannot accord with Arber's view ("Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy," London, 1875), that John Penry and Job Throckmorton were the authors, for we cannot doubt the denial of the former, and there is no sufficient evidence for the latter. It seems to us that Dr. Dexter has made a very strong case for Henry Barrow, then a prisoner in the Fleet, especially from a comparison of style and language.

Lecture fourth is upon "The Martyrs of Congregationalism," in which Henry Barrow has the chief place. The views of Barrow are carefully discriminated from those of Browne, and it is shown that Barrow held with the Presbyterians in the organization of the particular Church under the government of elders, but did not find synodical bodies in the Scriptures, and that he agreed with Browne in the principles of Separation.

Lecture fifth gives an account of the "Exodus to Amsterdam." After the martyrdom of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, the Barrowists decided to emigrate to Holland in a body. A few left in 1593, but it was not until 1597 that their pastor, Francis Johnson, was released from prison and joined them. Henry Ainsworth became teacher. The controversies and quarrels of the flock are faithfully and vividly portrayed.

Lecture sixth describes the "Fortunes and Misfortunes in Amsterdam," a side picture of the strifes among the Separatists upon baptism and the powers of the eldership and minor matters, Ainsworth being the only character who awakens our interest and admiration.

Lecture seventh, on "John Robinson and Leyden Congregationalism," is an exceedingly interesting and valuable chapter, in which we have a clear exposition of the difference of this body from the other bodies of Separatists:

"(1) It required that all elders should be 'apt to teach and able to exhort with sound doctrine and convince gainsayers, and that not only privately, or in the consistorie, but in the publique assemblee, also, as the nature of their publique office requireth.' (2) It insisted that theirs be a life-office. (3) It forbade the elders to transact business in their private consistorie—they might indeed prepare business there—but took the ground that the office 'being publique, requires answerable and publique administration.' (4) It repudiated the idea that the elders are in any sense the Church. (5) It therefore relegated the function of the eldership to the purely moral one of leading the mass of the Church in its action. . . .

"This, in point of fact, so nearly reverted to original Brownism on the one hand, and so nearly advanced toward modern Congregationalism on the other, that it gave a type of Barrowism so mild and purely nominal as to exist only in name, and restored to the body of the Church nearly the advantages of which incoming Presbyterianism had deprived it. Its disadvantage was that it retained a name which had mischief in it, and bequeathed to New England a hundred years of confusion over the supposed necessity of a Ruling Eldership, which was an enigma and a stumbling-block and a constant occasion to fall."

Lecture eighth gives an account of "Early New England Congregationalism," showing that the Plymouth Church under Elder Brewster, introduced the Leyden Congregationalism into New England. Other churches were founded, however, with varying principles, so that they entered into conflict with one another. The result is well summed up:

"The early Congregationalism of this country was Barrowism and not Brownism—a Congregationalized Presbyterianism or a Presbyterianized Congregationalism—which had its roots in the one system and its branches in another; which was essentially Genevan within the local congregation and essentially other outside it. The forty or fifty churches, which for the 'substance of it,' adopted the Cambridge Platform, held this general system indeed with varying degrees of strictness, from the almost Presbyterianism of Hingham and Newbury, to the large-minded and large-hearted Rotinsonism of the mother Mayflower Church."

Lecture ninth treats of "Later New England Congregationalism," and very well shows how in Connecticut it became compacted in the Saybrook Synod (1708) on the basis of the Savoy Confession and the heads of agreement of the Congregational and Presbyterian ministers of London, and adopted the plan of *Consociation*; and that in Massachusetts, under the lead of the Mathers, it arranged itself in Associations with a strong tendency to Presbyterianism; but that they called forth a powerful reaction under John Wise, who led back to the original Brownism, and still further to a still more democratic character, taking the position

"That the people or fraternity, under the Gospel, are the first subjects of power, . . . that is, democracy in Church and State is a very honorable and regular government according to the dictates of right reason."

These views were in accordance with the political spirit of the times, and more and more prevailed, so that "by the year 1800, the principle enunciated by John Wise, with a single exception, had effectually leavened New England." That exception was in the examination and licensing candidates for the ministry by the Association.

Lecture tenth is devoted to "Ecclesiastical Councils," discussing fully and with ample illustration the general subject and the various kinds of councils. The author is truly enthusiastic for councils.

It is not "a court of Jesus Christ which, on sworn testimony and after special pleading, is to declare a judgment to which all must conform, and under which one party, at the least, must smart with disappointment, if not with some sense of wrong; it is the affectionate, persuasive presence of near friends, tenderly concerned to have all that is unclear clarified, and all that is selfish or exorbitant, or only mistaken and misdones, readjusted into the harmony of absolute right."

Lecture eleventh bears the title, "Congregationalism in England," but hardly with propriety, for the subject is inadequately and superficially treated. The interesting conflict in the Westminster Assembly is slurred over. It is hardly a fair statement that "no wonder the Independents eventually wearied and left. But they made a hard fight, mainly seven amongst an average of from 60 to 80 in attendance." But what of the weariness of the Presbyterian majority, their patience and long-suffering with the tricky, persistent, troublesome seven, who postponed and postponed until Cromwell and the army, with an iron hand, might give them the supremacy. This delay was most disastrous to the supremacy of Presbyterianism in the nation, and most advantageous to Congregationalism for a while, but it brought fearful retribution upon both at the Restoration.

Lecture twelfth, on "Things More Clearly Seen," is a statement of conclusions many of them sound and some unsound. We entirely sympathize with the effort to "do justice to our Fathers." "The trouble is that we have too much judged them and too much allowed the world to judge them in the light of our generation instead of the light of their own." It does not seem to us, however, that the history of Congregationalism and its present condition, justify the conclusion "that the golden age of Congregationalism does not lie in its Past." "The Millennium will be the golden age of Congregationalism." Other churches, especially Presbyterianism, have claims on the future. The two fundamental principles of Congregationalism are well put: "That it be organically an entity complete in, of, and to itself; and that still it be such in sisterly relation with all similar bodies." We also concur in the "unwisdom of mixing Politics." The position is well taken that "no such thing as Congregational statute law is in the nature of the case possible, since there can be no human tribunal higher than the local church to enact or enforce it." But it seems to us entirely arbitrary and inconsistent to contend for a Congregational "*Common Law*" that shall bind the particular church; and the challenge, "How then can that man honorably claim to be and remain one of the Congregational body so affirming, who himself is advocating something less and other as to these vital subjects?" seems to us entirely opposed to Congregational principles. The local church is and must be supreme. No statute law and no common law can bind it. It is independent, and

sister churches have no other way of expressing disapproval than by withdrawing sisterly relations. This is the inherent weakness of Congregationalism, and they must suffer from it. The only escape is in making their polity more Presbyterian. The best that we can suggest to them is to become Presbyterian altogether. The author's conclusion is marred by the following unworthy utterance:

"All childish things—bishops, presbyteries, liturgies, which had their use, once, as crutches for the lame, as tonics for the feeble—will by and by be done away, or be so exalted and purified as to be new creatures in Christ Jesus."

The Bibliography is exceedingly valuable and useful, and will be so helpful to scholars that we dislike to criticise it. It is evidently the result of great labor, expense, and self-sacrifice. The limits and the extent of such a bibliography are certainly difficult to define. Nevertheless, we fail to see the propriety of the insertion of some works and the omission of others. The author has limited himself, with few exceptions, to the libraries of England and New England. The valuable libraries of Scotland and of several of our Presbyterian colleges and seminaries are entirely overlooked. We fear that one would gain the impression that outside of the few libraries of New England mentioned in the introduction as containing original editions of the first thousand volumes in his list, there were but insignificant numbers contained in other libraries, whereas to our knowledge the library of Union Theological Seminary of New York would come third in the list with regard to the thousand given, and with the insertion of other works which we see no reason for excluding, probably still higher; and other libraries have some claims for a standing here, at least with the four works of Bowdoin and the two of the Boston Public Library.

C. A. B.

HERZOG ALBRECHT VON PREUSSEN UND SEIN HOFFPREDIGER. Eine Königsberger Tragödie aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation. Von D. CARL ALFRED HASE. 8vo. pp. 396. Breitkopf u. Härtel, Leipzig, 1879. [B. Westermann & Co., N. Y.]

The author of this volume is a son of the "Master of Protestant Church History," Carl August Hase, Professor at Jena, and the book was presented as a tribute of affection and respect on the fiftieth anniversary of the latter's connection with his University. The theme was probably suggested by the son's residence at Königsberg, as chief chaplain of the First Army Corps, and whatever novelty the book contains is due to his use of the hitherto almost entirely neglected correspondence between the Duke and his court preacher. An examination of the volume, however, fails to show that this correspondence throws much new light upon the relations of the various parties.

Dr. Hase gives us a painstaking, accurate account of a dark and troubled period of Reformation history. There is not one of the characters here introduced who awakens any especial interest or commands any great respect. Nor can it be said that the author has succeeded in so treating the events as to stir our blood. He is clear and orderly in his arrangement. He makes diligent use of the labors of his predecessors, but he has not, in our judgment, made as much out of his materials as was possible. Even the hero of the recital, so to call him, Johannes Funck, the Königsberg court preacher, does not in these pages live before us. It is his fate which constitutes the "tragedy," but when he falls beneath the executioner's sword the event is told so tamely that we are not moved.

The moral that Funck's life points may be expressed in the striking words of Jeremiah to Baruch, "Seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not" (Jer. xiv. 5). Funck made himself notorious as the chief advocate of Osiander's peculiar notion of infused righteousness. And what was the consequence? Unpopularity and an enforced recantation. Later on, while the people mistrusted him, he consented to become one of the Privy Council of the Duke, whose government was weakening. By this step he exposed himself to adverse criticism. At length he counselled the Duke to flee. For this, and other ill-timed measures, the Council

were tried by a Polish commission, sent at popular request. The trial was unfair and hasty. The verdict was known from the start. Funck and his companions fell victims to popular rage. His fate was surely too severe. He was by no means the miscreant he was regarded. But his ambition had led him astray, and in his hour of need he had no friends.

These facts are brought clearly out, and yet the conviction remains that in spite of Dr. Hase's industry and ample learning, he has failed to present a graphic history. We think that out of this play of conflicting passions there might be evolved a drama of tragic interest. As it is, we seem to be in a valley of dry bones, and catch no whisper of the spirit that will make them live!

S. M. J.

III.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. By JOHN CAIRD, D.D. Macmillan & Co. 1880.

It is a very difficult task to give a just estimate of a work so thoughtful and profound as Dr. Caird's "Philosophy of Religion," within limits necessarily so narrow as these notices impose. Both the matter and the form evince that the author has thoroughly possessed himself of his theme, subtle and wide as it is. The influence of certain thinkers, especially Hegel, is very apparent, yet the materials are completely fused, and the treatise wears the look and makes the impression of original and spontaneous power.

The position of the author is, that there is no contradiction, but a perfect harmony between philosophy and religion. If truth is actually reached in the former, it will agree with truth in the latter. By religion, Dr. Caird means evangelical Christianity, and throughout the volume his best energy is devoted to the demonstration of the intrinsic rationality, not of deism or any inadequate form of religion, but of the common Christian faith. The aim of the book is lofty, and the general spirit excellent, judged from both the ethical and the theological point of view. We say this in the outset, because we shall be led, in our criticism, to direct attention to some features of the work which we think are not in harmony with the design of the author, or with the ethical and theological position which we suppose him actually to hold.

In demonstrating his position, Dr. Caird begins with answering objections to the oneness of philosophy and religion, that, in his view, arise from three sources. 1. The alleged relativity of human knowledge. 2. The alleged immediate or intuitive nature of religious knowledge. 3. The authoritative nature of religious doctrine. The objector either asserts that religious knowledge is so subjective and individual, that it has no universality, and of course no absolute and scientific quality; or that religious truth is known merely by feeling and faith, and hence has no rationality at all; or, lastly, that it is given by an external revelation, to be passively received without examination.

In replying to the first objection, the author gives a critique of the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge which is as destructively thorough as anything that has yet been done within the same limits. There is no more valuable chapter in the book than this one; and if the author had done nothing else, he would deserve the thanks of all sound thinkers.

In replying to the second objection, Dr. Caird makes statements, and introduces views which, in our judgment, injure the value of the treatise as a whole. It is to the matter under this head, and to that which grows out of it in other parts of the volume, that we shall direct attention.

Dr. Caird maintains that intuitive and immediate knowledge is not the highest form of knowledge. It is an inferior mode of cognition characteristic of the common un-

scientific mind. It is only the faith and feeling of the ordinary believer, and cannot be regarded as philosophic intelligence. Philosophy must transmute this simple direct intuition into a higher cognition, by scientific thought. Up to this point, we should have no dispute with the author. As Dr. Caird acknowledges that there is an element of truth in the doctrine of immediate knowledge (p. 41), so the defender of intuitive perception will concede an element of truth in his view. The immediate intuition of God, of the soul, of right and wrong, or whatever the object may be, must be analyzed and formulated. The contents of Christian faith and feeling must be reflected upon, and stated in logical propositions, if there is to be any science of religion, and any systematic theology. The dictum of Anselm, which the author selects as the motto of his treatise, is the dictum of the intuitional philosopher: "It is culpable neglect of duty, if, after we are confirmed in the faith, we do not endeavor to understand our faith."

But *how* is this to be done? In answering this question, Dr. Caird leaves, we think, the main current of Christian speculation, and parts company with the majority of Christian philosophers and theologians. He adopts the Hegelian construction of consciousness, according to which, the first step is the direct and immediate union, in unanalyzed consciousness, between the subject and object; then, secondly, a separation of the subject from the object by an act of reflection upon the datum given in the first step; and then, thirdly, a final reunion of the subject and object in the higher form of philosophic cognition. In this dialectic process we think that a *speculative* element is introduced that is heterogeneous, and conflicts with the intuitive element, and vitiates it. It certainly places the author in a polemic attitude toward intuitions. After remarking that, according to the theory of intuitive perception, religious truth "is cognizable only by an organ other than reason, or self-conscious intelligence" (p. 39)—a position that would not be granted by the advocate of the view—he says that "the theory of immediate knowledge implies the positing of a finite conceived of as distinguished from, and opposed to, the Infinite; and as in order to the attainment of a relation between the two terms, there must be a third term by which they are mediated, it follows that immediate knowledge must virtually include a process of thought; that is, must include all that is objected to in mediate or rational knowledge" (p. 52).

We agree that the common intuitional consciousness must be subjected to the scrutiny of thought, but we deny that any "third term" is thereby introduced, if the process of reflection is rightly conducted. Take an example. The finite mind is immediately conscious (say) of God. Here, there is a finite subject, the human mind, in immediate mental union and communion with an infinite object, the Eternal Mind. This is the consciousness of simple faith and feeling, as Dr. Caird would allow. When, now, this form of consciousness is itself, subsequently, made the matter of rational reflection, and the endeavor is made to analyze it into its constituent elements, and to formulate its implication in logical propositions, no *new* matter, no "third term" is introduced. The rational and philosophic knowledge of God which is reached by this act of reflection upon the data of intuition is made up wholly of *intuitive* elements, and is *immediate* knowledge still, in its nature and texture. Only the form of the cognition is altered; the matter is unchanged. Analysis has, of course, converted the original synthesis into another mode; if it did not, it would not be an analysis. But new form does not mean new matter.

Dr. Caird, under the influence of this theory of consciousness, disparages the immediate perceptions of the human mind, and overestimates ratiocination and speculative methods generally. He endeavors to prove that intuitions are not of an absolute and philosophic nature, by citing popular assumptions that often prove to be popular errors (p. 57), and denies that there is a *consensus gentium* for the doctrine of the divine existence (pp. 60, 82). In so doing he is in conflict with himself, as we think; for everywhere he assumes the intrinsic rationality of man, and affirms very

strongly the universal nature of reason. He is led to these extreme positions, as it appears to us, by the desire to make out the insufficiency of intuition, so that the necessity may appear for that higher form of cognition which is to be mediated by speculation, instead of deduced by simple analysis. In this same connection he is led to dispute the common statement that revelation is not contrary to reason, though it is above it. He asserts that if religious truth is above reason, it is in reality contrary to it; and goes so far as to say that there is not only no qualitative, but no quantitative difference between finite and infinite reason, because "reason or thought is in itself essentially one" (pp. 72-75). On pages 88, 93, 240, the author combats the doctrine of a creator or designer as "dualistic" and "anthropomorphic," because "betwixt two things thus heterogeneous the category of causation establishes no necessary bond." On p. 220, he objects to the common explanation of the unity of a material or of a mental object, by the notion of a substance in which properties inhere. "To say that the different properties of extension, impenetrability, weight, etc., cohering in one substance, unite to make one thing, is not to explain or give a rational idea of their unity, but merely to reassert that they are one; is only to tie them together with a string, and that, too, a fictitious string." He asserts the same of the category of substance when applied to mind, either the infinite or the finite (p. 222).

In attempting to provide a substitute for the important idea of substance, it seems to us that the author adopts a monism that would carry him to consequences from which he would recoil. He proposes the doctrine of an "organic unity" between the Infinite and Finite, and explains as follows: "It is a false presupposition that Nature and Mind, the world without and the world within, constitute two fixed independent realities, each by itself complete in its own self-included being. Beginning with two isolated existences separated by the impassable gulf of rigid self-identity, no theory can ever force them into rational union or coherence. But when we begin to see in Nature and Mind not two independent things, but two members of one organic whole, having indeed each a being of its own, but a being which implies and finds itself in living relation to the other—then, and then only, can we bring the two factors into that union which any real knowledge of nature implies. The principle that solves the difference between nature and finite mind is, that their isolated reality and exclusiveness is a figment, and that the organic life of reason is the truth or reality of both" (pp. 237-240). "This same principle," he continues, p. 241, "applies to the solution of the higher problems of religion, or the relation of the finite mind to God. Here, too, it will be seen that the understanding, which clings to the hard independent identity of either side, inasmuch as it starts from essentially dualistic conditions, renders any true solution impossible. A true solution can be reached only by apprehending the divine and the human, the infinite and the finite, as the moments, or members, of an *organic whole*, in which both exist at once in their distinction and their unity." This position is repeated again on pp. 243, 251. "The true infinite is not the mere negation of the finite, but that which is the *organic unity* of the infinite and finite."

Dr. Caird here deserts the dualism of Des Cartes and Kant, and adopts the monism of Hegel. The infinite and finite, instead of constituting two different spheres, are reduced to one. They are an organic unity. In reacting from the extreme of deism, which sets the two spheres outside of each other, instead of resting the one in and upon the other as Christian theism does, Dr. Caird goes to the other extreme of obliterating the difference itself. He objects to the doctrine of duality of being and substance. He makes God and the universe one sum and system of being. The Deity is regarded as a part of a general system. But God is not such. The universe is a creation from nothing, and of a different substance from the divine essence. It cannot, therefore, be put into a sum-total along with God, and constitute one common form of being. Once the universe was not. But God always was. The universe is contingent being; God is necessary. To combine under the notion of

an organic whole, such totally different objects as God and the world, is irrational. But this is attempted. "We are required to show," says the author, pp. 243, 251, "first, that finite spirit presupposes, or is intelligible only in the light of, the idea of the Infinite Spirit; and secondly, that the Infinite Spirit contains, in the very idea of its nature, *organic* relations to the finite." Here, the difference in kind between the infinite and finite is overlooked. It is true, that man supposes God, and is inexplicable without Him. But the converse is not true. God does not suppose man; and man's existence does not explain that of God. It is true, that we cannot think of man independently of God; but we can and must think of God independently of man. "Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God." The infinite cannot, therefore, be brought under the same category with the finite. Nature may be an organic unity. Man may be an organic unity. And God may be an unity; not *organic*, however. But nature and God together cannot be an organic unity, and neither can man and God be one. Two such diverse existences as God and nature, or as God and man, cannot constitute one organic system. In an organism, one part is as old as another. Organs are contemporaneous, having the same origin, and developing simultaneously. This, of course, cannot be true of the infinite and the finite mind, and still less of the infinite mind and matter.

That Dr. Caird is in error at this point, and shows a tendency to monism, is still further evinced by his opposition to "such notions as 'First Cause,' or 'Creator and Governor of the World,'" as inadequate to solve the problem. "For," he says, "by the act of creation, the creator calls into existence something external to himself, something absolutely new, and which is, so to speak, an addition to his infinitude, and then neither before nor after the creating act can he be called infinite" (p. 244).

The reply to this objection is, that the addition to the real infinite of a quantity of being which is only the unlimited and not the infinite, is precisely like the addition of a vast finite number to mathematical infinity. It does not affect the infinite in one way or the other. To add imperfect and contingent being, however great the sum or quantity of it may be, to absolutely perfect and necessary being, is no increment to absolutely perfect and necessary being, and to subtract it is no diminution. God plus the universe is no greater and no better than God minus the universe.

The author represents the universe as necessary to God in respect to His self-consciousness and blessedness. He objects to conceiving of the Supreme Being "as a self-identical Infinite, complete and self-contained in His own being." He asserts that "the nature of God would be imperfect, if it did not contain in it relation to a finite world," and assigns as the reason, that without the finite world, "God would lack one of the most essential elements of a spiritual nature—the element of love," p. 252. Unless there were in existence a world to love, God must be destitute of the emotion. The Christian doctrine of the Trinity is the answer to this objection. The divine self-contemplation and self-communion, according to the trinity of Scripture, is not mediated, as it is in the Hegelian trinity, by the world, but by God himself. God distinguishes Himself from *Himself*, and not from that which is other than self. The trinitarian distinctions are within the Divine Essence. Prior to the existence of the universe, and when there is nothing but the infinite essence, there is self-contemplation, self-communion, blessedness, and all the elements of self-consciousness in the Godhead. The Father knows and loves the Son, his *alter ego*, from everlasting to everlasting. God no more needs the universe as an object from which to distinguish Himself, and thereby to acquire consciousness, than He needs the universe in order to be omniscient or omnipotent. The self-sufficiency and internal completeness of God holds true in reference to His personality as well as to any of His attributes. Were the divine self-knowledge and blessedness dependent upon the existence of a contrasted universe, then that universe must either be co-eternal with the deity, or else the deity would remain destitute of self-knowledge and blessedness until the universe came to be.

The influence of this monism is seen even in those parts of the treatise where the author is clear and pronounced in his theism. While he is positive in reference to materialism and the mechanical physics, he yet concedes more than we should expect from the general tenor of his reasoning upon such points. One would think that so determined an advocate of the power of reason, and of the value of purely rational processes, would be unwilling even to allow the supposition that "the rational may have slowly emerged out of the animal nature," or to concede that "mind or intelligence in man would be the same thing, whether we think of him as made out of nothing, or out of the dust of the earth, or developed by infinitesimal transitions out of the anthropoid ape" (p. 343). The nature of a thing is so related to its origin that the former cannot logically be held in disconnection with the latter. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, by reason of its birth; and that which is born of the spirit is spirit, for the same reason. It is difficult to maintain the doctrine of a difference in kind between mind and matter, if both originate in the same material base.

We have in this very brief, and to ourselves very unsatisfactory manner, seized upon some objectionable points in this significant volume. We regret that we have neither the time nor the space to point out the excellencies, of which there are many. We agree heartily with Dr. Caird that religion is rational, that faith and reason are in harmony, and philosophy and theology are one at bottom. But we should attempt to prove this position by a different method. We prefer Kant to Hegel; dualism to monism. We do not believe that the conception of Identity, though veiled and guarded under the notion of "organic unity," will serve the purpose, but will involve the theologian in insuperable difficulties. The infinite and finite are two substances and not one, and they cannot be either a substantial or an organic unity. Each has its own intrinsic qualities that differentiate it from the other. We believe that the old dualism between mind and matter, between God and the universe, must be acknowledged and accepted by both the philosopher and the theologian, in order to the correct solution of the problems with which both are occupied.

W. G. T. S.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT EGYPT. By P. LePAGE RENOUF. [The Hibbert Lectures for 1879.] 12mo. pp. ix. 270. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

Few religious systems have ever been more completely misapprehended than the religion of Egypt was by the old Greeks and Romans. And the early Christian writers were hardly more correct in their estimates. It was only hieroglyphic interpretation that brought out the real facts in this, as in so many other departments of the life of the people. Mr. Renouf very properly devotes the first two lectures of his course to the discussion of the sources of information now available to scholars, and the exhibition of some of the general characteristics of the Egyptian civilization. With reference to the question, whether this ancient system so polytheistic, and in its later stages so pantheistic in appearance and interpretation, was ever really monotheistic, he gives but a qualified assent to M. Rougé's judgment: "One idea predominates, that of a single and primeval God; everywhere and always it is one substance, self-existent, and an unapproachable God" (p. 93). He adds (p. 96): "Throughout the whole range of Egyptian literature, no facts appear to be more certainly proved than these: (1). That the doctrine of one God and that of many gods were taught by the same men; (2). That no inconsistency between the two doctrines was thought of." The radical conception suggested by the word *nutar*, he argues to be "Power, which is also the meaning of the Hebrew *El*" (p. 102). The word was, however, "applied indifferently to each of the powers which the Egyptian imagination conceived as active in the universe, and to the Power from which all powers proceed. The pantheistic conception finally prevailed. "Till then the Egyptian religion may be considered as susceptible either of a Theistic or of a Pantheistic interpretation" (p. 108).

We quote once more (p. 262): "A sense of the Eternal and Infinite, Holy and Good, governing the world, and upon which we are dependent, of Right and Wrong, of Holiness and Virtue, of Immortality and Retribution—such are the elements of Egyptian religion." This he holds to have been the faith of the people, and not of the priests only. How a system, so noble in its elements, became so corrupted, both in conception and in moral influence during its development, Mr. Renouf endeavors to show by reference, not only to general human tendencies, but also and especially to other characteristics of the national organization and civilization which were at work upon it. Ample in learning, acute in discrimination, sober in judgment, the volume is the most valuable upon its theme that has as yet been produced.

C. A. A.

NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS. CONFUCIANISM AND TAOISM. By ROBERT K. DOUGLAS. Fcap 8vo, pp. 287. London: S. P. C. K.; New York: Pott, Young & Co. 1879.

The subject for the fifth volume in this useful series is well chosen. The two systems of which it treats, although far from being religious in their structure, either powerfully modify, or serve as substitutes for, religion with the largest family of our human race. According to the common estimate Buddhism is the all but universal religion of China; and yet, high authorities like Dr. Legge tell us, that this is so mixed and modified that by a strict construction hardly more than one-tenth of the people can be regarded as pure Buddhists. In what shape, and to what extent, Buddhism is accepted in the religious elements which it offers, depends on the possibility of combining it with the practical and ethical elements supplied by the Confucianism, which is not only native to the soil, but in many ways congenial to the conservative and secular temper of the Chinese mind. While the professed adherents of Confucianism are found mainly among the cultivated class, its influence is very deep and wide throughout the Empire. For a millennium and a quarter it has supplied the entire material for the educational system in those competitive examinations in which we of the West have recently begun to experiment.

"The throneless king," aside from his divine honors, might be well content with the dominion which his "humane, but prosaic" system (Tiele) holds so securely among his countrymen. Both of Prof. Douglas's sketches are well proportioned and sufficiently full for general information, with copious references to justify his statements and guide the special student. His style we cannot commend either for purity or for correctness, *e. g.*, on three successive pages we find "princes requisitioned supplies"; "how different to this is the conduct, etc."; and "we have only but a faint idea." The author does well in calling attention to the negative "golden rule" contained in a single pregnant Chinese character, for which the Chinese moralist is often so unduly praised; and also, in pointing out (p. 144) the seriously qualifying maxim, "Recompense injury with justice, etc." We think, however, that he fails to understand the Mosaic legislation in regard to the avenger of blood, in view of which, he seems (p. 145) to exalt the Confucian above the Mosaic morality. Even should we concede the correctness of his claim in regard to the limits of retaliation, the filial piety which appears to him more dominant with the Chinese philosopher is ethically both less precious and less potent, than the connection which the Hebrew law-giver recognizeth and emphasizes between a human life, and the image, the gift, the rights and law of God.

C. A. A.

THE RELIGIONS OF CHINA. Confucianism and Taoism described and compared with Christianity. By JAMES LEGGE. 8vo. pp. ix. 310. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1880.

In his regular work as an Oxford Professor, in occasional lectures like the brief course before the London Presbyterian College, which is published in the volume before us, as well as in his extensive and invaluable "Chinese Classics" and his "Sacred Books of China," (in Prof. Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East"), our author

is certainly contributing his full share to the enlightenment of the Western nations with respect to the great and ancient Empire of the East. His forty years' study of the religions and literature of China has been prosecuted in subordination to the ends of his missionary consecration; and we are not of the number of those who believe that the less practical and interested aims and methods of the professional *savant* furnish better guarantees of success in the search after truth.

The original use of the material of this volume, of course, explains its structure, and prepares us to expect only glimpses of history, and in the treatment of the subject-matter, a discursive style in dealing with the points chosen as representative. The appreciative warmth with which the author speaks of the religious and moral elements of these Chinese systems will, perhaps, surprise some of his readers. He anticipates the charge that he has unwarrantably put the Christian construction upon some of these elements, and seeks to justify his representation by copious and varied quotations from different parts of this vast literature.

His practical purpose concentrates his attention mainly upon three points: the doctrine and worship of God, ancestor worship, and the doctrine of man. In his view, "five thousand years ago the Chinese were monotheists—not henotheists, but monotheists." Of course, he opposes utterly the doctrine of Tiele and others, which makes the original Chinese religion animistic with fetishist tendencies. The relation expressed by the name *Ti* is, in his view, that of lord and governor. The formal organized worship of the Supreme God being limited to the Emperor, the people have naturally and inevitably fallen into the worship of inferior spirits who are his ministers, and into ancestor worship. The ideas of the possibility and of the fact of revelation, and of the supernatural, Prof. Legge finds also common to the Chinese religions and Christianity. He has met in practical work every plea by which men in China defend their systems against the Christian arraignment, and advocate their superiority, as well as the pleas to which Western indifferentism and liberalism, like that of Mr. Samuel Johnson, are wont to resort when Confucius and Láo-Tsze are brought into comparison with Christ. By its side-lights as well as in its direct exhibition of its subjects, the volume is, therefore, serviceable. Among other things it is interesting as showing where one veteran worker has "found the altar of the Unknown God" in the realm of these ancient and widely ruling systems. The footnotes, and fuller notes appended to the several lectures, point the way to all the most important literature, native and foreign, that the special student should need to consult.

C. A. A.

THE LOGIC OF CHRISTIAN EVIDENCES. By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT. 12mo. pp. xiii., 312. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1880.

The author's aim may be summarily described as an attempt to harmonize the presentation of the Christian evidences with the tendencies of modern scientific thought. In the first part of his book he endeavors at the same time to explain the nature of the Christian argument, and to vindicate it to scientific men themselves, by illustrating copiously the nature and method of inductive reasoning, and showing how, in the employment of the one only appropriate and possible mode of proof, the Christian advocate simply conforms to the nature of his theme and the conditions under which men are brought to its examination.

In the second part he comes to consider the theistic argument in its present aspects and relations. Using as far as possible the forms of conception and expression current in physical science, he seeks not only to remove misunderstanding and to meet objection, but to show that the Christian hypothesis is the most probable and tenable in regard to the being and attributes of God, and His revealing Himself supernaturally to men and authenticating His revelations by miracles. He presses the unreasonableness of simple disbelief, and urges the obligatoriness of the Christian claim, unless man can find positively better proof for some other system.

In the third part he discusses the specific evidences offered in support of Christian-

ity, its history, its Scriptures, and its authentications. Compactly, and in a well-ordered arrangement of the proofs which support the claims of historical Christianity, he presents the cumulative argument, exposing, as occasion offers, the invalidity of the counter-hypotheses of critical and dogmatic unbelief.

The plan of the book is well conceived and well executed. The author has manifestly been a diligent and intelligent student of science, and is familiar with the principles and methods of modern doubt. He frequently reminds the men of science that their hypotheses need proof, as well as of their obligation, both logical and moral, to weigh well the evidences for Christianity, which too often experience at their hands a supercilious dismissal. When he maintains that "Evolution needs proof, and is not Atheistic" (Table of Contents, p. ix.), and more positively (pp. 87-96) that it is "harmless," we conclude that he means to make his affirmation in regard to some possible or actual forms of the doctrine, with limitations and exemptions to order, and not in regard to all that are supported by high scientific authorities. Some men of science smile (imagine the smile of Prof. Clifford) at some of the forms of doctrine which theists and Christians propose to put into their mouths.

Prof. Otto Pfeiderer (*Zur religiösen Verständigung*, Berlin, 1879; Art. iv., Christianity and Natural Science), writing as a philosopher about the possible harmonizing of the teachings of the Bible and Science, says on one point (pp. 96, 97): "In the face of such facts, science must be allowed the right to treat the primitive paradisiacal condition as a beautiful sensuous imagination, parallels to which are found in the legends of all peoples. And should it further result, that with this altered view of the original state of our race the idea of a fall, and of a hereditary sin of our race dating from it, should become untenable—and further, that in consequence of this, the Church conception of the redemptive work of Christ should undergo a change (the perfecting instead of the restoration of humanity)—with all this, only the dogmatic form would be altered, in the guise of which the childish fancy of antiquity had clothed for itself the eternal truths of the religious spirit. What harm if these husks fall away, and the kernel itself comes out thereby only the more clearly to view?" etc. We seem to be listening to the voice, not of the Berlin philosopher, but of a more occidental journalism. And we ask ourselves when and where the harmlessness of some scientific hypotheses, as science holds them, conclusively appears? We want to know what is within the sugar-coating. C. A. A.

DIE LEHRE VOM URSTAND DES MENSCHEN geschichtlich und dogmatisch-apologetisch untersucht von O. ZÖCKLER. 8vo. pp. 337. [B. Westermann & Co., N. Y.] Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann. 1879.

The author's learned and comprehensive *Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie und Naturwissenschaft* (2 vols., 1877-79) is usefully supplemented by this more specific discussion. While the larger work is simply historical, the smaller is partly argumentative. The earlier work deals broadly with the "Relations existing between Theology and Natural Science, with special reference to the History of the Creation"; the latter singles out the one central and much controverted point of man's original state, with reference to which evolutionary anthropology, monistic physics, and prominent schools, organs and leaders of modern thought in philosophy, history and archæology, join issue so sharply with the traditional faith of the Church, and the obvious teaching of the Word of God. Scared by the din, awed by the peremptoriness of scientific assertion, partially convinced by the array of seeming proof, there are Christian men who are casting about to see what they can do with their Bibles, and with the name Christian. Has the Church misunderstood the Bible, or must the Church, holding fast to the Bible, part company with true science?

As early as 1868, Dr. Zöckler published "The Original History of the Earth and Man." In the appendix to his "Cross of Christ" (1875, English translation 1877), he had occasion, briefly, to touch the included questions of Paradise, and the

native irreligiousness of certain tribes. Dr. Zöckler's position, as indicated in a single sentence in his Introduction, is this: "We maintain a purer and more elevated original condition at the starting-point of the development of humanity, not as a mere article of faith, but as a truth supported by many weighty testimonies of science also."

After sketching the tradition of the Church, the doctrine of Scripture, and the traditions of heathenism, the author exhibits the opposing view of modern naturalism, and then proceeds to test the proof offered in this behalf, from different quarters. He examines, in detail, the evidence for primitive savagism that is presented by prehistoric anthropology and palæontology, as well as from the side of language, religion and the history of civilization. He then discusses the questions of the original home (or homes) of the human race, the length of life ascribed to the patriarchs (considered first in its credibility, and then, as related to man's primitive state), and the age of the human race upon the earth.

The only criticism upon the author's work that we have seen is the contemptuous comment, that he does not appear to have become wiser under all the teaching of modern science! We observe that five of the ten papers, published in Vol. XIII. of the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, are upon some of these topics, and that numerous Fellows of the Geological Society, and other learned bodies in Great Britain, say, with our author, calmly and firmly to the advocates of one and another of these theories: Not proven. While Dr. Zöckler is neither afraid nor unable to present reasoning of his own, he often neutralizes bold generalizations and premature conclusions by the scientific testimony of admitted authorities. The irony to which scientific dogmatism is subjected is sometimes very effective.

As for Paradise, but one is needed if the race is one, and science is far from having proved polygenism; and as to location, we must be content with the clues that point to a region in Asia, between the Euphrates and the Indus or the Ganges. No reason has yet been supplied by history or science that warrants distrust of the Biblical account as to the length of human life in those early days, in which longevity Dr. Zöckler finds an "after-glow" of the original purity and power of the Paradisiacal state. In regard to the antiquity of the race, in many of the estimates recently in vogue he sees nothing but "that well-known form of spiritual disease, *archæomania*," no true science demanding essentially more than is given in admissible constructions of the Biblical data.

The view by which the author would harmonize the Bible and Science in respect to man's primæval state, is that of an original and innocent "childhood-age" of the race, admitting of development to maturity in knowledge of, and mastery over, nature, while also allowing all the deterioration consequent upon the fall. A *résumé* and discussion so broad, and in the main so sober and so well fortified by authorities, is a valuable contribution to our literature. C. A. A.

THE WITNESS OF THE HEART TO CHRIST. Being the Hulsean Lectures preached before the University of Cambridge in 1878. By the Rev. W. BOYD CARPENTER, M.A. Post 8vo. pp. 174. [A. D. F. R. & Co., New York.] London: S. P. C. K.

This last published volume of the Hulsean course is designed to recall attention in these days of erudite and labored criticism to the adaptation of the Gospel to the needs of man. "The true measure" of Christianity, says the author, (p. 15), "is not in its capacity to satisfy the critics, but in its power to do its work"; (p. 16) "to satisfy diversities of needs, to suit the moving ages, and to reconcile conflicting interests." Positively, and in reply to current popular or philosophical objections, he vindicates the Gospel's selection of the problems most urgently demanding solution, and its method of solving them. The power of love and hope and faith in their relations to the moral evil that is to be triumphed over and put away, and in their connection with their appropriate objects, is well illustrated and vindicated. The difficulties raised by writers like Winwood Reade and Miss Martineau against the

morality of love as a motive, and other kindred objections, are, in their place, fairly met and answered. The little volume is another of the timely helps which the Church develops with so sure an instinct against Protean jealousy and unbelief.

C. A. A.

DOOM ETERNAL: THE BIBLE AND CHURCH DOCTRINE OF EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT.
By Rev. J. B. REIMENSNYDER. With an Introduction by C. P. KRAUTH, D.D.
12mo. pp. 384. Philadelphia: N. S. Quiney.

No apology is necessary at this day for a new book on the question of future retribution. The common Church doctrine has of late been so persistently assailed and from so many unexpected quarters, that fresh presentations of the truth are called for. Not that any new arguments are to be looked for, but that the old considerations may be brought forward in precise adaptation to the existing forms of error.

This is the aim and merit of the present work. Its title has evidently been suggested by Canon Farrar's famous discourse on Eternal Hope, and throughout it endeavors to meet the most recent denials of endless penalty in the future life. It considers: I. The Witness of the Church; II. The Teaching of Scripture; III. The Voice of Reason; and IV. The Fallacies of Restorationism. That the Ancient Church occupies the first place is owing to the fact that the author intended at first to treat only that branch of the subject, but, as was to be expected, was compelled to enlarge his plan. His book is well executed, and gives a very complete *résumé* of the various points at issue. It is, however, popular rather than scientific, and shows the author to be more of a skillful compiler than an original investigator. Thus, in the first part, he cites at the head of the list of Apostolical Fathers, the Epistle of Barnabas, as if that were a veritable production of the Cyprian Levite, who was, for a time, Paul's companion. Yet any late edition of the Epistle would have satisfied him that this is not the case. In other respects the summation of testimonies, although condensed and brief, is accurate and satisfying. In the second part, there is a very fair presentation of the argument, although in his list of authorities one is surprised to see Pickering, and Donnegan, and Parkhurst, and Greenfield, and Duncan, quoted alongside of such men as Meyer, Grimm, Cremer, and Ellicott. But we are still more surprised to read concerning the Book of Enoch that "the primitive Christians, along with the Jews, *revered its authority as that of inspiration.*" The italics are the author's. It does not seem to have occurred to him that if his statement were correct, the book would have necessarily been taken into the Canon. In like manner, he speaks of the Apocalypse of Ezra, as "similarly esteemed as canonical, *i. e.*, of prophetic or inspired sanction, by the Jews," which is a very misleading statement. So, too, after telling what the Talmud is, he quotes from it a number of selections, with which he intermingles citations from the Targums, as if these were the same in character and authority. His chapters on Hell and on Annihilation are good, but that devoted to *Apokatastasis* is hardly satisfactory. In the first mentioned, he exposes the gross blunder of Canon Farrar and Dr. C. E. Hall, of Brooklyn, in speaking of the Romish doctrine of Purgatory as an alleviation of Future Punishment. These learned gentlemen do not seem to have known that Purgatory is not intended for the lost, but for the saved, or, as the Council of Trent says, "the souls of the pious," that they may be cleansed by suffering for a certain period, and so fitted for Heaven. Purgatory removes none of the terrors of hell to the wicked, but it greatly increases the sorrow of death to the children of God. What are we to think of the state of theology when such errors are made by those who set up to be teachers?

In part third, the author makes a very fair and strong argument. His rhetoric is sometimes strained, and always lacks simplicity and grace, but he certainly shows that the Scripture doctrine, so far from being opposed to nature and reason, is, in fact, sustained by both. His chapters do not admit of abridgment, but are well worthy of consideration. In the fourth and last part, devoted to the Fallacies and

Evils of Restorationism and Universalism, he deservedly rebukes the vituperation of those who oppose the Church doctrine and exposes their gross errors and mischievous concessions. He shows that to renounce the old truth of Scripture and the Creeds on this point, is substantially to bring in another Gospel, and to introduce the "pale negations" of which even R. W. Emerson thinks that they make those who hold them suffer both in character and intellect. We observe, too, that on pp. 303-308, he makes a merciless exposition of Canon Farrar's ignorance or dishonesty, or both, in quoting Luther as saying, "God forbid that I should limit the time for acquiring faith to the present life." He shows that Luther never used these words at all, and that his sentiments were exactly the reverse of what they express. This being the case, the readers of the Canon's books, should understand that he is never to be trusted in regard to a quotation. To make such an error, whether intentional or unintentional, on such a man as Luther, and in regard to such a subject as future retribution, is enough to blast a scholar's reputation forever.

Mr. Reimensnyder's book is not free from exception, but it has many excellencies. The Introduction by Dr. Krauth is worthy of that eminent scholar, and the short, but weighty letter of Pres. Woolsey, which precedes the discussion, sums up on a page or two, volumes of argument. The book should have a wide circulation. The point it treats of is of unspeakable importance. It is fashionable for some to insist upon the certainty, but deny the endlessness of future punishment. But this will not answer. As Dr. Krauth justly says, "limited retribution is to most men as a moral force no retribution at all." Nor can any long deny the Church doctrine on this point and accept it on others. The teacher may indeed, by a happy inconsistency, maintain his footing upon the rock, but his disciples will be more logical and coherent thinkers, and the process by which they get eternal punishment out of the Bible, will show them how to get rid of other revealed truths which rest on the same foundation.

It is just at this point that the quarrel of the world with God comes to its issue, and hence the bitterness with which men so often speak of the doctrine. If it be true, the ground is cut away from beneath their feet, standing where they are, and there is but one ark, but one city of refuge, but one name given whereby we must be saved. They are shut up to the faith. The Gospel is as absolute and imperative as the Roman, who drew the circle in the sand around the Egyptian king's feet, and bade him decide before he crossed the line. Hence the heat and venom with which hell is denounced. Yet it must be preached, not coarsely, nor harshly, nor, least of all, angrily; but seriously and solemnly, although with infinite tenderness. With all the weight of evidence for it, from Scripture, from reason, from the Creeds of Christendom, from the convictions of good men, from the experience of the Church, it will not do to hold it in abeyance, or speak of it with any sort of reserve or doubt. It is very true that men are not to be frightened into repentance and faith, but it is also true that the doctrine of an eternal hell is needed to give due emphasis to the evil nature of sin and to the need and efficacy of the Cross of Christ. Nor has there ever been either an eminent believer, or a widely successful evangelist, whose faith did not include the endless wages of sin as a necessary and essential element in the moral government of God.

We therefore renew our commendations of Mr. Reimensnyder's book, not as exhaustive or as always correct, but as sound in position, mild in tone, forcible in argument, and frequently very suggestive.

T. W. C.

IV.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

PRAKTISCHE THEOLOGIE. Ein Handbuch für junge Theologen. Von J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE, authorisirte deutsche Ausgabe von A. Matthia und A. Petry. Band I., 1878; Band II., 1879. Heilbronn: G. Henninger. [New York: B. Westermann & Co.]

Dr. Van Oosterzee has reason to congratulate himself on the wide audience he obtains for what he has to say, the most of his works being translated both into English and German. His last publication was given to the German public by two of his own pupils (now pastors), working under his direction. In the preface he speaks gratefully of the favorable reception the work has met with, and the more so, since he is quite conscious of its shortcomings. He adds that the domain of Practical Theology is so extensive and in parts has been so imperfectly elaborated, that the ideal work on the subject can be reached only by the continuous labor of many writers working toward a common end.

The work has become well known among us by its reproduction in English a year or two since. It is the only scientific presentation of the subject we have. Works on Pastoral Theology abound, some of them very excellent, but there are none which take it up according to the recognized distribution of Theological Cyclopaedia, and present its various parts in their due relations and proportions, and certainly none that give the literature of the subject with such abundant and varied fulness as this one. The ordinary division of Practical Theology is into esoteric and exoteric, or labors within and labors beyond the bound of one's own congregation. The author apparently admits this, but relegates the outer work to a short appendix, in which he treats in a very summary way of Haliotics and Apologetics. But it seems to us that he ought either to have treated them at length or to have omitted them altogether. Surely the great work of missions should find copious treatment somewhere in the course of theology, and where can it be more appropriately placed than in *Praktik*? As to Apologetics, it may with some reason be claimed that this should be made a distinct department of theological science, as was done by R. König in his "*Versuch einer kurzen Anleitung zum Studium d. Theol.*," Bern., 1830, whose example, however, does not appear to have been followed by any of the more recent writers in the same field. Yet if this great subject, which grows in importance year by year, is made only a subordinate feature, it cannot receive the careful and thorough handling it deserves.

In his treatment of the inner sphere of Practical Theology the author follows the usual division into Homiletics, Liturgics, Catechetics, and Poimenics. He agrees with Doedes (Encyc. d. Christ. Theol., Utrecht, 1876) in excluding Ecclesiastics as belonging rather to Historical Theology. It is perhaps natural for continental writers, little familiar with the actual working of Church courts in an independent sphere, to consider ecclesiastical law as pertaining only to history; but in the Reformed and Lutheran Churches of this country the question is one of living, practical interest, with which any minister may at any time be confronted. He ought therefore to receive precise instruction upon it, not simply as a matter of useful general information, but as one that directly bears upon the successful discharge of his office as a Christian minister. Dr. Van Oosterzee devotes one-half of his work to Homiletics, which is certainly proper, the material being so abundant and the importance so great. He discusses the subject with much insight, judgment, and force, and with a copious variety of illustrations, drawn from patristic and mediæval as well as later periods.

Liturgics is presented from the point of view assumed by the Reformed Churches of the Continent, in a good spirit and with acute criticism of some of the offices in the old liturgies. The tone of the book upon this and the following topic, *Catechetics*, renders it a very desirable companion for American pastors and those intending to

become such. If there is any point in which the seminaries of our country are apt to be found weak, it is one or other of these. The last division, *Poimenics*, although set forth with the author's usual vigor, is hardly so well suited to the state of things in this country.

The book abounds with apt quotations, fine allusions, and sententious apothegms, which greatly increase its interest and usefulness. Thus, on the matter of style, the line of Cicero, *curam verborum, rerum volo esse sollicitudinem*, suggests a volume. "The practice of never praying in any other words than those of the Lord's Prayer, must certainly make that prayer, in the words of Luther, 'the greatest of martyrs.'" "It is to be lamented that the excellent *confession de péché*, composed by Calvin, and still in use in the Walloon churches, is not brought into due prominence in the Netherlands Liturgy." "An unsought, legitimate, and urgent call to a wider field of labor is as a rule to be accepted, and only for very conclusive reasons ought to be declined." The wise words of Bengel, "The snow which falls upon a damp ground ceaselessly melts away; but at last it forms a thin white layer which gradually becomes deeper and firmer: *Sparge, sparge, quam potes*." So Schleiermacher, "What is wanted is that the teacher remain on the plane of the scholars, but yet on that plane tower above them." F. W. Krummacher, "The [Roman] Catholics preach *into* the text, the Lutherans *on* the text, the Reformed *out of* the text."

T. W. C.

THE CHRISTIAN PREACHER. YALE LECTURES FOR 1879-80. By HOWARD CROSBY. 12mo, pp. 195. [A. D. F. Randolph & Co., New York].

The Yale Lectures on Preaching have taken a deservedly prominent place in homiletic literature. It is safe to say no other series of talks to theological students have so widely circulated. And the interest has not been confined to the candidates for the ministry. Trained preachers of the Word have flamed with new enthusiasm in their homiletic toil, as they have read and pondered these suggestions of their gifted brethren.

Henry Ward Beecher's three courses were the first in the series, and that they were brilliant, fascinating and richly suggestive, yet to be taken always *cum grano salis*, "goes without saying." Hall, Taylor, Brooks, Dale, Simpson, followed in creditable and scholarly succession, and Crosby closes the list as it stands to-day. All have said some serviceable and helpful things. Each lecturer has copied out of his own experience as a preacher. Each series of Lectures has, therefore, been stamped with the preacher's own individuality. In no case is this more manifest than in the last, giving us marked illustration of *truth in personality*—the thought which Philips Brooks so finely put and so thoroughly elaborated in his lectures in this same series. Through and through these lectures of 1879-80, on almost every page, one meets with the unmistakable impress of Howard Crosby. He is no theorizer, but an intensely practical and a downright earnest man, who has put his soul into these lecture-room talks. He has given us, what he thought was intended to be given in founding the lectureship: "the view taken by one man from his own peculiar position, whatever the constituents of his personality." The personality in this case has a refreshing robustness, and bristles all over with points that answer to Emerson's characterization of a genius, "marked 'not transferable' and 'good for this trip only.'"

The seven lectures are, by design, rather on the Preacher than on Preaching, and they discuss his physical and mental pre-requisites, his disposition, manners, habits, his Godward living, his relation to the world, and his relation to his work. Dr. Crosby could not discuss such subjects as these without making it worth the while of all of us to listen to his talk. No thoughtful young man, on his way to the ministry, or in the ministry, can rise from the reading of these lectures without profit. One might think the goodly succession of preceding lecturers could have left little to be said; but this last volume will be found to be no tame, or even brilliant, repe-

tition. It is a fresh track of thought followed in a very breezy and Crosbyish way. And the field of profitable discussion in this department is by no means covered yet, as we venture to predict the next lecturer in the series will abundantly prove.

One of the chief merits of these lectures, as to their form, is a simple and vigorous style. We admire the unmistakable way in which the meaning is made to stare the reader in the face. Dr. Crosby has no contempt for beauty, but he will not have beauty at the expense of clearness. Before all else, and if need be at the sacrifice of all else, he will be plain. So far as words make it possible, he evidently means his thought shall go to his hearer *as he thinks it*. He never constructs ornament. He rarely ornaments construction.

A chief excellence of the lectures, as to their tone, is the spirituality that pervades them. They are not born of the brain simply. They are not the talk of the scholar simply. They are not the practical suggestions of the man of affairs simply. They are full of the flavor of devotion. While entirely free from cant, they are spiritually uplifting, and one feels that here is no perfunctory performance of an appointed task, but a real grapple with the great theme "The Christian Preacher," in the profound conviction that such a preacher is nothing, if not by eminence godly in his world-ward and God-ward living.

Dr. Crosby has a sententious way of putting things, and he nicks many a fault by a happy epithet: *e. g.*, In speaking of worship, he says, the hymns are stolen away from the people in many cases "by *four living creatures* who, instead of leading, monopolize the heavenly song." He characterizes the minister who has not the courage of his convictions on matters of public reform "as a sort of male woman." He declares that "the Church that is loved by the world has lost Christ." What a grievous, yet what a common, fault he hits when he shies his shaft at the ministers who "seek a text to support their view, not to enlighten their minds." Here is an apple of gold worth setting in the costliest picture of silver: "A Church that does not grow symmetrically by the Word of God, will grow deformedly by false teaching." How lustily he whacks the dogmatism and narrowness of the men who simply "cram." He dubs the so-called "genius" as "a pulpit Paganini, playing on one string, and counting the approbation of his audience as a proof of the classic excellence of his music." And what sturdy blows he deals at the advocates of a creedless, or jelly-fish, theology, declaring it as his belief that "at the bottom of every assault upon Systematic Theology is a repugnance to the written Word of God." With his keen lance he thrusts through the hollow sham of Christian benevolence that finds expression in Church fairs and charity balls, defining such benevolence as "disinterested" in the sense that it has "not the slightest interest in its objects."

Incidentally he gives us a ringing word on the Old Testament and on the Sabbath. He says, with truth, that "the modern attacks upon the O. T. are but masked attacks upon our Lord himself. By destroying the genuineness, authenticity and inspiration of the O. T. they make Jesus a liar." We want more of this plainness of speech. Our young men on their way to the ministry, and in the ministry, need to understand that they cannot logically give up Moses without giving up Christ.

Under the head of habits the lecturer takes the just and Scriptural ground that a minister's garments are defiled by "identification with the world's gayety and fashion." He expressly condemns "the fast horse, the pleasure yacht, the dashing dog-cart, conspicuous jewelry, attendance at ball, opera or theatre, as unfailing marks of a minister low-toned in piety or eccentric unto uselessness." He does not deny that there are exceptional cases of worthy ministers indulging in these things, in practical enforcement of a dangerous theory, and not from any low and worldly motive, but he has no hesitation in putting them under the head of "unhappy eccentricities." Many will wonder how the lecturer can draw the line on the fast horse or the pleasure yacht, and not on the wine-glass, and they will regretfully tie

him up in that same bundle of "unhappy eccentricities" he himself has classified and labeled.

The faults of these lectures flash from the very swing of virtues. The lecture on "Godward living" is the best and the worst. It rises to great spiritual elevation. It urges some grand, royal things. It touches and reveals the chief secrets of power with God and man. But by the very intensity and vehemence of his opposition to one extreme the lecturer is swept to an opposite extreme. And in our judgment the last state is worse than the first.

This is particularly the case in the matter of Prayer and Self-Examination. Take what is said on Prayer. Amidst much that is most excellent and that needs to be emphasized, there is much that is pressed to extravagance, and that is utterly without Scriptural warrant. Prayer is represented as "a life," "an exhalation," "an effluence," "the complement of walking with God." And this is well. We want far more of prayerful life, of obedience to the Apostolic injunction, "Pray without ceasing." But this is not all the truth. And when this side of truth is pressed at the expense of the other, and to negative the other, it is misleading. If an Apostle said, "Pray without ceasing," an Apostle also said, "The energized prayer of a righteous man availeth much." Yet Dr. Crosby says prayer is "not an event, but a life," "not an effort, but an effluence." It is both. Paul would have us in the spirit of prayer always. James would have us intensely engaged in praying for some specific thing. "Dwelling in the secret place of the Most High" is not, by any manner of means, expressive of what "weeping and fasting and pouring out the heart before God" is. If the former, in large latitude of speech, is, as the lecturer terms it, "an inspired definition of prayer," what is the latter? The latter is what David, and Daniel, and Nehemiah, and Jacob, as well as the Master himself were at, when they were at some great and urgent business with God in prayer. Elijah on Carmel, Jacob at the ford, Daniel by the river Hiddekel, Jesus in Gethsemane, are not specimens of easiness of desire and "calmness" of spirit. There was no "sort of penance" in their strong crying and tears, nor was their "suffering and groaning" an "end to be desired," but they couldn't help them, so much of an "effort" and an "event" was their praying. Prayer is indeed "the sweetest of all experiences," but when one is carrying before God, as the Syrophenician mother was, the burden of a soul possessed with a devil, it is anything but a gay and festive exercise. To quote the command of Scripture, "to rejoice evermore," in such circumstance, seems like trifling.

"Importunity is impudence," says Dr. Crosby. But while every scholar knows *ἀναιδέα* may be translated *impudence*, he also knows that the translators meant no such thing when they rendered it "importunity." And Dr. Crosby knows that derivation or strict verbal definition is of little value, compared with drift and general sense and nexus. He misses wholly, we think, the point of the parable of the Unjust Judge. It is indeed, as he says, an argument by contrast. But the contrast is not between "*annoying*" an unjust judge and "*appealing*" to God. This belittles the contrast. Surely, Christ here teaches, "If this *poor widow* with a *personal grievance* gets avenged of an *unjust* judge by her daily appeal to him, shall not *God* avenge *his own elect* that cry day and night unto him?" And surely "effluence" is not expressed after this fashion.

We deprecate the one-sided view of prayer presented in this lecture, because we believe its legitimate, though by no means designed, effect, is to enervate our praying, and rob the Church of prevailing Israels, threatening to substitute a weak, mawkish, sentimental trust and submission, for a humble but bold, yearning, struggling—yea, sometimes a suffering and groaning I-will-not-let-Thee-go-except-Thou-bless-me spirit. Between Henry Ward Beecher's "I have nothing to pray for since I have learned what God's fatherhood means," and the Master's "This kind goeth not out but by fasting and prayer," there is an infinite difference. The way to victory is by this latter road.

H. J.

THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD. Interpreted in view of their relations to each other. By HENRY CALDERWOOD, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Edinburgh. Pp. xvi. and 443. 8vo. Macmillan & Co. London, 1880.

Professor Calderwood is already well known as an author in the departments of Metaphysics and moral Philosophy. In this book he comes before the world as an expositor of Scripture in connection with a very attractive subject, "The Parables of our Lord." His aim, however, has not been to add to the number of scientific or critical treatises on that important theme, but the less ambitious though praiseworthy one of contributing to the edification of religious people. The book, in fact, is a memorial of Dr. Calderwood's ministerial work before he was called to the duties of a philosophical chair, so he states in the preface. Viewed from this point of view, these expositions of the Parables may be characterized as excellent specimens of homiletic treatment, exhibiting much of the good sense, sound judgment, and moral earnestness for which the author is well known. We cannot say that we regard the publication as in any sense an important contribution to the literature of the subject. We do not think that more works of this kind, in which the use of edification is supremely regarded, are greatly needed. There is much more urgent need for an addition to works of the same class as Trench's, which, with all its excellencies, can scarcely be said to have rendered all further efforts of the same kind superfluous. When we read the announcement of a new book on the Parables by a man of Professor Calderwood's calibre, we expected to find in the work promised such a contribution to the exact study of the parabolic teaching of Christ. Hence, when we got the work into our hands we experienced a feeling of disappointment. In our judgment the book might have been better in some respects than it is, even as a popular treatise. We do not find in it traces of any special insight into the thought-connections of the Parables. Dr. Calderwood has the credit of recognizing the importance of studying the Parables on that method, but we cannot say we think him successful in the application of the method. In several instances he seems to us infelicitous in his attempt to get at the kernel of the Parables. Thus, for the parable of "The Friend at Midnight," his alternative title is "Asking for others from God's Stores." In the parable of the "Lost Piece of Money," he emphasizes the fact that the piece was silver, to convey the idea of costliness. The point of the parable lies in the small value of the coin which made it the better representative of the despised publicans. We observed that some important parables are omitted, *e. g.*, that in Mark iv. 26-29, concerning *the blade, the ear, the full corn*; also that of the unprofitable servants in Luke xvii. 7. While making these criticisms we are thankful for the appearance of this volume, if it were only as furnishing one more proof of the attraction which the theme has in thoughtful minds.

A. B. B.

KIRCHENLIEDER-LEXICON. Hymnologisch-literarische Nachweisungen über ca 4500 der wichtigsten und verbreitetsten Kirchenlieder aller Zeiten in alphabetischer Folge nebst einer Uebersicht der Liederdichter zusammengestellt von ALBERT F. W. FISCHER. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 1878 and 1879. 2 vols.

This is an important contribution to German Hymnology. Protestant Germany has produced more hymns than any other country, England not excepted. Luther struck the key-note with his "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," which has been called the Marseillaise of the Reformation. He was followed by an unbroken line of singers in Israel, who embodied their Christian life and experience in song. More than four thousand of these hymns have been introduced into public worship and resound wherever "der deutsche Name klingt und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt." You may hear the most familiar of the German hymns and chorals on the prairies of the West, on the banks of the Mississippi, in the woods of Wisconsin, and on the shores of the Pacific as well as on the banks of the Rhine and the Neckar, the Elbe and the Weser. The hymns are the liturgy of the Germans, and congregational singing

is the best part of a German service. The late Dean Koch of Württemberg has written a voluminous history of the German *Kirchenlied*, which is at the same time a history of German piety during the last three hundred years.

The book before us gives, in alphabetical order, a list of about 4,500 German hymns, with literary notes about the origin, history, and merits of each, and at the close of the second volume (pp. 426 to 486), an alphabetical list of hymn-writers, with brief biographical notes and the first lines of their most popular hymns. These notices are collected from the best sources of information with extraordinary industry. To Luther's hymn "Ein feste Burg" four pages are devoted, to his "Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort" three pages, to Gerhardt's "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" half a page, to Schirmer's "O heiliger Geist kehr bei uns ein" one page, to Nicolai's "Wachet auf! ruft uns die Stimme" over two pages, to his "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern" (which Fischer, however, assigns to Josua Stegmann), two pages. We should like to give some specimens, but space forbids.

The chief defect of the book is the utter ignorance of the English and Anglo-German hymnology. The author nowhere quotes American-German hymn-books and English translations of German hymns which are now so numerous and excellent, that almost a complete Anglo-German hymn-book might be constructed. JOHN WESLEY and the English Moravians began this English reproduction of the best German hymns. They were followed in our days by Miss ELIZABETH COX ("Sacred Hymns from the German," London 1841 and 1865), H. MILLS ("Höræ Germanicæ," Auburn, N. Y., 1845 and 1856), Miss CATHARINE WINKWORTH ("Lyra Germanica," two series, London and New York in several editions), Mrs. SARAH FINDLATER and her sister Miss JANE BORTHWICK ("Hymns from the Land of Luther," Edinburgh and New York, 1852 and 1862), RICHARD MASSIE ("Luther's Spiritual Songs," and "Lyra Domestica" from Spitta, London, 1860), JOHN KELLY ("Paul Gerhardt's Spiritual Songs," London, 1867), not to mention many others who have given us choice translations or free reproductions of one or more hymns, like the late Dr. JAMES W. ALEXANDER of New York, whose rendering of Gerhardt's "O Sacred Head, now wounded," has gone into every respectable American hymn-book of recent date. If the author knows English at all, he would do well to avail himself of these works which have naturalized the best German hymns in England and America, and as far as the English language is spoken.

Notwithstanding this defect, Mr. Fischer has produced a work which is invaluable for reference to every hymnological scholar, and excites a desire for a similar work on English hymnology, which, next to the German, is by far the richest, and continually growing, even more rapidly than the German. P. S.

"THESE LITTLE ONES." By the Rev. WILLIAM SCRIBNER. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This little book is well entitled. The "everlasting covenant," in its Abrahamic form of administration, presenting for all economies a two-fold aspect, external and internal, the Church visible and invisible, making the family institute a unit for both, is here attractively explained, in the form of sound words, without the quaintness and must of Adam Gib and Herman Witsius.

The author is earnest, lucid, logical, and wonderfully comprehensive. He does not affect originality. He does not care to be thought as an author at all, in the urgency with which his great subject possesses himself, and shapes his argument for the instruction of pastors and parents. This is rare excellence, nowadays.

The Church membership of infants, under both dispensations, harmonizing with the whole system of Scriptural doctrine; the refutation of prevailing errors and misrepresentations, which have hidden its value from the popular mind; the discriminating analysis with which it is shown to be entirely distinct from the teaching of Bushnell and others, who would make the descent of piety from parent to child, an

organic propagation of spiritual life, excluding the sovereignty of grace from the link which binds the generations of godliness together; these, and similar topics, of the deepest thought and dearest interest, are handled judiciously and ingeniously.

If there be one subject more than another calling for vigorous treatment at the present day, it is the family covenant, the true relations of this primitive bundle to the Church of God, under any definition of it that is Biblical and historical. It is not Anabaptism alone, which disintegrates "the Church that is in their house." There is communism lurking everywhere about. And just in proportion as covenanted parents themselves keep away from the Sunday-school, and pastors fail to represent the parents by attending there, the family is melted down and the great sponsorial security of the family safe is loaned out for brokerage in the streets. This book is, therefore, timely, as it is cogent and sound.

Some expressions and citations might be challenged as unsafe, had the title been "These *big* ones." The relations of baptized members, when they have passed from "the rod and reproof" of a parental home, and become directly amenable to the Session, as naturally and properly as to the civil authorities of the land, are yet to be defined and settled in our literature. The Church-membership of such persons cannot be allowed to rot off untouched, in the way of "self-suspension," or "self-excision," merely, without inconsistency and incompleteness of ecclesiastical oversight.

A. T. M.

ROBERT RAIKES, JOURNALIST AND PHILANTHROPIST. A History of the Origin of Sunday-schools. By ALFRED GREGORY. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

This little book contains a careful and well-written account of the origin of Sunday-schools. The sketch of Robert Raikes shows how Providence trained him for his great work. He was first a journalist and philanthropist; and to this circumstance much of his success as the founder of Sunday-schools is no doubt to be ascribed. His efforts in aid of the poor wretches confined in the Gloucester gaols prepared him to pity and devise a plan for the rescue of the ignorant "little heathens," who swarmed on the outskirts of the city; and the *Gloucester Journal* enabled him to reach the ear and appeal to the heart of the Christian public in their behalf, as he could have done in no other way. The story of his life and labors, as told by Mr. Gregory, is full of almost romantic interest. How little he or anybody else dreamed what a vast, world-wide power the Sunday-school would grow to in a hundred years!

G. L. P.

V.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

SILVER IN ITS RELATION TO INDUSTRY AND TRADE: THE DANGER OF DEMONETIZING IT. By WILLIAM BROWN. Montreal: Lovell Publishing Company.

This is one of the many productions of which economics, especially in the department of Money and Finance, are so prolific, and which are relieved by many gleams of truth, overshadowed by predominating error. No science more abounds in doctrinaires. This is a chief cause of the discredit into which it has extensively fallen. Mr. Brown, while apparently holding enough fundamental economic truth, to teach him better, if he knew how to make a right application of it, seems to think that, unless silver be on the same footing as gold, in actual use and circulation as money, and unless these metals alone are used as currency, to the exclusion of all paper money, redeemable and irredeemable, industrial and commercial interests must suffer great damage, while the laboring class especially will be defrauded of their dues and plunged into ruin. He is not fastidious in his characterization of those who differ

with him. On Secretaries Sherman and Boutwell, and particularly Professor Bowen, he showers his invectives.

He rightly commends "the true labor ratio" involved in producing gold and silver respectively, as indicating the proper ratio of exchange between them, and between each of them, and all other articles, p. 17. This fundamental principle of economics, that, disturbing causes aside, equal amounts of labor, quantity and quality considered, or their products, tend to exchange for each other, he appears elsewhere to have grasped. Thus he says, "A day's labor digging gold is worth just a day's labor of digging silver," p. 29. "By value, in exchange, we mean simply equivalent amounts of human labor exchanged," p. 108. This being settled, if logically applied, would settle, and that in the negative, nearly every distinctive contention of the author, although it is subject to one qualification which he attempts to set aside. While it is true that labor is, on one side, the condition and measure of value, inasmuch that what can be had without labor will command no labor in exchange for itself, yet, if labor be expended in producing what nobody wants, or wants enough to pay equivalent labor in return for it, it is labor ill-applied, and will not ordinarily exchange for an equal amount of labor better applied. One who should make the old Continental costume never so well, would get his labor for his pains, because there is no demand for it. This on the one hand. On the other, the extreme limit of value in any article capable of unlimited production is the cost of labor required for its reproduction. Whatever the cost of making clocks a century ago, clocks will only sell for the present cost of making them, including a fair profit. But says Mr. Brown, "Demand and supply are the source of *exchange*, but never the source of *value*. Our wants, our demands, confer no value on what we produce—labor alone can confer value," pp. 92-94. Take away the desire of men for precious stones or elegant equipage, and how much labor would they expend to procure them, either directly or by exchange?

If this be so, of what avail is it for Government to ordain that a piece of silver which, according to its cost of production, and as tested in the markets of the world, is worth $\frac{9}{10}$ of a gold dollar, shall circulate on an equality with the latter? The mere fiat of the Government may give it an equal debt-paying power. It may give the same to worthless bits of irredeemable paper, or accomplish the same thing in a still shorter way by stop-laws forbidding the collection of debts. It may, by its mere despotic fiat, rob creditors. But this cannot be carried out in international payments. In them money will pass only for its worth. The consequence must be that the gold dollar will go out of the country where it will pay no more indebtedness than the silver dollar, while the silver dollar will stay here where it will pay as much debt as the more valuable gold dollar, if each be legal tender for the same amount, unless this result be prevented by some counter legislation or other special influences. The reason why the silver dollar in this country has not yet supplanted the gold dollar as our monetary standard, according to Gresham's law, is, that the Government does not allow owners of silver bullion to turn it into legal tender coin, at a nominal seignorage, as in the case of gold, while the course of foreign exchanges has prevented the exportation of specie. Whenever these two conditions unite, viz, the free coinage of silver dollars below gold, in the labor they cost, or in bullion market value, but equal to gold in enforced legal debt-paying power, and any considerable demand arises for coin to settle foreign balances against us, the gold coin will leave the country in which the law attempts to force it down to an equality with what is worth only nine-tenths as much as itself, and it will pass to countries which take it at its real value. Nay, whether wanted to meet foreign balances or not, if owners of silver bullion could have it freely minted into dollars which will pay as much debt as gold dollars worth ten per cent. more, then the gold would find its way to London, where \$10,000 of it will purchase silver enough to be minted here into \$11,000 or more, where it is equal in debt-paying power to as many gold dollars. This

result must come, and will come, though deferred somewhat, because the Government keeps the monopoly of coining dollars worth less than gold, which it compels creditors to accept as equal to gold. But it does not yet pay out these dollars to any extent to those who prefer gold ones, as nearly all do; consequently its silver dollars are accumulating so that it has no room to store these cumbrous, depreciated, and useless coins. But when they come into use for payments, of more than a few dollars, or fractions of a dollar, in which they now fulfil the office of token-money (which we need not discuss here), they will banish the gold dollar. The dollar meant, in all contracts and exchanges, will then be worth about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the present dollar. This is the relative value of each measured by the labor they cost, as the markets of the world show. If this fails to be the true index, if equal amounts of labor come to be better rewarded in producing gold than silver, at the present market value, then mining industry will pass from silver to gold till an equilibrium shall be restored.

If it were proposed to mint legal-tender dollars of silver, increased in amount to an equality of value with gold dollars, and then made equally legal tender, we would not object. Such a procedure has no taint of fraud. But on account of their greater bulk and inconvenience for practical use than gold, they would not easily circulate concurrently with it. Indeed, it is notorious that, except for fractions of dollars, or at most of five dollars, neither will circulate at all alongside of redeemable paper money, this being so greatly the superior of the metallic in convenience. All Mr. Brown's invectives against redeemable paper money, as a fraud or a sham, are pointless when we consider that bank or Government notes are immediately exchangeable for, and give an immediate title to, their face amount in coin. They are, therefore, gladly accepted in lieu of that to which they give a perfect title, just as a man prefers carrying a bill of exchange to the coffee, or flour, or gold it represents, or which underlies it. And if it is immediately convertible into silver or gold dollars, do not these possess the same value, and represent the same quantities of labor, which they would, if obtained, not through a bank-note, but by direct labor or barter? Can anything be plainer, or is anything more necessary to expose and explode the incredible amount of nonsense that finds currency on such subjects? Is it not equally evident that in the vast monetary and commercial transactions of the most advanced nations, the actual uses of the precious metals as money are chiefly for small trade, or settling international balances, or as a measure of value?—all which Mr. Brown indignantly repudiates. And do his allegations, in regard to bi-metallic nations being "full-priced," and endowed with the special advantages thereby of selling high and buying cheap, count for much, in the light of his fundamental principle, that *ceteris paribus*, equal quantities of labor, and their products tend to exchange for each other the world over, whether silver, gold, or any other commodities? Are the Asiatics, as silver countries, at the top of the commercial and industrial world?

L. H. A.

ECONOMIC STUDIES By the late WALTER BAGEHOT. Edited by RICHARD HOLT HUTTON. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1880.

This volume, though made up of valuable papers, is still incomplete and fragmentary, as posthumous works are wont to be. Its disquisitions treat of some of the elementary questions in economics, such as the transferability of labor and capital from one place and occupation to another, which underlies the power of competition—so largely the stimulus and regulator of industrial effort, and the corrective of its misproportions and irregularities. His chapters on Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo, give discriminating estimates of their respective contributions to modern economic science. While generally solid and well-poised in his judgments and reasonings, he is not without some tendencies to extravagance and paradox. His assertion that the most "luxurious articles are capital if they reward and stimulate labor" (p. 51), needs

large qualification. He controverts the prevalent economic doctrine, that capital results from abstinence, *i. e.*, not spending the savings which constitute capital. Still this brings us to the verge of one of the most unsettled questions in political economy—the extent to which unproductive consumption is requisite to the most productive condition of industry, and stimulates the largest savings and accumulations. It is hard to controvert the author when he says: “It is not a Spartan or ascetic state of society which most generates saving. On the contrary, if a whole society has few wants, there is little motive for saving,” (p. 172). This is unquestionable. But is it not paradoxical to call “harems a great form of capital”? p. 167.

L. H. A.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. A History. By ROBERT MACKENZIE. 12mo, pp. x., 463. London, Edinburgh, and New York: T. Nelson & Sons. 1880.

Mr. Mackenzie has been very successful in his attempt to produce a compact, well-proportioned, attractive, and comprehensive sketch of the more important events and features of our century. He has given much more than the leading political movements and incidents of the period. The great social, economical, industrial, educational, evangelistic features of the age find clear recognition, so that from these bright and readable pages one may gain a very good idea of the world's progress within these generations. While the British Empire not unnaturally occupies about two-fifths of the volume, that which is most important in the history of many other countries is well outlined. The author's sympathies with human progress and welfare are strong and outspoken, and his pages offer little comfort, either in their tone or their facts, to those who doubt whether the world moves. Appreciating thoroughly the great advances of material civilization, his enthusiasm kindles much more over the redress of wrongs, the developments of charity, the endeavors and successes of Christian zeal and love. His chapter on Turkey, and his allusions to some of the recent British wars, breathe the spirit and exhibit the keenness of a Scotch liberal.

C. A. A.

REMINISCENCES OF REV. WM. ELLERY CHANNING, D.D. By ELIZABETH PALMER PEABODY. 12mo, pp. 459. Roberts Brothers.

CHANNING. A Centennial Memory. By CHARLES T. BROOKS. 12mo, pp. 259. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

These two books have been called out by the centennial of Dr. Channing's birth; which has been so fervently celebrated by his earlier and later disciples.

The object of Miss Peabody's volume, as stated by herself, is “to make a clean script of the impression Dr. Channing made on [my] her mind in the years between 1816–1842.” That he seemed to her a “fixed centre around which was much revolution of thought, in Massachusetts,” and that he was an oracle, whose words were received as the latest and best light on all subjects, is sufficiently clear from this statement, p. 117:

“This daylight of reason, this sense of communion as absolutely partaking of the divine nature, he described with a calm sublimity, which proves that he himself dwelt in it and was completely redeemed from the bondage of sin and death.”

Throughout the volume Dr. Channing is seen in this glorified condition. The book gives us reminiscences of conversations, sermons, addresses, pictures of the home-life at Newport, with some letters of Dr. Channing to the authoress. Not the least interesting portions are those which describe Dr. Channing's impressions of such men as Brownson, Emerson, Garrison, and Parker.

The conversations vary over a large variety of subjects—education, Sunday-schools, Satan, Swedenborgianism, Quakerism, preaching, etc., etc. Many of them are long monologues of Dr. Channing, connected by a slight thread of rejoinder from his listener. They lack the easy flow of conversation. They read more like reported sermons or addresses.

A considerable part of the volume is taken up with abstracts of Dr. Channing's sermons. They add nothing to our knowledge of Dr. Channing's qualities as a preacher gained from his already published discourses. It will, however, strike some readers with surprise to meet statements implying that Dr. Channing's preaching was by some Unitarians regarded as likely to "produce fanaticism and unfit people for common life and its pressing duties" (pp. 155-6).

There are also found in the book repeated efforts to define Dr. Channing's philosophical as well as theological position. That portion which brings out his views and feelings as to the Transcendentalists may have some value, especially the conversation on Mr. Emerson (pp. 374-382). But the conversations are too deeply and darkly mystical to allow of any accurate classification of Dr. Channing as a philosopher. Those who are interested in his philosophical opinions must look elsewhere for any full and satisfactory statement.

The book has one very great merit. It gives us a clear view of the characteristics both of the time and of the community in which Dr. Channing lived. For those who are desirous of studying the Unitarian movement in its earlier and later phases, it will have a decided value.

The volume by Dr. Charles T. Brooks is in most respects the contrast of that just noticed. It is marked by an orderly arrangement of thought, by a careful analysis of its subject, and by a lucidity and beauty of style which make it attractive.

It passes in review the entire life of Dr. Channing, beginning with his parents, and discussing his childhood, boyhood, education, the progress of his mind, the change of his views from less to more pronounced anti-Calvinism. As bearing on the question how far Dr. Channing's views are in sympathy with the later Unitarianism, the paragraph (p. 208), entitled "Channing's Unitarianism," may have some value. Indeed, the volume has the tone of a "Defence" of Channing in several portions (pp. 141, 155, 158-173, 206-7, 230).

We learn (p. 243) that Dr. Channing's unfinished work on man—five chapters of which were written—will shortly be published, and the author thinks will exhibit "Channing in a new light, as presenting in scientific statement, moral and spiritual truths and principles upon which all his preaching and his philanthropic writings had been based."

J. O. M.

THE ENGLISH POETS. Selections, edited by THOMAS HUMPHREY WARD, M.A. Vol. I. Chaucer to Donne. Vol. II. Ben Jonson to Dryden. Macmillan & Co.

It may be said at once that these volumes give promise of supplying an admitted want—that of an anthology which may adequately represent the vast and varied field of English poetry. What was done for French poetry by M. Crépet's "*Les Poètes Français*," the editor has aimed to do for English poetry—"to present a collection of what is best in it, chosen and judged by those whose tastes and studies specially qualify them for the several tasks they have undertaken. In this feature the present work differs from its predecessors in the same field, and in this feature its high excellence consists. After a general introduction by Matthew Arnold, the poets from Chaucer to Donne (Vol. I.) and from Ben Jonson to Dryden (Vol. II.) are represented by selections from the "best and most characteristic of their writings," arranged in chronological order, so far as that could be secured.

What, however, is specially admirable in this collection, is the critical notice of each poet prefixed to the selection of his poems. In its two volumes under notice twenty different writers are employed, among whom are such scholars and critics as Professors Dowden and Ward, Gosse, Skeat, Pattison, and Goldwin Smith. In the construction of such a work, proportion is a most important element. It would be difficult to explain why a poet like Herrick should have thirty-four pages allotted him, while Spenser has only sixty-six. Yet, on the whole, proportion has been well maintained. Chaucer has ninety pages, Milton eighty-five, Dryden fifty-eight, while

Waller has nine, Sir John Denham seven, and Davenant four. Why fifteen pages should have been given to Gawin Douglass we cannot see. One use of such an anthology is to call attention to poets whose lighter works are overshadowed by the greater names. Such poets are far too little read. The danger, however, is that many will rest content with the selections, and not go from them to the original and full sources. It will be overcome only in so far as the anthology begets a taste for poetry which will lead the reader to study each poet separately in his own works.

Mr. Arnold's introduction has, we think, been somewhat extravagantly praised. The first paragraph is a quotation from himself, in which the statement is found: "There is not a creed which is not shaken, not an accredited dogma which is not shown to be questionable, not a received tradition which does not threaten to dissolve." This quotation is made to show that the "future of poetry is luminous," and that in the general dissolution of creeds, traditions, and dogmas, poetry will be found an "ever surer and surer stay." That poetry will have so high a destiny, we may with Mr. Arnold confidently expect. The vital element in poetry is, however, according to this master in criticism, "the σπουδαιότης," the high and excellent seriousness which Aristotle assigns as one of the grand virtues of poetry. Such seriousness is surely the offspring of faith rather than of doubt. Is it not assuming much to conclude that a coming age of negation will call for poetry as a stay in life because of the seriousness embodied in poetry? Certainly in our English poets it is the Christian element which has made that *seriousness*.

Nor will Mr. Arnold's critical judgment of Chaucer, that "he is not one of the great classics," pass unchallenged. It is doubtful whether, taking Mr. Arnold's own test as to what admits a poet to this high distinction, Chaucer will not pass it. But may not a poet be a great classic, whose poetry like Chaucer's, though not wanting in "criticism of life" lies in such elements as Mr. Sewall has so clearly pointed out in his essay on Chaucer?

With these exceptions, this introduction by Mr. Arnold is masterly in its exposition of the method by which poetry is to be estimated—and masterly also in its criticism of poets by way of illustration. The biographical and critical notices of the different poets are, as we have said, deserving of special commendation. They are compact and illuminating. Some of them, like Prof. Dowden's notice of Shakespeare's poetry or Mr. Gosse's notice of Herrick, are models of critical insight and handling. There is no greater mistake than the notion that anybody can see the beauties of a poet by reading him once. There is a training needed for this, as for the full enjoyment of masterpieces in painting or music. This training is well supplied in the critical estimates which point out clearly the beauties of each poet.

Of the Selections it must be said that they have been made with great judgment and excellent taste. It is here that the method of committing different poets to men who have made special studies of them shows its worth. To expect that in every case the selection should be the most apt and beautiful, would be to expect too much. Sometimes, as in the case of Longley, the passage given does not strike us as being most characteristic. The quotation from Drayton's *Polyolbion*, that rhymed gazetteer of England, is the best practically, but not the most characteristic. A better selection from Spenser's minor poems we are very sure might have been given. But after all abatements have been made, the work, as a whole, is admirably done, and is published in very attractive and convenient form. It cannot fail of doing good service in leading the student of English literature to a larger and more appreciative knowledge of the English poets.

J. O. M.

MANUEL DE LA LANGUE ASSYRIENNE. Par JOACHIM MENANT. Paris, 1880.

This book is in substance a revision of previous works, for the veteran Assyriologist whose name it bears has written often and much. In form and appearance it

leaves nothing to be desired. It is a handsome volume of 380 pages, with broad margins, paper and type of the best, and shows careful attention to formal details. It cannot be said, however, that it either makes great contributions to scientific knowledge, or offers the beginner a safe introduction to the Assyrian language. The former, perhaps, was not to be expected. It is designed to systematize what is already known, rather than to publish new discoveries. But the latter we might fairly look for, and disappointment is reasonable when the advanced scholar finds so much to vex him, and the tyro so much to mislead. There are several reasons why the book is not a good introduction to the language. The first is its *dogmatic method*. Everything is asserted; almost nothing is proved. Such a method may be the proper one for a children's text-book, or for an outline primer to serve a temporary purpose, but this work claims to be relatively complete, and students of Assyrian are not children. No one takes up the language of Nineveh and Babylon without an acquaintance with other Semitic dialects, and some maturity of mind that may entitle him to independent judgments. Moreover, the science itself is not yet in a position to justify dogmatism. It is still—however certain the general facts on which it rests—full of hypothesis and controversy as to details. The only security for a beginner is to be put in possession of the facts, that he may test the conclusions of others, and form his own. The study of evidence is here essential to all safe progress, and it is the corresponding duty of those who would be guides, to offer their proofs, at least, for every disputed position. But our author writes as if the true entrance on the study of the Assyrian tongue were quietly and trustfully to accept his unsupported conclusions. We need only compare this book with Schrader's "Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilschriften,"—still, after eight busy years of discovery and debate, the best systematic exposition of the language—to see the difference between the scientific teacher and the dogmatist. The student has the right to know, for example, why the cuneiform system of characters is called "l'écriture sumérienne," and not "l'écriture accadienne." He has the right to know on what ground the Aorist (imperfect) is declared to be the only tense, etc.

We may pass over the second important defect—the absence of a *philosophic spirit*, which explains processes, and asks for causes—to speak of a third, the absence of *comparative philology*. There is comparison with other Semitic dialects at only a few disconnected points, and then it is superficial and worthless. Yet probably the majority of Semitic scholars care for Assyrian less for its own sake than for the light it throws on the cognate languages.

A fourth defect is the presence of numerous inaccuracies, which the method of the book renders it hard for the beginner to detect. It is, for example, inaccurate to say, (p. 7): "*Il n'y a pas, en effet, un seul idéogramme qui ne se traduise par des signes syllabiques.*" The case of *susu*, mentioned below, is in point.

So much in general. We notice some particulars. The book is in three parts: 1st. Syllabaries; 2d. Grammar; 3d. Selections for reading. The first part shows the author's wide acquaintance with the texts, and the signs, with their values, are arranged in various tables, for complete presentation and convenient reference. This is the most valuable part of the book. Most noticeable are the tables (pp. 24-91), in eight columns, of which the first contains the Hebrew consonants; the second, the Latin syllables; the next five different forms of the corresponding sign (hieratic, Babylonian, archaic and modern, and Ninevitic, archaic and modern), while the last column is devoted to observations on the character and its value. It is to be regretted that the modified *i* sound is represented by *e* instead of *t*—a habit of the English Assyriologists as well.

The table (pp. 101-151), giving the signs arranged according to their form, with their values, both phonetic and ideogrammatic, is not free from carelessness, *e. g.*, No. 195, whose phonetic value is *as* or *dil*, has *nadan*, "to give," as an ideogrammatic value. But as a matter of fact this value of the character occurs only in com-

pound proper names. That limitation is not made. Further values of the same character in proper names—*Assur* (name of the god) and *kablu*, "son," are entirely omitted. In like manner, No. 237, phonet. *but* and *kur*, is given with ideogram. value *nasaru*, "to protect," and *ahu*, "brother," both of which it has only in proper names. No. 432 is the compound ideogramme for "horse." The elements of it, translated, mean "Ass of the East";—how it was pronounced in Assyrian has not been known. Menant gives—with no proof—*susu* (Heb. ססו). Doubtless such faults have existed in other syllabaries,—Sayce, for example, has them—but, by this time there might be a list of the signs and their values in which we could put some confidence, and which should at the same time be tolerably complete. Delitzsch's Syllabary ("Assyrische Lesestücke," second ed., 1878), is worth far more than this.

The second part is devoted to the grammar. Here we find a number of the hobbies of the French school still maintained, *e. g.*, the so-called "emphatic state" (p. 159). Assyrian nouns appear sometimes with, sometimes without, a final vowel, most often *u*. The longer form Oppert and Menant compare with the Aramaic "emphatic state." This analogy has been demonstrated by Schrader (A. B. K. pp. 227 ff.), to be groundless, inasmuch as the Aramaic "emphatic state" makes the noun definite, while the vocalic termination in Assyrian can belong to a definite or indefinite noun. This vocalic ending does *not*, therefore, take the place of the article, but is much more like the absolute state of the Hebrew noun, since it appears (with some exceptions), when the noun is independent of other words, and the short form is used in dependence, like the Hebrew construct. This genuine analogy Menant obscures still further by calling the short form, the *absolute state*.

The "mimination" or ending of nouns in an *m* (v), preceded by a vowel, Menant (still following Oppert) compares with the Arabic "nunnation," (p. 167). This is again misleading, since the "mimination" can appear in a definite as well as an indefinite noun (Schrader, A. B. K., p. 233).

The author recognizes, however, the traces of case-endings in the vowel of the final syllable.

Of the dual, Menant remarks (p. 161): "Le duel ne paraît pas avoir, en assyrienne, une terminaison spéciale distincte de celle du pluriel." The existence of a dual *sign* (which Menant gives) proves, however, almost certainly of itself that there was some sound corresponding to the sign, and the good reasons for holding the dual termination to have been *û*, Menant quite neglects (see A. B. K., pp. 225–6).

In the treatment of the verbs (pp. 192 ff.), we remark an over-eagerness to make the paradigms formally complete. The eight conjugations are given in full, and we are left to suppose that every form is in actual use,—no hint is given as to which are so, and which are not.

The author rejects—as already said—all tenses but the Aorist (impf.), even the appearances of a (seemingly) genuine perfect (A. B. K., p. 266). He thus avoids all necessity of discussing the question, whether the Semitic Perfect is a secondary formation,—to his own comfort, no doubt, but not to the enlightenment of his readers. The "paragogic form" of the verb in *umma*, etc., is paraded again (pp. 236–7), in spite of Schrader's careful proof (A. B. K., pp. 267–8), that *ma* (va) is here only the appended copula "and."

The treatment of the formation of nouns and of the syntax is hopelessly superficial. To the former, four pages are devoted, to the latter, *two*. Of the "emphatic state" he says again: "L'état emphatique remplace l'article de l'hébreu et de l'arabe; il suit presque toujours les règles des langues araméennes. Son emploi est plus étendu que celui de l'article en hébreu (!)." The modal relations he dismisses with the following: "Les modes ne paraissent pas avoir plus d'importance en assyrien que dans les autres langues sémitiques." To which he adds three lines on the Imperative and Precative.

The third part contains selections for reading, illustrating different periods, differ-

ent sorts of cuneiform writing, and different styles of composition. This will doubtless be of much practical use for learners.

On the whole, when compared with the thorough work of German, and some English scholars, this new publication must tend to diminish the confidence of students in the methods as well as the results of French laborers in the Assyrian field. They have discovered much, deciphered much. They are learned—Menant himself among the foremost; they write brilliant and valuable monographs; they shrink from no mechanical labor, but if there is not to be a deviation from the—too common—pattern of the present book, it is not to them that we can look for the worthiest contributions to our systematic knowledge. F. B.

EARLY MAN IN BRITAIN AND HIS PLACE IN THE TERTIARY PERIOD. By W. BOYD DAWKINS. London: McMillan & Co. 1880.

The question of the antiquity of man on the earth, and the time of his first appearance in geological ages, is one which cannot fail to excite, to a high degree, the interest of every reflecting mind. In the work before us this interest is not lessened because, in accordance with the title, the author seems to restrict the special field of his inquiries to the British Isles; for the treatment of the subject made it necessary for him to embrace the area of all Europe and even of a part of Africa and Asia. He is thus led to discuss all the main questions which are suggested by modern discoveries regarding primæval man.

Setting apart the Biblical account of the creation of man, in the first chapter of Genesis, our ideas upon the origin of mankind derived from tradition, philology, ethnology, and history were necessarily too indefinite to be satisfactory. Geology and pre-historic archæology have come to the rescue, adding an array of positive data, the number of which is increasing every day; and it may be admitted that these studies bid fair to pass gradually from the domain of speculation into that of well-ascertained facts.

It is worthy of remark that before and since the great palæontological discoveries of Cuvier, in the first quarter of this century, no part of Geology has received less attention than the study of the surface deposits in which we should naturally look for the traces of the presence of man. Even such a classical work as that of Schmerling on the Bone Caves of Belgium, 1833, in which human implements and human bones were found associated with the remains of extinct species of animals, attracted but little notice, or was received with a good deal of incredulity. In 1840, however, the lively discussion raised by the theory of a glacial period closing the geological ages revived the interest of geologists in the phenomena of the drift. Almost at the same time Boucher de Perthes, in France, published his account of flint implements and human bones found together with remains of the mammoth in the diluvian drift of the valley of the Somme. This work was also at first unheeded. But with the discoveries of the more elaborate implements of stone, bone, and bronze in Denmark and in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland in 1854, began a new era of archæological investigations. These have been, since that time, so extensively continued, and still proceed with such rapidity, that notwithstanding works like Lyell's "Antiquity of Man," Lubbock's "Pre-historic Times," and many others, a new review, founded upon a thorough sifting of all the facts in the case, old and recent, and summing up our present knowledge of this interesting subject, was highly desirable.

Such a review Mr. Dawkins has attempted to give in the present volume. In a previous work of great merit, "Cave Hunting," published in 1874, giving mainly the results of his own labors in that field, he showed himself a diligent and careful investigator, cautious in his judgments, distinguished by much candor, and possessed in no small degree of a power of generalization. We can thus say, though we may not fully agree with all his conclusions, that he was ably prepared for the task he has undertaken and has accomplished it well. The book is written in a pleasant and flow-

ing style, and one of its merits, worthy of especial mention, is the clear arrangement of the vast amount of material used, together with the fulness of references to the sources of information.

The author recognizes in the history of the Life-system three great phases which are universal on the globe: the Primary, when fishes and amphibians were the highest living forms; the Secondary, during which reptiles had the mastery; and the Tertiary, in which the higher mammals first appear. The last phase, that of mammalian life, is alone discussed, for it is the only one in which man could be expected to appear, and it is taken in its entirety; for "in it," says the author, "each life-group is so closely linked to that which went before and followed after, that there is no break of sufficient importance to be used as a starting-point in our special inquiry into the ancient history of man."

He thus denies to the Post-Tertiary or Quaternary division of the geologists the dignity of a new age, and extends the Tertiary period through and far beyond it into the Age of man. He divides the Tertiary period, thus limited, into six stages, defined by the gradual progress in the development of mammalian life and of man, for which he retains the well-known names of Lyell, giving them, however, a more rational foundation than the percentage of the living molluscan species in each of those divisions.

1st. The Eocene, in which only orders and families of mammals now living are present. 2d. The Miocene, in which living genera appear, but no living species. 3d. The Pliocene, with only rare living species. 4th. The Pleistocene, in which living species are abundant, associated with a few now extinct, and man appears. 5th. The Pre-historic, with man abundant; with domestic animals and cultivated fruits. 6th. The Historic, in which events are recorded in history.

A glance at these divisions, of what the author terms the third phase of life, shows that the first three are purely geological, and comprise the biological age, usually called the Tertiary. The Pleistocene, which is the equivalent of the Post-Tertiary, or Quaternary, for which we would fain retain the old and very appropriate name of Diluvian age, is geologico-archæological; and forms the transition from the Geological ages to that of man. The last two divisions belong entirely to the history of man's development. The union, in the same phase of life, of the mammalian development and that of man, two elements so unlike in dignity and in far-reaching consequences, can hardly be justified by the reason given above by the author, viz: the absence of a break sufficiently marked to make a beginning. In his desire to lay particular stress on the continuity of the geological and human history, he fails to recognize the fact that with the introduction of man as the central figure of the Life-system; man, alone possessed of the sense of the invisible which prepares him to become a citizen of the spiritual world; man, endowed with moral freedom and an intelligence adequate to the requirements of his destination, a new world is opening, a new element is added, the development of which, in human history, constitutes a new age—the age of the mind—differing far more from all the preceding ones, notwithstanding the continuity of the terrestrial phenomena, than any of the geological ages differs from another.

This defect, however, does not impair the presentation and discussion of the facts relating to each of the successive stages above indicated. This is done with much method in a series of interesting tableaux describing, in broad outlines, the changes in the Physical Geography—*i. e.*, in the extent and boundaries of land and water—by successive elevations and depressions, in the climate, in the plants and animals which characterize each of the biological divisions. We see, passing before our eyes, a series of landscapes adorned, during the Eocene, by the most luxuriant tropical vegetation and forests of palm, in which roam the strange forms of the early mammals, now all extinct. In the Miocene, a vegetation hardly less varied and beautiful, but indicating a mild and equable sub-tropical climate, analogous to that of Louisiana

and the Canary Islands, is accompanied by many of the generic forms of the higher mammalia known to our time, including the elephant, the rhinoceros, the horse, bear, lion, and the ape. In the Pliocene, a climate somewhat cooler, but still warmer than that of the present day, fosters in Central Europe an evergreen vegetation not unlike that of the Mediterranean region.

The mammalia differ from those of the present day more in their species than in their generic forms; we approach the time of man, though he is still absent. The author discusses here two cases which have been described as affording a proof of the existence of man in Italy during the Pliocene, and finds the evidence unsatisfactory. "It is very improbable," he adds, "that man will ever prove to have lived in this part of the world, at that remote time, since of all the European mammals then alive only one has survived to our own days."

This argument against the exaggerated antiquity of man, derived from the law of the successive appearance of animals in the order of the grade of their organization, is a forcible one. Whether we explain this order, as the author does, by the doctrine of evolution, or otherwise, the law remains the same, and calls for the coming of man after all the other members of the Life-system. His appearance at an earlier time would be an anachronism.

In the Pleistocene the present fauna succeeds the preceding, accompanied by a few species which have survived from the Pliocene and gradually become extinct. At last man appears in the middle and latter part of the period. The evidence of his presence in the early Pleistocene is still doubtful.

The Pleistocene is a time of great oscillations both geographical and climatal. The contending elements have not yet come to rest. In the early Pleistocene the continent of Europe was raised higher. The bottom of the North Sea laid dry was covered with an extensive forest in which large mammalia, migrated from Asia, lived in great numbers—the mammoth, large rhinoceros, the Irish elk, the cave bear, and others. The Mediterranean region had been lifted up so as to connect Europe with Africa by two land bridges from Sicily and Gibraltar. The climate grew colder; a glacial period began. The northern animals, the reindeer, the musk ox, spread over the continent, mingled with the others, as far as the Pyrenees. They retreated again northwards, as the climate grew warmer, in the latter part of the period, and were replaced by the temperate group of mammals. Owing to the oscillations of the lands the British Isles were repeatedly united with, and separated from, the continent.

It is during these troubled times that man wanders, probably from the central plateau of Asia, as the author thinks, into Europe, and leaves the traces of his presence in the rough, chipped, flint implements found in the drift of river deposits. Another race follows, leaving in the Bone caves instruments of the same kind and others more elaborate, but no pottery. These two races of hunters, the River-Drift men and the Cave-men, constitute the Palæolithic or old Stone age.

The Pre-historic period follows the disappearance of the Cave-men. A new race, identified with the Iberians, still using stone and bone implements, but polished and more artistically fashioned, begins the Neolithic age, and brings with itself from Asia, domestic animals, agriculture, the art of weaving, and pottery.

A very acceptable feature of the book is, that after the full discussion of the facts relating to each of the divisions of his subject, the author gives, in a last paragraph, a summary of the conclusions at which he has arrived. We would also note the great value of the classified lists of mammalia which characterize each of the Life-stages.

The author finally sums up thus the general results of his inquiry into early man in Britain, the main part of which we give in his own words:

"In the Eocene and Miocene ages the British Isles formed part of a continent extending northwards to Iceland, Spitzbergen, and Greenland, with a warm climate and a luxuriant vegetation, inhabited by wild beasts belonging to extinct species.

As none of the mammalia then alive are now living, it is unreasonable to suppose that man, the most highly specialized of all, should then have been on the earth. Nor is it likely that he lived in Europe in the Pleiocene age, after the land connecting Britain with Greenland had been submerged, and the Atlantic was united to the North Sea and the Arctic Ocean, because the living species of mammalia are so few. When the living species became abundant, he appears just in the Pleistocene stage in the evolution of mammalian life in which he might be expected to appear. The River-drift man first comes before us, endowed with all human attributes, and without any signs of a closer alliance with the lower animals than is presented by the savages of to-day; as a hunter, armed with rude stone implements, living not merely in Britain, but throughout western and southern Europe, northern Africa, Asia Minor, and India. Next follows the Cave-man, possessed of better implements, and endowed with the faculty of representing animal forms with extraordinary fidelity, living in Europe north of the Alps and Pyrenees as far as Derbyshire, and probably belonging to the same race as the Eskimos.

"The disappearance of the Cave-man from Britain coincided with the geographical change by which it became an island, the change from a severe to a temperate climate, the extinction of some animals, and the retreat of others to northern and to southern regions. In the Pre-historic age the earliest of the present inhabitants arrived in Britain. The small, dark, non-Aryan peoples, who spread over France and Spain, brought with them into Britain the domestic animals and the cultivated plants and seeds, and laid the foundation of our present culture. The next invaders were the bronze-using Celtic tribes composing the van of the Aryan race. They crossed over from the continent and introduced a higher civilization than that of the Neolithic age. In the course of time the use of iron became known, and in the Pre-historic Iron age the condition of Britain was higher than it had ever been before. A commerce was carried on with the Mediterranean peoples, and works of Etruscan art penetrated as far to the west as Ireland."

After having further noticed the influence of the classical people of the Mediterranean, of the Phœnician, Etruscan, and Greek commerce on the barbarians of the north, in Gaul, Switzerland, Germany, and Scandinavia, he closes with these words: "We found Britain at the beginning of our inquiry part of a continent without inhabitants; we leave it at the end an island with its inhabitants and its condition to be dealt with by the historian. Each of the changes recorded has left its mark in the Britain of to-day, and so intimate is the continuity running through all events, that the Tertiary period must be extended so as to embrace our own time. History takes up the story of human progress at the point where it is dropped by geology, archæology, and ethnology, and carries it on to the present day."

It must be owned that Mr. Dawkins has given us a plausible history of the difficult period of transition, which comprises the end of geological times and the beginning of human history. Whether all his generalizations will stand in the light of newly-discovered facts, it is too early to say. Should, for instance, the opinion of the able French archæologists, who consider the tall race of men with perfect skulls represented by the skeletons found in the caves of Cro-magnon and Mentone as Palæolithic, ever prevail, and their identity with the River-drift men and the later inhabitants of Europe be established, the beginning of the history of man as given by Mr. Dawkins would have to be modified. The extreme difficulty of deciding, in many doubtful cases, the questions of superpositions and disturbances of the strata of the drift upon which the relative age of the traces of man depend, the frequent mixture of palæolithic and neolithic implements, will cause many still to suspend their final judgment. We can say the same of the hypothesis of large tracts of land connecting Europe and America assumed simply to explain the distribution of plants and animals and their supposed migrations. We would desire evidence from another order of facts before we fully admit their existence. But, however this may be, we can

say, in justice to Mr. Dawkins, that his interesting volume is a long step toward the elucidation of that obscure period of early man in Europe, and indirectly of the origin of mankind.

Before we close we may be permitted to add a few general remarks on questions intimately connected with the subject of this work.

We are unable to agree with Mr. Dawkins when he tells us that the "argument in favor of the Darwinian theory of evolution founded upon the specialization of mammalian life in its progress from the Eocene down to the present day, seems so strong as to be irresistible." That beautiful law of a gradual and progressive development which culminates in the unfolding of the perfect Life-system of to-day, with man at its head—a progress which our author has so admirably set forth—can no more be the result of geographical or climatal changes than the organic form of the plant is the product of the soil, temperature, and moisture in which it grows. That law has its source in life itself and not in the environments, which are but the conditions of its development.

It is of biological and not of material order. Natural selection and the survival of the fittest may determine local varieties or the disappearance of some types; they do not account for the progressive character of the new types nor for the regularity of the whole system.

Moreover, evolution by lineal descendance signally fails in the case of man; for geologists now agree that when man appears it is with all the attributes of man, without intermediates between him and the lower beings with which he is associated. His spiritual nature is a new germ, superadded to the life of the animal, the development of which begins a new order of existence.

From the stand-point of Natural Science, Creation and Evolution are both hypotheses, by means of which we try to account for the phenomena observed. But in the case of man we find in the Divine will and intelligence an adequate cause for the introduction of an entirely new element, while evolution leaves us before such a gigantic fact as the development of human history without the shadow of a cause to account for it.

In every history the order of the succession of events which enables us to discover their relations as causes and effects, or the providential law by which they are guided, is the telling fact. On this point all facts so laboriously gathered from geology and archaeology agree. They leave no reasonable doubt as to the appearance of man being the last and highest stage of progress of life on earth. After his coming on the scene a few coöval mammalia become extinct, but no new generic or specific form has been added. The long train of organized forms in ascending succession is closed. We hardly need to remark that this is precisely the place assigned to man's creation in the Biblical account; viz, in the latest phase of the mammalian age, as the last act of creation. Again, the Bible speaks to us of a long antediluvian age comprising one-third of the human history. So does geology; for early man, even in Europe, has lived in the midst of that great diluvian period, and has preserved almost everywhere the tradition of its floods.

As to the determination of the absolute time at which these events took place we do not consider it of primary importance. It is more a matter of curiosity than of necessity. The order of events is the true history. We may only remark that the millions and hundred thousands of years that some geologists thought necessary for estimating the distance which separates us from Palæolithic man have dwindled down, in the light of more careful studies, to almost as many centuries and assumed historical proportions. It will be still more the case when the work of the diluvian age, on the surface of our earth, shall be better appreciated. Meanwhile we can afford to wait until, on one side, we have learned better to understand the mode and meaning of the Biblical chronology, and on the other, until geological investigation has finished its work.

A. G.

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